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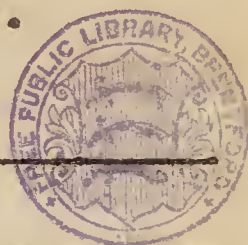
T H E
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
H I S T O R Y,
P O L I T I C S,
A N D
L I T E R A T U R E,
For the YEAR 1778.

THE THIRD EDITION.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall. 1786.



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P R E F A C E.

THE History of the year 1778, is more confined in its nature than that of many others. It is more properly the History of the British Nation, however separated, or into whatever divisions unhappily thrown, than that of the world in general, or of Europe in particular. If it is therefore less interesting to Foreigners, it is proportionally the more so to Englishmen. It records matters in which they are all concerned. No man, nor no station, can be free from their consequences. No common apathy can afford an indifferent spectator. We are exhibited upon the grand theatre of action, to perform a part equally conspicuous and perilous, and the world is still in a gaze for the event.

Although

Although it be a year which has not afforded those great and signal actions, which throw a fascinating splendour over the face of History, it has abounded with business of less lustre, but of the most important nature, in a degree, perhaps, unequalled, in our annals. Our attention to domestic matters, has not, however, prevented our paying a due regard to that war, which was commenced with such tremendous appearances in Germany, and so speedily and happily concluded. The extraordinary bulk of our History, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours (both for our own sake, and that of our Readers) to compress it within more moderate limits, will, we hope, afford an unquestionable testimony to the Public, that neither our zeal, nor our industry, are slackened by their favour.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1778.

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# THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.



## CHAPTER I.

*Germany. Some observations on the political state of that country. Death of the Elector of Bavaria. Some account of the character and disposition of his successor, the Elector Palatine. Austrian troops seize upon the Lower Bavaria, and upon the Upper Palatinate. Substance of the convention concluded between the Elector and the court of Vienna. Various claims notwithstanding left open. Short view of the history of the two great branches of the Bavarian or Palatine line, so far as it relates to the present contest. Claims of the House of Austria controverted. Claims of the Prince of Deuxponts; of the Electress Dowager of Saxony; and of the Dukes of Mecklenburg. Protest entered by the first against the late convention; and an appeal to the Diet of the empire against the conduct of the court of Vienna. King of Prussia espouses the cause of the Princes who supposed themselves injured. Various memorials and documents laid before the Diet by the Prussian and Austrian ministers. Memorial of complaint by the Elector of Bavaria. Will of the late Elector laid before the Diet. Declaration to the Prussian minister at Vienna. Fresh remonstrances on the other side. Memorial by Prince Kaunitz to the Prussian minister. Direct correspondence between the Emperor and the King of Prussia in Bohemia, and a negotiation opened in consequence at Berlin. Negotiation fruitless. New proposals for an accommodation, transmitted by the King to Vienna. Proposals rejected. Other propositions on both sides ineffectual. Prussian manifesto.*

**M**ANY appearances have for a long time seemed to indicate, that however the scale of war or peace might

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happen to predominate in the other parts of Europe, the tranquillity of Germany could scarcely be of a very lasting nature. Besides the

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conclusions which might at other times be drawn from the particular circumstances of government, the multitude of men, and the military genius which has in all ages characterized that nursery of soldiers, other more immediate circumstances were not wanting to render the prospect of peace precarious.

The vast and continually increasing armies, which have been kept up since the conclusion of the late war, by the two powers, who with a decisive controul now sway the motions of the other members of the Germanic body, were of a magnitude far beyond all the interests of peace; and if not absolutely beyond the abilities of their respective countries to support, were totally inconsistent with the ease and prosperity of the people for whose protection they were supposed to be formed. Indeed these powers seem so sensible of the fatal consequences of such a drain from population, and such a withdrawing of strength from the labours of the earth, that both of them have adopted the remedy of encouraging matrimony in their armies; and one allows his soldiers, in rotation, to apply their hands to the necessary occupations of field labour. Thus we may in time behold hereditary armies; and the countries of Europe may see a new order of men grow up amongst them, who, from father to son, inherit manners, principles, and interests, separate and distinct from those of the community at large.

Nor did the increase of those armies exceed the constant attention which was paid to their perfection in military skill, and in the dexterity of military evolution; whilst the abundant provision for war which was made in their respective

states kept pace with both. It might indeed have been imagined upon a slight view, that the sudden friendship which sprung up between the two great monarchs in question, would have been in some degree a pledge for the public quiet and security; but to those of a shrewder turn and closer observation, it is probable that their friendship appeared more dangerous than their enmity.

Some particular circumstances perhaps preserved the tranquillity of Germany for a longer space of time, than the appearances of things seemed to indicate, or men in general to expect. The near equipoise of power, military strength, and of the means and resources of war, between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg, might produce, for some time, and in some degree, similar effects, with those which would have arisen from a state of mutual inability. The affairs of Poland, which seemed at first calculated to scatter firebrands and desolation over every part of the North, produced a directly contrary effect. They not only drew off for some years the attention of those great powers from domestic, or other matters, and at the same time occupied the hands of a dangerous and equally great neighbour; but the share which they all obtained in the partition of that ancient kingdom, would have seemed well calculated to appease the insupportable cravings of ambition, if long experience had not demonstrated, that the appetite in that distemper becomes more insatiate, in proportion to the greater quantity of food which is administered to its supply.

The King of Prussia seems the only power to whom the independent



dent princes and free cities of Germany can, with any degree of certainty, look up for support against the great and increasing strength of the house of Austria; a house, to which the prerogatives, the peculiar powers, and undefined claims, appertaining to the title and office of Emperor, may now be nearly considered as an appendage. No union of the lesser states could now, as heretofore, form a sufficient weight to counterbalance in any degree that power. Besides the natural imperfection and instability which must necessarily attend such an union, composing an ill-connected body, with a number of disunited heads, it would undoubtedly be found greatly deficient in the mere article of strength.

On the other hand, the house of Austria is at present a necessary curb on the suddenly grown power, and the ambitious views of that of Brandenburg. Between both, the lesser states, by a prudent and watchful attention to the preservation of that balance of power in Germany, which has so unaccountably, and perhaps fatally, been worn out of memory in the general system of Europe, may still long continue to preserve their independence. A neglect of this political principle, will probably occasion one of the scales to preponderate, which, in the nature of things, must prove dangerous, if not ruinous, to the independency of the Germanic body.

But, if that rage of dominion, and spirit of arbitrary power and encroachment, which seem at present so generally prevalent in Europe, should unite those two great powers in a common league against

the independency of the other princes, and the liberties of the free cities, it seems evident that no force within the empire could preserve the Germanic body in its present form. Poland has afforded a recent instance, that quietness, an inability to offer injury or wrong, with many useful and valuable properties of good neighbourhood, afford no protection against the lust of power, and the rage of ambition; whilst Dantzick presents a yet living example to the free cities, that the rust of parchments, and the venerable antiquity of immunities, offer no better defences against such enemies. From what every body has seen, and from a state of public affairs and general disposition, which cannot escape common observation, it seems not impossible, that the greater part of Europe might continue indifferent spectators of such an event. Nor does it seem less probable, that Russia, though destitute of liberty herself, (and perhaps, at present, incapable of it) would, notwithstanding, be the only power which would interfere in such a cause, and to whom the Germanic body might owe the preservation of its independence and liberties.

The extinction of the male *William* line of Bavaria in the person of the late Elector, opened a new scene in the affairs, and may possibly mark an interesting period in the history of Germany. At least this event has opened the way to claims and pretensions which had not been before generally thought of, and in a great measure withdrawn the veil from political views and designs of the greatest importance to the Germanic body, and



which otherwise might for some time longer have been reserved in darkness.

Maximilian Joseph, the late Dec. 30th, Elector of Bavaria, died of the small-pox at 1777. Munich, in the 51st year of his age, and on the last day but one of the old year. The death of this prince, without issue, totally extinguished the male Guilielmine or Ludovician line of Bavaria, which had been in possession of that dutchy for near five hundred years. This prince was succeeded, both in the electoral dignity, and his dominions at large, by his general heir, Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. The large allodial estates of Bavaria, with several particular territorial acquisitions, which were obtained at different times, and held by different tenures, from that of the grand fief, were also open to several claimants, whose titles were to be discussed, and rights legally determined, according to the general laws and constitutions of the empire.

The Elector Palatine, at the time of his accession to the Bavarian dominions, was newly entered into the 54th year of his age, and having no issue, the large possessions of the double electorate, with the dignity appertaining to one, were in the expectation of his apparent heir, the Duke of Deux-ponts, who was the nearest relation in the male Palatine line. The present Elector is much celebrated for the liberality of his sentiments and disposition; for his affection to learning and the fine arts; and for that happy state of freedom and ease, in which men of genius of all kinds, and of all countries, have

for many years, amidst the hospitality and pleasures of his elegant court at Manheim, forgotten all the inequalities of fortune and condition. The particular circumstances of situation, the temper and disposition we have described, with the habits of life consequent of them, will serve to explain some parts of his subsequent conduct, and account for that flexibility, with which he seemed to sacrifice his rights to the love of ease, and desire of tranquillity.

As the course of the succession to Bavaria had been settled for ages, was known to every body, and had been even prepared for by the late prince, the Elector found no difficulty in taking possession of that dutchy with the Upper Palatinate, and of receiving the willing homage of his new subjects. But before he could feel his new situation, he unexpectedly found that he had a rival of such superior power and greatness to encounter, that all competition on his side would not only be futile, but that the disparity was so great, as to render all appearance of opposition even ridiculous. He had scarcely arrived in his new capital of Munich, before the Austrian troops, who had been evidently stationed on the frontiers for the purpose, and only waiting for an account of the event of the late Elector's death, poured on all sides into the Lower Bavaria, and seized upon every place they came to. In the mean time, another strong body advanced on the side of Egra to the Upper Palatinate, where the regency in vain pleaded the laws of the empire, and the rights of sovereignty, against the entrance of foreign troops.



We have observed, that it was not in the character of this prince to enter willingly into the animosity of contest. He accordingly submitted to the necessity of the times, with a facility for which he has been blamed, as committing an act which was injurious to his heirs as well as to himself. He has since justified his conduct, on the ground of that necessity which he states to be invincible, in a letter to his kinsman and heir apparent, the Duke of Deuxponts. He could yet have no knowledge of what support he might receive, or indeed whether he would be at all supported. He saw, that instead of losing a part by compromise, a fruitless opposition to the court of Vienna would insure the loss of the whole succession. But that was not the only stake that was at hazard. He was threatened with an army of 60,000 men, though he was not able to resist the force which was already seizing his territories. If things were carried to the utmost extremity, the loss of his old dominions might speedily follow the loss of his new; and life would be spent before he could have a hope of redress. At any rate, he knew that no act of his could in any degree injure the rights of his successors; that a more favourable opportunity than the present might occur for establishing them; and that unless the constitution of the empire, and the Germanic system were entirely overthrown, such a violence must sooner or later be redressed.

A convention was accordingly concluded and ratified before the middle of January, between the court of Vienna and the Elector, by which the latter gave up the

better half of his new possessions, and left claims open, which might have swallowed a great part of the remainder. The articles of this convention were indeed of an extraordinary nature; and it may be doubted whether any public instrument has appeared for many years, which carries in its own face more glaring marks of violence and compulsion. In a word, it bore a complexion of such a cast, as if it had never been intended to come under any other cognizance than that of the contracting parties.

By these articles, the Elector acknowledges the claims and pretensions of the house of Austria upon the Lower Bavaria, without knowing the titles, or seeing the documents, upon which these claims were founded. It is true, it was supposed in the treaty, that these material articles were to be afterwards produced; but we also find the Elector, long after, under a necessity of applying to the Diet of the empire to obtain that satisfaction. He agrees that they shall take possession of all the estates which composed the patrimony of Duke John of the line of Straubingen, who died early in the 15th century; and that they shall also be entitled to all those districts to which Duke John had even any doubtful claim. These articles, which contain claims founded on so remote and doubtful a period, and which must necessarily refer to many facts and circumstances, which at this distance of time it must be equally difficult, if not impossible, either to ascertain or disprove, were accompanied with no specification, either of the possessions which Duke John actually held, or of those to



which it was supposed he might have claims.

A more extraordinary article (if possible) still remained. It was agreed, that if the Elector should claim any particular district which he wished to retain, as not belonging to the Duke John, the proof of the negative should rest upon himself. Thus, besides a renunciation of the better part of his new dominions, the task was imposed upon him, of proving his title to, and justifying the limits of the remainder, against unknown claims, which might extend to any part or to the whole of his possessions. In the same spirit, he acknowledged the rights of the court of Vienna to the county of Cham, and to such parts of the Upper Palatinate as had been fiefs of the kingdom of Bohemia; an undefined claim, which might take in any part or the whole of that country. Other claims were recognized with respect to the principality of Mindelheim, and to various other possessions, both fiefs and allodial estates. In a word, an instrument under the name of a convention or treaty was concluded, which seemed to leave nothing as a matter of right or certainty to one of the contracting parties, but to throw him entirely on the grace, moderation, or favour of the other. Such are some of the consequences, whether in public or private life, of living in the neighbourhood of the great and powerful.

It will be necessary for the explanation of this subject, to take a short view of the history of the Bavarian or Palatine family, so far as it relates to the principal grounds of the present controversy.

The two houses of Bavaria and the Palatinate of the Rhine, derived their origin from the same common stock. Their great ancestor Otto, Count Palatine of Wittelsbach, upon the expulsion, under the ban and proscription of the empire, of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, from his dominions, received the duchy of Bavaria as a male fief in the year 1180, from the Emperor Frederick the First. Lewis the First of Bavaria, the son and successor of Otto, brought by marriage, on the extinction of the male line in the ancient family, the Palatinate of the Rhine, with the electoral dignity, into the house of Bavaria.

These great possessions, along with the dignity of the first secular electorship, would have given a decided lend among the princes of the empire to this house, if they had been kept undivided. But, according to the fashion of those times, the two sons of Lewis the Severe, who died in the year 1294, made a partition of the patrimony; the Palatinate of the Rhine, with the electoral dignity, and the Northgow, (or what is sometimes called the Upper Palatinate, and the Palatinate of Bavaria) coming to the share of Rodolph the eldest son, and the duchy of Bavaria devolving to Lewis the Second. The first of these princes was accordingly the founder of the Rodolphine or Palatine line, as the second was of the Ludovician, which has however been more generally called the Guilielmine line of Bavaria.

Some troubles having afterwards risen between the aforesaid Lewis, who also became Emperor, and his nephews,



nephews, the sons of Rodolph, the former division of patrimony, and family settlement, was fully confirmed, by a public treaty concluded at Pavia in the year 1329, under the sanction and further confirmation of all the electors. By this treaty, thus confirmed, the contracting parties were reciprocally bound, that when either of the lines should fail of heirs, and become extinct, the estates and electoral dignity should fall to the other; and that neither of them should sell, mortgage, or alienate, any part of their estates.

This treaty was considered and applied to, as the foundation of all the family compacts and treaties which have since taken place between the Palatine and Bavarian houses, and was accordingly further strengthened and confirmed by those concluded in the years 1524, 1724, 1746, 1766, and so late as 1771. From hence it has been insisted on in the present controversy, that the treaty of Pavia, thus concluded by an Emperor, and confirmed by all the electors, and as it were renewed and recorded by so many successive sanctions, was really and effectually a fundamental law, and a pragmatic sanction of the Palatinate and Bavarian houses, by which they are indivisibly bound to an agreement of mutual succession, and which no branch of those houses, without the consent of all the heirs, nor even the Emperor himself, could arbitrarily abolish.

In the vicissitudes of fortune, temper, and disposition, and the various complexion of a long succession of ages, much emulation, jealousy, and animosity, sprung up between those two houses of the

same blood. These partly arose from the envy excited in that of Bavaria, at seeing the electoral dignity and the grand vicarship of the empire held by the Palatine line, and, in part, from a dispute that arose upon a point of succession. But when these passions were further inflamed, through the rage of civil wars, and the bitterness of religious zeal and persecution, which afforded a colour for every enormity, and a cloak to cover rapacity and ambition, under the guise of piety or patriotism; in that state of human depravity, which dissolved all ties of kindred and friendship, and which so long filled the empire with violence and blood, the most mortal enmity took place between the Bavarian and Palatine branches of the same house.

For when the unfortunate Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, was in the year 1619 called to the crown, and elected King of Bohemia by the revolted states of that country, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, in contempt of all ancient ties of treaty and blood, took a decided and fatal part against him. That prince not only entered into the strictest alliance with the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, but also raised a considerable army at his own expence in his support. From this overweening zeal, being chosen head of the league which was formed against Frederic and the Evangelic union; and appointed Generalissimo of their forces, and being also a better soldier than any of those who opposed him, he became the principal actor in first dethroning the unhappy Frederic; and afterwards, along with the Spaniards, in sub-



duing his hereditary dominions, and chasing him and his family entirely out of Germany.

With such good will was this service executed, and so unequal was the Emperor in himself to the task, that he was under a necessity at its conclusion, of placing the Upper Austria in the hands of Maximilian as a mortgage, for the payment of a debt of thirteen millions of florins, which he had expended on his account, in the prosecution of the war. The Emperor at length, being emboldened by his great and continued success in arms, proceeded to the violent measure, not only of proscribing the Elector Palatine as a rebel, but of extending the penalties of treason to all his posterity, by seizing the Upper and Lower Palatinate as irredeemable forfeitures. The Protestant princes, some of the Lutheran part of whom, particularly the Elector of Saxony, had assisted him against Frederic, in vain protested against this violence, as being entirely subversive of the laws and constitution of the empire, which admit of no treason or forfeiture to affect the descendants or heirs. To affix a seal, however, to this measure which should render it irrevocable; and at the same time to clear his hereditary dominions, the Emperor, by a formal contract, sold those two countries in the year 1628, together with the electoral dignity annexed to them, to Maximilian of Bavaria, as a discharge of the thirteen millions, for which he held the Upper Austria in mortgage. Thus the house of Austria paid a debt to that of Bavaria with its own patrimonial inheritance.

This and other violences produced those long and fatal wars, which brought the Swedes and French into Germany, and desolated every part of the empire. The treaty of Westphalia, in the year 1648, at length put an end to the calamities of the country. By the fourth article of that treaty it was stipulated, that Charles Lewis, son of the late unfortunate Frederic, should be re-established in the Lower, commonly called the Palatinate of the Rhine, and that an eighth electorate should be created for him; that he should cede the Upper Palatinate, with the county of Cham, and the ancient electoral dignity, to the Duke of Bavaria; but that if the house of Bavaria, or William line, should become extinct in failure of heirs male, then the eighth electorate should be abolished, and the Rodolphine line should succeed to the ancient electoral dignity, as well as to the possessions which were now ceded; and that all the other rights of the Palatine line should be preserved, excepting only, that they should not affect the rights of the allodial heirs of the elector of Bavaria.

It is necessary here to observe, that during this course of time of which we have been treating, several partitions of territory in favour of younger branches of the family, had taken place at different times in the Bavarian line. And at the time of the great division between that and the Palatine family, the Lower Bavaria was then a separate duchy in the hands of a younger branch, which becoming extinct in the year 1340, it was again annexed to the Guilielmine



lielmine estates. But in some time after, upon the marriage of a younger brother to the heiress of Holland, the Lower Bavaria was again detached in his favour, from the principal stock, from whence proceeded that branch of the family which was called the line of Straubingen.

This line having become extinct in the person of the Duke John, whom we have before mentioned, and who died without issue male in the year 1425. Sigismund, then Emperor, taking advantage of the confusion and disorder of the times, took some strong measures to transfer the patrimony of that Duke to his own son-in-law, Albert, Duke of Austria, who was also descended from the line of Straubingen, being John's nephew on the mother's side. The measure of transferring a male fief to a female, was, however, so directly repugnant to the constitutions and customs of the empire, and he found so strong an opposition both to that, and an attempt towards a forfeiture which he made, as well from the other princes, as from the house of Bavaria, that the Emperor, about three years after, was under the necessity of abandoning the design, and in some degree of publicly rescinding his own acts.

The present claims of the house of Austria upon the Lower Bavaria, were founded, at the end of 350 years, upon these abortive attempts of the Emperor Sigismund. A letter of investiture of the Lower Bavaria, said to be granted by Sigismund to Albert, dated on the 10th of March, 1426, and a convention between them concluded on the 25th of the same month,

were opportunely discovered in the Imperial Library at Vienna, at the precise time in which they were wanted.

The holding back of these original documents, imperfect printed copies, or abstracts of which had only been exhibited, and that long after the convention with the Elector Palatine had been concluded, and that the rights supposed to be founded upon these instruments had been actually exerted, by a seizure of extensive territorial possessions, concurred not a little, with other circumstances, either to render their authenticity in reality doubtful, or at least to afford much open ground for calling it in question. And when these copies or abstracts were published, it was said, that the letter of investiture, and the convention with Albert, so far as it could be gathered from those parts of them which appeared, militated with each other, so that one of them must be a nullity. For whilst the one seemed to admit or confirm Albert's personal right of descent to the Lower Bavaria, the other settled that duchy upon his wife, (the Emperor's daughter) and her issue, under the pretext of its having become a vacant fief of the empire, through some dissensions which prevailed among the princes of Bavaria, and some informality or irregularity charged to that house, in making family settlements and divisions of territory, without applying for, or obtaining the Emperor's consent.

The claims under both these heads were combated in the present controversy, with great force of argument, and no less appearance of right, by those who opposed



posed the views and conduct of the court of Vienna. Albert's inability to succeed to a male fief by a female descent, whilst any, the most remote branch of the male line was in being, was insisted upon to be a legal fact of so incontrovertible a nature, and so firmly established by the constitution, laws, and feudal system of the empire, as precluded all argument and discussion upon the subject. The pretence of a vacancy in the fief on the score of forfeiture, was encountered with equal energy. It was contended, that by the constitution, laws, and established usage of the empire, all the princes had not only an unquestioned right to conclude family compacts and conventions for the settlement or division of their estates, among those who were entitled to remainder in their fiefs, but that the Emperor was also bound, in virtue of his place, to give an official sanction and confirmation to all such conventions.

Upon the whole it was insisted, that no pretence which had been offered, whether in regard to any quarrels that had arisen among the princes of Bavaria on points of succession, or any family division or arrangement they had made of their estates, could afford the smallest legal or colourable sanction to the Emperor Sigismund, or to any other, for attempting to strip them of their feudal rights and inheritance. But that if this strong ground were even given up, and that it should be admitted, that Sigismund, by forfeiture or otherwise, had some well-founded claim upon the Lower Bavaria; that claim or title would have been totally done away and invalidated

by a subsequent act of his own, three years after the date of the investiture and convention in question. For a meeting of the princes and states of the empire having been held at Presburg, in the year 1429, who were assembled as arbiters to settle the disputes and put an end to the troubles which had for some time agitated Bavaria; Sigismund found it not only necessary to drop all those claims which he had formerly made, whether in his own right or that of his son-in-law, but to join in a definitive sentence, whereby the princes of Bavaria were restored to or confirmed in all their rights; and this solemn act was executed, without any opposition from Albert of Austria, who was both present, and an acting member of the assembly.

The industry with which the nature of these claims was investigated, through all the darkness and disorder of those distant times, seemed to render it necessary to the court of Vienna, to strengthen them with some additional support; or at least by multiplying the objects of controversy, to prevent the public opinion upon the merits of the cause, from resting on any single point of decision. Another claim was accordingly brought of a later date, but of the same nature with the former. This was founded on a reversion of the dominions in question, granted to the house of Austria, (of which he was himself the head) by the Emperor Mathias, in the year 1614. To this claim it was replied, that it was by no means unusual with the Emperors, in times of difficulty and trouble, to endeavour to aggrandize their families,



families, at the expence, and in the wrong, of other princes of the empire. That though they too often succeeded in such attempts, they were, however, often foiled, which happened to be the case in the present instance: the Emperor Mathias, after the example of his predecessor Sigismund, being obliged four years after, in 1618, to revoke, and utterly annihilate this act.

The claims set up in right of the crown of Bohemia, to several parts or the whole of the Upper Palatinate, (for their extent, like those on the patrimony of Duke John, were by no means ascertained) as ancient fiefs appertaining to that kingdom, were not less controverted or opposed. It was contended, that those fiefs, so far as the extent and direction of the claims were known, were incontestibly the ancient domains of the house of Wittlesbach, and which had been for above five centuries incorporated with the Upper Palatinate; that even part of them were expressly named in the treaty of Pavia, where they are charged with a perpetual Fidei-commis to the Palatine house, long before any foundation could be laid for the present pretensions. That being thus an integral part of the Palatine possessions, they were (exclusive of all other rights, and waving the laws and established usage of descent with respect to fiefs, which were, however, fully sufficient to have established an irrefragable title) inseparably attached to that family by the 25th chapter of the golden bull, which specially provides for and ordains the *indivisibility* of that electorate. That if these pretensions had even

a better foundation, they would notwithstanding have been entirely overthrown by the 4th article of the treaty of Westphalia, by which it was expressly stipulated, that the Upper Palatinate, of which the Electoral House had only been stripped by force, should return to it upon the extinction of that of Bavaria. And that this article was the more particularly and conclusively binding upon the present Queen of Bohemia, as her ancestor Ferdinand the Third, who was then in full possession of all the rights of sovereignty belonging to that kingdom, was a principal contracting party to the treaty in question, and had not made the smallest exception with respect to these fiefs.

We omit a specification of the claims made by the house of Austria to the principality of Mindelheim, to the allodial estates of Bavaria, and to various other possessions; as well as those which the Emperor laid by virtue of his official rights to several places and districts, which were represented as vacant fiefs, that had reverted and devolved to the empire by the death of the late elector.

It could scarcely be supposed, and probably was not expected, that in such a republic as that of the Germanic body, the proceedings of the court of Vienna could pass without discussion, if not opposition. The dismemberment and spoil of two great Electorates, including a number of adventitious possessions, and involving many foreign claims and titles, and this done without any attention to the usual forms established in such cases, without waiting for any legal sanction or determination, and without taking the sense  
of



of their co-estates, the hereditary conservators and judges of all rights, and more particularly those of succession, could not fail of seriously alarming all the princes of the empire. Their tenures were all involved in the darkness, uncertainty, and frequent violence of early ages; their titles were to be sought for amidst all the rubbish of ancient jurisprudence, still more perplexed and confounded by local usages, particular conventions, and family settlements, which it would be now found difficult, if not impossible to trace; and all the rights of a family, excepting those derived from prescription, which were now shewn to afford no security, might depend upon a single record, buried in some unknown repository, and in vain sought for until its discovery perhaps became useless. Nor were the claims upon which these proceedings were founded, by any means, even in the most favourable point of view, of that clear nature, which might serve to palliate any irregularity or violence in the proceedings.

Besides this general effect, the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Electoral house of Saxony, were deeply and materially affected in their respective interests by these transactions; as the Dukes of Mecklenburg also were, but in a lesser degree. The Electress Dowager of Saxony, as only sister, and as the nearest relation and heir of the late Elector of Bavaria, claimed a sole, and what was represented as an indisputable right in the succession to all the allodial estates in that duchy. Though this claim took in very considerable territorial possessions, it was rendered of still

greater importance, by its comprehension of the purchase-money which had been paid by the house of Bavaria, for the Upper Palatinate. For that territory was maintained to be in actual mortgage to her, for the 13 millions of florins which Maximilian had paid for it to the house of Austria; the money being not only to be specifically considered as an allodium; but its being also settled by the contract of sale with Ferdinand the Second, in the year 1628, that it should be reimbursed to the allodial heirs. As this princess ceded all her right in the allodial estates, to her son, the present Elector of Saxony; he of course became the acting party, upon that claim in this contest. The claims of the princes of Mecklenburgh, which were probably founded upon the rights of succession to a separate fief, distinct from the family compacts of the Palatine line, were confined to the Landgraviate of Luchtenburg.

The Prince of Deuxponts lost no time in protesting against the present proceedings, as well as against the late convention between the court of Vienna and the new Elector of Bavaria; and in calling upon the princes and states that compose the diet, both in their original character, and as Guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, to interfere in the preservation of his rights. Though the general voice of the empire seems, so far as it could be known, to be on this side of the question; yet it would have been little heard, and less attended to, had not one louder, and more awful than the rest united, in some degree commanded regard.

The



The King of Prussia, who has a jealous eye upon every thing which may aggrandize the house of Austria, and having no common interest, as in the case of the partition of Poland, to tolerate strong acts in favour of that house, undertook the support of the princes who supposed themselves injured, and the defence of the rights of the Germanic body. His public acts and memorials, whether at Vienna or Ratisbon, were, however, tempered with the greatest moderation, and bore every appearance of respect and deference, as well to the head of the empire, as to his august mother, whilst any hope of an amicable accommodation of the contest seemed to remain.

On the contrary, the court of Vienna was rather supercilious in her manner, and assumed a high, haughty, and decisive tone. She knew her own rights; was the proper judge of them; and shewed little disposition to give any satisfaction to others on the subject. On the whole, though she did not entirely neglect to give answers to the strong memorials made against her, yet she was charged with placing rather more reliance on her power than her arguments.

April 10th, In the first formal  
1778. answer which was laid before the Diet, to a memorial of the Prussian minister, the subject of contest was treated merely as a private arrangement between the court of Vienna and the Elector Palatine, in which no other state was concerned. The latter having acknowledged the claims of the former, an amicable accommodation relative to the settlement and division of Bavaria,

accordingly took place; which afforded no just ground for the interference of any third power, in a business which only properly concerned the contracting parties. That as this transaction did not bear the least shadow of dismembering a prince of the empire by force, as had been represented by the Elector of Brandenburg, but was founded on just pretensions and a friendly agreement; his Imperial Majesty did not think himself any ways accountable to any prince of the empire for the measures he had pursued. It concluded, in this early state of the controversy, with a declaration, that the Emperor being thoroughly satisfied of the justice of the cause in which he had embarked, was determined to persevere in the measures which he had adopted, and to support his pretensions by arms.

It does not appear that the court of Vienna was more disposed to admit the nature or foundation of its claims to the cognizance of the Diet. These were communicated only to the public through the letters patent which that court issued for taking possession of the respective territories in question; or through the medium of the anonymous publications in support or justification of its conduct, which were circulated at Vienna and Ratisbon; and which were accordingly liable to any interpretation or disavowal that might be thought necessary.

On the very day after the delivery of that memorial, which stated the friendly nature of the agreement between the courts of Vienna and Munich; another was presented from the latter to the Diet, complaining of the late seizure of  
about



about twenty additional districts by the Austrians, and stating the Elector's right to those places. The will of the late Elector of Bavaria was also laid before the Diet, which afforded the fullest conviction, that that prince not only considered the succession to his dominions to be as fully and inherently established in the Palatine line, as the warmest opposers of the present measures could possibly suggest, but that his inclinations also went along with the course of descent; in confirmation of which he adopted a measure, which he perhaps was not legally enabled to do, by devising all the allodial estates of Bavaria to the present Elector. He also bound him and his heirs for ever, to maintain a constant army of 10,000 effective men in that electorate; a clause which would have been equally futile and impracticable under the circumstances of the present subtraction of territory.

The King of Prussia was not less fervent in his direct representations to the court of Vienna, in favour of the Palatine line, and the other claimants of the Bavarian succession, than he was industrious in refuting its pretensions, and laying open the dangerous tendency of the present measures before the Diet of the empire. That court seemed, however, determined on its measures, and both resolved and prepared to support them at all events.

In answer to the pressing solicitations of that monarch, for withdrawing the Austrian troops out of the territories of Bavaria, and submitting the different claims upon that succession to a legal enquiry and decision, according to the

laws and constitution of the empire; his minister at Vienna received the following declaration, in the beginning of April, from the Imperial Court.

“That they would no longer continue discussing their own rights.—That they would not desist from keeping possession of territories legally acquired.—That justice should be rendered to all who had the least pretensions to it, but that her Imperial Majesty would never admit that a prince of the empire should arrogate to himself the authority of *judge* or *tutor* in his co-principalities, or to contest about their rights.—That the court of Vienna knew how to *defend*, and even to *attack him who durst presume to do it*.—That notwithstanding they should adopt every *admissible means* which could be judged proper, to maintain the general tranquillity.”

This answer, which can scarcely be considered as less than tantamount to a declaration of war, was not, however, sufficient to overcome that guard and caution, by which his Prussian Majesty seems to have particularly regulated his conduct in this whole business. He still remonstrated, and still sought for explanation. At length the court of Vienna yielded to some general justification of her conduct, and exposition of her intentions, in a memorial delivered by Prince Kaunitz to the Prussian Minister. May 7th.

The principal ground of justification taken in this piece was, that the Elector Palatine had no complaint of that court; and that the prince of Deuxponts had no right to interfere in the business, during the existence of the present line



line in possession. It was said that her Imperial Majesty did not oppose the pretensions of the Elector of Saxony, or the Dukes of Mecklenburg; and a desire, or intention was held out, that all the claims might be examined conjointly with those of the Empress Queen, and that a *legal decision* might put an end to a contestation, which the court of Berlin had thought proper to excite.

In answer to this it was observed, that the court of Vienna was already in the violent and forcible possession, which it absolutely refused to relinquish, of all the objects of contention; and that though a legal decision is talked of, no competent tribunal is mentioned, to which it would submit the award; but that on the contrary, that court had constantly rejected with the utmost contempt every proposal of that nature; so that if the expression of *legal decision* was intended to mean any thing, it must signify that the Emperor was to be the judge in his own cause. It is easily seen, that if the Prince of Deuxponts had suffered his claims to lie dormant, until the Austrian title to Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate was strengthened by length of possession, and all its consequences, how futile his attempts of recovering them must then prove.

Previous, however, to the delivery of this memorial, a negotiation was opened upon new ground; and attended with some circumstances, which seemed to afford room for hoping, that these differences might be terminated amicably. In the course of the discussion at Vienna and Ratisbon, and the great preparations for war

which were made on both sides; the great force of the Austrian armies was collected in Bohemia and Moravia, which of course drew the Prussian forces from the distant provinces to the frontiers of those countries. These movements also drew the King of Prussia into Silesia, and the Emperor into Bohemia, about the same time in the month of April. In this situation, a direct correspondence by letters was opened by the Emperor, and carried on between the two monarchs, with an apparent view to an accommodation.

A negotiation was accordingly opened at Berlin, under the conduct on one side of Count Cobentzel, the Imperial Minister. The first proposals made by this minister were simple and laconic. That the king should acknowledge the validity of the convention, which the Empress Queen had concluded with the Elector Palatine, and her legal title to those territories which she possessed in consequence of that treaty; and that he should also leave all other arrangements to be settled by these two princes as they liked, whether they might relate to particular districts, or to the whole of the dominion of Bavaria. That it might not be supposed this useful compliance was to pass without due reward, the court of Vienna was to be bound, to favour the King's convenience and pleasure, in all things that related to the succession of the house of Brandenburg, to the countries of Anspach and Bareuth, on the failure of issue male, in those two younger branches of his own family.

To pave the way for the success of these propositions, the court of

Vienna



Vienna laid down the following general principles, to govern the conduct of both courts in their mutual transactions, as tending to conciliation, and to equitable conclusions; viz. That each court should put itself in the other's place; that neither should demand any thing contrary to the dignity of the other; nor any thing, if the situation was reversed, which it would not think right to be insisted on. The immediate application of these principles was, that if his Prussian Majesty, on a principle of political convenience, would not oppose the aggrandizement of the house of Austria in Bavaria; the latter, on the same principle, should not oppose the aggrandizement of that of Brandenburg, when a fit opportunity offered, for reuniting the countries of Bareuth and Anspach in her line; and to give a permanency to this compact, and to render the motives clear and indisputable, it was proposed, that those reasons and coalitions of interests, should be laid down as the basis of the present convention.

This proposition seemed to breathe the spirit, which produced the partition of Poland. But the cases and times did not resemble each other. The King of Prussia evidently derived more benefit from the character of the Protector of the rights of the princes of the empire, than from any thing to be acquired in virtue of this offer. He therefore rejected those propositions, which evidently tended to the establishment of such an union between those great powers, founded upon *political convenience*, and mutual *aggrandizement*, as might have been extended in its effects, to the dismemberment of all the

states in Germany, without any security, after all, for peace or final good intelligence, between the powers who had sacrificed their neighbours to a present and precarious agreement. Unfortunately, however, though the scheme has failed for the present, the design is too strongly sketched to be worn out of memory, and may be too soon adopted in future practice.

The king answered, that he opposed the dismemberment of Bavaria, only because he looked upon it as totally unjust, and as destructive of all liberty and safety in Germany. That he was not averse to the aggrandizement of the house of Austria in just acquisitions. That it was wrong to blend the present dismemberment, which the house of Austria had no right to do, with a distant, but incontestible acquisition belonging to the house of Brandenburg. And, that he could not accept of a treaty, which would overthrow the very butt of his opposition, and which stated nothing upon the just re-establishment of the Palatine House in Bavaria, nor towards the satisfaction of the Elector of Saxony.

Though the court of Vienna absolutely refused to propose any conditions that seemed to the King of Prussia more precise or satisfactory than those already laid down; the king, still persevering in his endeavours to prevent a rupture, re- May 26th. mitted to that court a plan of accommodation. By this it was proposed, that for the sake of peace, the Elector Palatine should be engaged to cede to the court of Vienna, two great districts belonging to Bavaria, which were situated contiguous to Bohemia and Austria,



Austria, upon the Danube and Inn. That the Empress should restore all those territories which her troops occupied in Bavaria. And that in return for the cession made by the Elector, the Empress Queen and the Emperor should grant some renunciations and investitures, with respect to disputable fiefs and claims in his favour.

It was contended, that these proposals exhibited proofs of the greatest equity and moderation, at the same time that they were highly advantageous to the court of Vienna. That court, it was said, had no claim on the Elector, as a matter of right, for any thing. The legal and tranquil cession of two extensive districts, which interfered so much with the dominions of the house of Austria, as to have been the cause of frequent divisions and feuds, and which would have rounded their possessions, and defined their limits, by great rivers and other distinguished boundaries, in such a manner as to prevent all future controversy on that subject, was a matter of great and permanent advantage to that house. On the other side, nothing was demanded in return, but some small and inadequate parcels of territories which lay detached from the body of the Austrian dominions, and some feudal claims and rights, which instead of affording any real advantage, served only as a source of continual altercation with the neighbouring princes.

The court of Vienna not only refused to listen to these propositions, but to offer any on her side, which could in any degree clearly or expressly define her present, or limit her future claims. Some

preliminaries were, however, dispatched to Berlin by Prince Kaunitz, to serve as the basis of a new plan of conciliation, and in which the same undefined principles of reciprocal equity were still held out, or talked of. By one article the court of Berlin was to make no opposition to any acquisition the court of Vienna might make, or was then actually possessed of in Bavaria. By another, the Palatine House should be satisfied by a *voluntary exchange, upon agreeable and convenient conditions.*

The court of Berlin, after exposing and complaining much of what she called the vague, obscure, and unsatisfactory nature of these overtures, demanded a precise answer, and a clear explanation, on certain points which it stated: particularly, What the court of Vienna would keep, and what restore, belonging to Bavaria? What equivalents and advantages it would give to the Palatine and to the Elector of Saxony? And, Whether it would enter into an arrangement of all the Bavarian succession, relative to the rights of the several claimants, with the king, as the friend and ally of those Princes, as a member of the empire, and as having, by his other titles, a great right and material interest in taking part in the just regulation of that succession?

This memorial, though accompanied with every verbal representation which apparently could conduce to a friendly arrangement, was but June 24th. ill received at Vienna, and produced an answer, which, after a total censure of the Prussian propositions, concluded with a declaration, that if the Vienna propositions



tions were not adopted as preliminaries, all friendly arrangements would become impossible, and all further eclclaircissement superfluous.

An end being thus put to all hopes of accommodation, and the vast armies on both sides only waiting the signal for action, the King of Prussia early in July published a manifesto, and other documents, stating the unwarrantable, violent, and unjust conduct of the court of Vienna, and severely censuring that of the emperor, who was bound by his high office to have acted that very part which the king had been under a necessity of undertaking, by preventing or applying a re-

medy to all such transactions within that empire over which he was chosen to preside. In these pieces, after accurately stating all the points of contest, and the transactions on both sides, he shews the necessity of his taking up arms, and calls upon the states of the empire to second his efforts, to support and defend the natural and much-injured rights of so many eminent and illustrious Princes, and in opposing the all-aspiring power and ambition of the house of Austria, which if suffered to proceed untroubled, would soon set up claims to other dominions, and proceed to the total overthrow of the whole system of the German empire.

## C H A P. II.

*Great preparations for war on both sides. Conduct of the great neighbouring powers. King of Prussia's military speech to his Generals. Presents to the officers, and a gratification to the soldiers. Prodigious artillery. State of Saxony. Neutrality proposed by the Elector; but such conditions laid down by the court of Vienna, as amounted nearly to a rejection. State and situation of the hostile armies. King of Prussia penetrates into Bohemia from the county of Glatz, and seizes Nachod. Emperor's army securely posted in the strong camp of Koningsgratz, and occupies the passes on the Upper Elbe. All the endeavours used by the King to bring the imperial army to action, or to induce it to a change of position, prove ineffectual. Great prudence and judgment shewn by the Emperor in this, his first essay in war. Operations on the side of Saxony. Prince Henry passes the Elbe, and penetrates the mountains of Bohemia, on the side of Misnia and Lusatia. Unusual difficulties in that march. Good conduct of, and great applause gained by, General Belling. Defeats General de Vins, at Tollenstein. Prince Henry advances to Leypa. General Moellendorf, and other detached corps, enter Bohemia in different parts. Marshal Laudohn breaks up his strong camp at Pleisswedel, and falls back to the Iser; where he takes so admirable a position, that he effectually prevents the junction of the opposite armies, covers the city of Prague, and is himself inaccessible. Prince Henry's army being thrown into several divisions, forms a line of great posts, and of considerable extent. Singular situation of the four vast armies in Bohemia. Effect of the great generalship and superior ability displayed on both sides. Another, but ineffectual negotiation. Grand movement to the right, by the King. Pushes on towards the head of the Elbe, by Burkersdorf, Wilt-*  
*schitz,*



*Schitz, Hermanseifen, and Lauterwasser. All his movements, and attempts to bring the enemy to an action, prove ineffectual. Bad weather. Sicknefs. Difficult and admirably conducted retreat to Wilschitz, to Altstadt, and to Schatzlar. King evacuates Bohemia. Various movements of Prince Henry's army, preparatory to its retiring into Saxony. Prussians over-run the Austrian Silesia.*

**W**HILST a verbal and literary warfare was thus carried on at Vienna, Berlin, and Ratisbon, wherein the subject of debate, whether hid in the confusion and darkness of violent and ignorant ages, involved in the labyrinths of German jurisprudence, or perplexed by ill defined rights, doubtful records, and suspicious documents, would have afforded room for endless litigation, the two great powers who had engaged as principals on the opposite sides of the question, were most seriously employed in their preparations for that final resort, which only can generally determine such controversies between such parties. For though it would seem that their situation and habits in peace approached so nearly to a state of war, that there could be but little difficulty in the transition; yet so wasteful as well as destructive is that insatiate monster, and so immense is the provision of every kind necessary to be made for the support of those vast armies which it is now the fashion to bring into the field, that the greatest treasures, joined to the products of the most fertile countries and abundant seasons, cannot preclude some delay and extraordinary preparation, at the point of approach to that awful crisis.

The court of Vienna had seemed to expect or intend hostility, from almost the moment that declared the Elector of Bavaria's death.

The language of war was every where held in the Austrian dominions, and its expectation shewn, before the controversy had risen on either side to such a height, as could seem to warrant those strong indications. Among other immediate preparations, agents were very early sent to Tartary and the Ukraine, to purchase 7,000 horses for the use of the cavalry; a number which was soon procured in those wide Sarmatic and Scythian regions, whose grassy unbounded plains seem in all ages to have been considered as the native inheritance of that generous animal. The demand, however, increasing with the supply, the same officers were immediately sent back to procure a still greater number. In the meantime, the troops from the most distant parts were in motion on their way to Bohemia, whilst clouds of Croats, and other irregular forces, who are only of use in actual service, were pushed on in constant succession towards that kingdom; the hereditary states were ordered to furnish 40,000 recruits; Austria to supply 300,000 sacks of oats; and by the end of February, public prayers were put up in the churches of Vienna, for success to the Austrian arms against all the enemies of that house.

It appears, however, that this point has been controverted; and that the charge of original preparation, and indication of hostility, has been laid at the King of Prus-



sia's door. It is indeed a question of little consequence; each side took every measure in its power to be prepared for every possible event, whilst it watched with the most jealous attention all the motions of the other; nor will it be easily supposed, that if any negligence afforded a prompt opportunity of advantage, the occasion would have been overlooked by either. Upon the whole, it does not seem, from his conduct, that the king was by any means desirous of entering into a war, if it could be avoided without giving up the points in contest; nor does it seem very probable that the house of Austria, in the present situation of affairs, carried her immediate views any farther, than to some undefined extension of her dominion on the side of Bavaria, the limits of which were only to be determined by future circumstances and events. If the Prussian monarch was determined to thwart her views in this pursuit, she was willing to abide the consequences, and was exceedingly well prepared for a war; but if his ambition should coincide with her own, she seemed much more disposed to enter into such an amicable arrangement and partition of territory with him, as should, at the expence of some of the weaker princes, afford him some equivalent in one quarter for what she obtained in another.

It was generally supposed, that some of the neighbouring great powers would have taken a part in this contest, and from thence apprehended that the war might by degrees become general. The court of Russia is said to have engaged with the King of Prussia by

treaty, to assist him with a strong body of auxiliary forces; and it is certain, that her minister at Vienna expressed the strongest disapprobation of the conduct and pretensions of that court. It is probable, that the expected Russian auxiliaries were in part retarded by the expectation of a Turkish war, and in part by the uncertainty of the event in Germany, from the negotiations which we have seen had been opened, under the immediate auspices, and through the direct correspondence, of the great contending powers.

On the other side, the court of Vienna is said to have opened a negociation with that of Versailles, for the march of a French army into Westphalia. Whatever motives might have otherwise operated upon the conduct of the latter, it could scarcely avoid being affected in the present instance by that extraordinary alliance which France entered into in the beginning of the year, with the, once English, American colonies. It may, however, be a matter of doubt, what part France, in any state of her affairs, would have taken in this business; a formal declaration, which her minister has since presented to the Diet of the empire, being by no means favourable to the opinion, that she was any ways disposed to support the pretensions, or even approved of the conduct, of the court of Vienna; but, on the contrary, held out the firm resolution of his Most Christian Majesty, to adhere religiously to his treaties with the Germanic body, and punctually to fulfil his guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia; giving at the same time an assurance, that his alliance with that

court



court was founded merely upon those principles.

Upon the whole, it does not appear that the pretensions and conduct of the court of Vienna have been much more approved of without, than within the empire.

The King of Prussia, after a review of that part of his army which lay in the neighbourhood of

Berlin, and which was April 5th, then, as well as himself, on the point of  
1778.

setting out for Silesia, made a speech to his general officers, including his brothers, which, as it was strongly marked with the proper character of the veteran hero by whom it was delivered, was not less adapted to that of the veteran chiefs to whom it was addressed.

He observed, that most of them, and himself, had served together from their earliest days, and were grown grey in the service of their country; that they consequently knew each other perfectly well; they had been partakers of the same dangers, toils, and glories. He made no doubt that they were all equally averse with himself to the shedding of blood; but the dangers which now threatened their country, not only rendered it a duty, but placed them under a necessity of using the most speedy and efficacious measures, for the timely dispersion of that storm which threatened to burst so heavily upon them. He relied on their zeal, and would, with heartfelt satisfaction, for ever acknowledge their services. He urged, in the most pressing terms, humanity, in every situation, to the enemy; and with the same energy, an unremitting attention to the strictest discipline among their own troops. He con-

cluded by observing, that he did not wish to travel like a king; rich and gaudy equipages had no charms for him; but his infirmities rendered him incapable of travelling as he had done in the vigour of youth, and obliged him to use a post-chaise; but they should see him on horseback in the day of battle.

The whole speech bore an air of solemnity and seriousness, which seemed even to give it a cast of melancholy; but which served, however, sufficiently to shew, that the ideas of war and glory did not now excite those raptures, which have so irresistible an impulse on the mind, in the spring of hope, and during the summer of the passions.

The king at the same time ordered a present of money to all the officers, rising in due proportions from the ensigns to the generals, as an assistance towards their camp equipage, and other charges incident to taking the field. The soldiers were also gratified by an augmentation of one fourth both to their pay and provisions, from the commencement of actual service. The artillery ordered for the service of the campaign, if the public accounts may be relied on, probably exceeds any thing before known in the history of military transactions, and has been rated from 800 to 1000 pieces of cannon. Prodigious as this appears, and unmanageable as it would prove in many situations of warfare, it was, if we credit similar authorities, exceeded by more than one half on the side of the Austrians. In a word, the preparations on both sides were so mighty, that had the fate of the whole empire, or even that of Europe, depended on the issue of the  
[B] 3 contest,



contest, neither the force employed, nor the means applied to, would have appeared inadequate to the importance of the subject.

Though the electorate of Saxony had shewn some early signs of warlike, or at least of defensive preparation, and that its troops had been assembled and encamped in the month of April, towards the confines of Bohemia, yet the Elector, endeavouring to preserve his country from a repetition of that ruin, by which it had been laid desolate in the two late wars, proposed to the court of Vienna, the observation of a strict neutrality during the continuance of the present.

This was, however, a measure of security which could scarcely be expected in the present state of things. That court could not possibly avoid considering the Elector as a principal party in the present contest; and must therefore be sensible, that from the particular situation of Saxony, along with the predilection in his favour which a common cause necessarily inspired, the King of Prussia would nearly derive every advantage from that electorate under the name of a neutrality, which it was capable of affording as a principal; whilst under that cover, it was sheltered from many of the consequences, and Austria cut out from many of the advantages, which might result from a state of absolute war. Nor is it to be supposed that the court of Vienna was not much irritated at the defection of that favourite house from its party and interests; which now, departing from that intimate union between the two families, so long cemented, and so often renewed, by all the various ties of affinity, alliance,

common views, interests, and losses, had all at once thrown itself into the arms of the ancient enemy of both, and the still hated and dreaded rival of one. The court of Vienna accordingly insisted upon such hard conditions as the basis of a convention, that the consequences of declared enmity could scarcely be worse than the effects of a neutrality under such terms. It was demanded, that the important fortresses of Koningstein should be resigned into the hands, and continue for two years in the possession of the Austrians; that they should be allowed a free passage and navigation through every part of the electoral dominions, and that the Saxon forces should be reduced to 4000 men. The rejection of these terms could scarcely excite any surprize, and the Elector, from thence, considering himself as an inevitable party in the war, took his measures accordingly.

During the negotiations at Berlin and Vienna, the countries of Bohemia, Silesia, Saxony, and Moravia, were gradually covered with armed men, or overspread with the various apparatus and provision of war. And as all hope of accommodation grew to an end towards the latter end of June, the Prussian forces were every where in motion, their Austrian antagonists having long occupied those strong situations in their own countries, wherein they were determined to sustain the first rush and fury of the war.

The grand Prussian army on the side of Silesia was commanded by the king in person, where he was accompanied by his nephew, the prince successor, who had now an opportunity, not much expected;

of



of acquiring the rudiments of war, and the means of defending his future dominions, under the eye and tuition of that great master, whose ability had increased and exalted them to their present high pitch of power and splendor. As it scarcely seems more necessary to temper the rashness of youth by the wisdom of age, than it does in matters of war, to add an edge and fervour to the caution of years and experience, by the spirit, activity, and love of enterprize, which characterize the former stage of life, the king was seconded in this campaign by that accomplished warrior, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, whose early military achievements, and superior eminence in those qualities, had attracted the admiration of all Europe in so great a degree during the late war. His brother, the prince Frederic of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, also held commands in the royal army.

The combined army of Prussians and Saxons, which was assembled in the neighbourhood of Dresden, and had for its immediate object the protection of that capital and electorate, could scarcely be deemed less ably conducted, under the orders of the king's brother, prince Henry, than the former. This army, supported by a prodigious artillery, amounting to no less than 400 pieces of cannon, was estimated at about 90,000 men; a force, which under such a leader, could hardly acknowledge a superiority in any opposite combination of numbers. A third Prussian army, under the Generals Werner and Stutterheim, was formed on the side of the Austrian Silesia.

On the other side, nearly the whole force of the house of Austria had been drawn from every part of its extensive dominions, and was now concentrated in the kingdom of Bohemia. This force, which was principally thrown into two grand armies, has been rated, upon a loose and undoubtedly large calculation, at 250,000 men. The Emperor, in person, commanded the army on the side of Silesia, which was destined to oppose the enterprizes of the King of Prussia. The other grand army was under the orders of the celebrated Marshal Count Laudohn, who, spreading his front along the confines of Saxony and Lusatia, possessed those impracticable posts and fastnesses, of which the mountains that separate those two countries from Bohemia, afford so great a variety. A third army, under the Marquis de Botta, and some other Generals, was appointed to counteract the designs of the Prussians in the Upper Silesia, and on the side of Moravia. Whatever the exact state of these armies might have been in point of numbers, it is said that the troops they exhibited, whether considered with respect to military appearance, or to bodily endowments, were probably never exceeded by any assemblage of mankind.

Such were the combatants that were now to be thrown into action, and such the mighty force on both sides to be exhausted, in the contention for a duchy, the fee simple of which, if sold at the market rate of other estates, would not discharge one year's expences of the war; nor its immediate produce, probably, afford subsistence to the contending armies only for so many



hours as they contained thousands of fighting men.

The King of Prussia, in pursuance of his long established maxim in war, determined to render the enemy's country the scene of hostility; a measure, which if it even afforded no greater advantage, would at least keep spoil and devastation at a distance from his own subjects, and throw much of the pressure of subsisting his army on the opposite side. He accordingly, taking the way of Lewin in the county of Glatz, penetrated the

July 4th. mountains of Bohemia,

and having seized the city, cattle, and magazines of Nachod, in the confines of that kingdom, without opposition, he there fixed his head quarters, whilst he waited for the arrival, and made roads across the mountains to facilitate the passage, of his heavy artillery and stores. Thus Nachod, otherwise of no name or consequence, became a post of great importance during the ensuing campaign, for keeping the communication open between the army and the king's dominions.

The king soon perceived that without some unexpected change of circumstances, or the extraordinary effect of some happy manœuvre, his plan of operation would be much narrowed in the execution. This proceeded in part from the very judicious positions taken by the enemy, and in part from the very difficult nature of the country, which being encumbered greatly with mountains and woods, abounded on all sides with strong posts and dangerous defiles.

For the emperor had previously taken possession of the very important and celebrated post of

Koningsgratz, which lay within a few miles of the front, but tending to the left, of the Prussian army, where his camp was in a situation, which, if not totally unaffailable, at least rendered every approach to it exceedingly dangerous. He had also secured with such care, the strong posts on the Upper Elbe, from Koningsgratz to Jaromitz, and for several miles farther towards its head, as, along with the nature of the country through which it passed, nearly rendered that river an insuperable barrier to the progress of an enemy. Thus the emperor had it much in his power to refrain from action as he liked, and to wait in security to grasp at some favourable opportunity (which it did not seem that any skill or sagacity could constantly guard against in such relative situations) of bringing it on with great advantage.

In the mean time, the intermediate country between the Elbe and the mountains that separate it from Silesia and the county of Glatz, lay exposed on the right and left to the ravages of the Prussian light troops, who immediately spread with their usual activity to collect forage, and raise contributions. This state of things brought on a number of small engagements, in which, although the Prussian parties were usually successful, it will not be supposed by those who have any knowledge of the Austrian forces, that any ground or advantage was relinquished by them without an obstinate dispute. It is said, that the two great contending monarchs have been present in some of these skirmishes, and that the younger, who may be considered as the rival in glory, as well



well as the competitor in power, of his illustrious antagonist, also followed his example, by exposing his person in a manner not usual with those of his rank.

This restrained state of warfare, narrowed to inconsiderable actions, and confined to districts of no great extent or value, was as little suited to the active mind, and extensive views of his Prussian Majesty, as it was to the enterprising spirit of his commanders, and the confident courage of his troops. He accordingly left nothing untried that could tempt or provoke the emperor to an action, nor no military movement or stratagem un essayed which might possibly circumvent him into a situation that would render it unavoidable.

Yet, with the vast force in his hands, and in contempt of the impetuosity incident to his time of life, and first essay in war, so sensible was the emperor of that wonderful superiority in general field actions, which had ever distinguished his veteran rival from all the other commanders of his time, that he inflexibly adhered to his original determination of acting upon the defensive; of converting the natural strength of the country to every advantage which it could possibly afford, in blunting the ardour and exhausting the force of the enemy; and of committing nothing to fortune, without such apparent odds in his favour, as would nearly insure success. Upon this principle, with all the caution and phlegm of an old general, he submitted to contract his posts, to behold the neighbouring country ravaged, and to endure even the threats of insulting his camp, without his being once surprized into

any act of intemperance or warmth, which could in its consequences lay him under a necessity of hazarding a battle. A conduct, which equally affords a proof of his own judgment in military affairs, and a testimonial of those great abilities in his illustrious adversary from whence it derives its merit.

As the Prussian troops, from a deference to opinion, and regard to appearances, did not advance into Saxony, whilst any hope of accommodation remained, the operations on that side, of course, commenced later than on that of Silesia. Prince Henry, however, with the combined army, was encamped on the plains of Plauen, near Dresden, pretty early in the month of July. His situation rendered it for some time doubtful to what quarter he intended to direct his operations. The great road to Prague lay full in his front; but Auffig, on the Elbe, with all the difficult posts in that line, as well as those impracticable ones with which the mountains on the right and left abound, and which could not be left in the rear of a march, were occupied in great force by the Austrians, whilst Marshal Laudohn lay with a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Leutmeritz, ready to support them with advantage.

Another, but more difficult passage, in respect to natural impediments, lay a considerable distance on the right, by the way of Marienberg, through the Mineral Mountains, to Commotan in Bohemia. Or by keeping farther to the right, to the palatinate of Egra, the prince might easily have reduced that city, which is the second in the kingdom, and from thence



thence have transferred the war on his side into Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. But this scheme would have been liable to many objections. Saxony must in that case have been left exposed to the enemy, as nothing less than an army equal to Laudohn's, could have been supposed capable of protecting the electorate from that enterprising General. It would be also removing at such a distance from the king's army, as might not, in other respects, be unattended with danger. For the Austrian General, by leaving Bavaria to its fate, (which he probably would) and Saxony in quiet for the present, might easily fall back to join the emperor, when there would be too much room for apprehension, that the royal army could not be less than overwhelmed, when thus abandoned to the encounter of so mighty and so unequal a force. Nor, independent of more urgent motives, would it have seemed a wise or just policy to have removed all the calamities of war from the enemy, only to transfer them to a friendly people, who were under a necessity of submitting to a force which they were totally incapable of resisting.

Whilst various doubts were thus entertained as to the objects of Prince Henry's designs during his encampment at Plauen, that able and experienced General (probably to increase them, and to direct the attention of the enemy to a wrong quarter) detached General Moellendorf, with a strong separate corps, to the right, on the side of Freyberg. All expectation being then awake on that side, the Prince, with the utmost expedition, threw three bridges over the Elbe,

between Pirna and Pilnitz, and equally suddenly and unexpectedly passed at the head of 60,000 men across that July 28th. river, from whence he pursued his march towards the Upper Lusatia, leaving Moellendorf's detachment, with several small separate Prussian and Saxon corps, amounting in the whole to about half that number, to protect the electorate on the south side of the Elbe.

For the better comprehension of the subject, it may not be wholly unnecessary to take some notice of the motives which probably determined the prince to this masterly movement, as well as of the difficulties to which it was liable. By penetrating into Bohemia in that narrow part of the kingdom, there was not only a probability of opening a communication with the king's army, which was not a great deal lower on the opposite side, but even of effecting a junction with it, if that measure should at any time become necessary. In the mean time, as it was reasonably to be expected that it would be a means of obliging the emperor to change his position, and even to abandon those strong holds on the Upper Elbe, which now afforded him such perfect security, it would of course extricate the king from that straitness of situation, which at present cramped all his operations. Whilst it produced these effects on the side of Silesia, the advance of Prince Henry into the heart of the country, would necessarily oblige the Austrians to abandon their strong posts on the confines of Saxony, so that the electorate being entirely freed from danger, those troops which were left for its protection, would, taking



ing different routes, carry all before them, until they joined and became a part of the common force in the center. It was likewise well to be hoped, that the imperial armies being obliged to fall back towards Prague for the defence of that capital, one at least of them might be brought to action in the open country, where the superiority which the Prussians possessed in point of cavalry, joined with that which their great leader, and their own admirable discipline, indisputably afforded in a field of battle, would little less than insure success.

On the other hand, the mountains which were now to be penetrated, had been deemed nearly impassable by an army; but the reliance placed upon this natural strength, was some drawback on its effect, as a less attention was paid to guarding and fortifying the passes in that quarter, than in those parts where they lay more open.

The prince directed his course to that north-west mountainous corner of Bohemia, which jutting out in the form of a peninsula, between the confines of Misnia and Lusatia, is surrounded on three sides by these countries. The Prussians entered the mountains in several columns, and on every side; those on the extremity of the right, penetrating the defiles of Hohenstein: the center on the side of Newkirch, and the utmost point of the left, keeping the outward circle of the mountains on the side of Lusatia towards Zittau, which, with the neighbouring places, had lately been laid under heavy contribution by the Austrians. In these various courses they encoun-

tered such difficulties, as required all the industry and perseverance incident to the Prussian discipline to be surmounted. In a word, the roads were so nearly impassable, that nothing but experience could afford a conviction to the contrary; and the defiles were frequently so dangerous, that a handful of men might have stopped the progress of an army.

The prince advanced by the way of Hanspach in Bohemia, to Slukenan and Romburg. The Austrian parties which were stationed among the mountains, were so amazed at the sudden appearance of the Prussians on all sides, and in the most inaccessible places, and so bewildered and involved amidst their numerous detachments, that instead of being able to assemble in any important post to stop their progress, they found that the advantages which they derived from their superior knowledge of the country, with the strength and shelter which it afforded, were frequently insufficient, either to insure escape or protection.

General Belling, who first commanded the van, and afterwards the left of the Prussian army in this march, was so highly distinguished by his ability and success, as not only to engross the glory from the other commanders, but to establish his reputation on the firmest basis, by receiving from his Royal master, the most flattering and honourable testimonials of his approbation. By his celerity in preventing the Austrians, who were on the point of seizing the defiles of Gorgenthal, at the time that Prince Henry was advancing from Romburg, he secured the progress of



of the army by the possession of that important post. He soon after defeated General de Vins, near Tollenstein, whose rear suffered greatly; three or four Austrian battalions being entirely ruined; and above a thousand prisoners, with several pieces of cannon and other trophies being taken.

General Belling was not less successful afterwards on the side of Gabel, where by seizing the Austrian entrenchments that covered that important pass, he opened the way for the left wing to spread itself in the circle of Boleslau, where the Prussians possessed themselves of Krottaw, Kratzau, and a number of other places, whilst Prince Henry advanced by the way of Kamnitz in the circle of Leutmeritz, until he had got clear of the mountains, and entered the level country at Leypa.

In the mean time, General Moellendorf having passed the Elbe near Schandau, penetrated the mountains in that quarter, and forced some Austrian posts and entrenchments in his way, with no less difficulty or success, than the main army had experienced in their progress; and keeping the course of the river, cleared the country on the right as far as Teschen. In these circumstances, the Austrians abandoned all their posts in the confines of Saxony on the other side of the Elbe, upon which the different Prussian and Saxon corps in that Electorate, treading in the steps of the retiring enemy, entered Bohemia on the right of the river, and seized Toplitz, Aussig, and all the other places in their way, until they effected a junction with the right

of Moellendorf's party at Leutmeritz.

It seemed in the course of these transactions, that the keeping of good company produced as happy effects in military affairs, as it usually does in the civil walks of life; for the Saxon troops, who formed a considerable strength on the right and left of the army, and who had obtained no great renown in the two last wars, were now highly distinguished upon every service, and seemed emulous not only to equal, but even, if possible, to surpass the Prussians in hardiness, activity, and resolution.

Whilst the combined armies were thus spreading on all hands on the western side of Bohemia, and so far as the enemy would endure the conflict were every where successful; Marshal Laudohn had adopted, (or perhaps framed) and most tenaciously persevered in, that cautious line of conduct, which so effectually restrained the progress of the Prussian arms, on the eastern confines of that country. Upon this system, he broke up his strong camp at Pleisswedel, on the approach of Prince Henry, and having removed his magazines to Buntzlau, retired by the back of Mount Posig, and the Weiswasser, until he arrived at the Iser, which he passed, and then took such a position along that river, with his right at Munchengratz, and his left at Kosmanos near Buntzlau, as must baffle every approach of an enemy.

By this admirably chosen situation, that great General, who being now in a very bad state of health, seems to have added the coolness



coolness of Daun, to his own natural fire and enterprize, kept a communication, which could not be interrupted, open with the emperor's army, rendered a junction between those of the King and Prince Henry impracticable, and at the same time, by stationing General Riese with a strong separate corps at Melnick, and Prince Charles of Litchtenstein, with Gen. Sauer, in other well chosen posts on the side of Prague, he so effectually covered that capital, as to prevent its receiving the smallest insult from his vigilant and enterprising enemy during the remainder of the campaign.

In the mean time, Prince Henry advanced to Nimes, from whence his parties occupied Pofig and the Huperwasser; the combined army being now thrown into six or seven divisions, possessing a chain of as many great posts with easy communications from Lowositz, to the right of the Elbe in the south-west, to Reichenberg, which borders on the mountains that form the confines of the kingdom, in the north-east, being an extent of about sixty miles. In this state did the army continue for some considerable time, without any other occupation, save the common routine of duty, than the raising of contributions, the collecting of forage, and the weighing up of those chevaux de frize, and other machines or impediments, which the Austrians had sunk to choak up the navigation of the Elbe.

Thus did Bohemia exhibit a scene, which is without example or parallel in the records of warfare. She shewed four mighty hostile armies, whose force united would have been able to shake any

quarter of the globe to its centre; they were composed of some of the best trained, and most warlike troops in the world, and conducted by some of the greatest as well as the most enterprising Generals that ever lived; these four vast armies, which were, it might be said, pitted in a small corner of her not very extensive domain, were yet so restrained in their operations, by a superiority of refinement and skill, which has not yet been equalled, and which can never be exceeded, but which was at the same time so duly distributed, and so exactly poized between the parties, that abundantly furnished, as the combatants were, with every instrument of rage, and every engine of destruction, they were notwithstanding, with the weapons burning in their hands, compelled, for several weeks, tamely to endure the sight of each other, without a possibility of sating their enmity; whilst the assailants could derive no advantage from the inaction of their opponents on the one side, nor these from the intemperance or impatience of the assailants on the other. And thus it was shewn, that an equal distribution of force, talents, military skill, discipline, and courage, might produce the same effects, which usually proceed from mutual weakness, want of spirit, defect in ability, and inexperience in war.

The Prussian monarch, however, was little disposed to bear with patience this restraint upon his operations, and to adopt this pacific mode of warfare. He was continually in motion, and seemed, on horseback, to forget the injuries of time, and to be insensible to the infirmities of years. The continual



nual action of body and mind, not only mended, but by degrees established his health. All the resources of his fertile genius were explored, and all the measures which the enterprizing spirit of the Prince of Brunswick, and his other commanders could suggest, were adopted, in order to force or surprize the enemy into an action; or at least to compel them to such a change of position, as might afford an opportunity for enlarging the theatre, and changing the nature of the war.

Some strange indetermination, seemed, upon the whole, to operate on the side of the court of Vienna. Or at least several distinct parts of her language and conduct seemed to have been cast in very different moulds. In her general language, we have already seen that she was high, haughty, decisive, and apparently but little disposed to afford much satisfaction to her opponents. In several parts of her conduct she manifested the same spirit, with the appearance of a fixed, and by no means unwilling determination of proceeding to the utmost extremities, sooner than abate any one point of pretensions; the extent of which she reserved for her own future specification, as circumstances and events might direct their limits. Yet, when affairs came to such a crisis, that war seemed inevitable, she constantly shewed a disposition to avoid, or at least to defer, that final resort, and unexpectedly proposed to negotiate. In that state again, she appeared so cold, so reserved, so ambiguous, and her propositions, if they might be called such, were couched in such doubtful and general terms, that

it could be scarcely believed any thing direct or serious could be intended by them. These contradictions seemed to indicate great divisions in the cabinet of that court; which probably varied her conduct, as each party happened to prevail or lose ground. It is said, that the Empress Queen was as strongly averse to the war, as the Emperor was disposed to it.

The King of Prussia had been no longer in Bohemia, than was necessary for completing the preparations for immediate action, when proposals (said to be directly from the Emperor) were made, for the appointment of ministers to open another negotiation to accommodate matters. The king agreed to the proposals so far as related to the appointment of ministers, and the holding of conferences, but rejected the overtures that were made for a cessation of arms, and did not permit this negotiation, (which was as fruitless as the former) at all to influence his conduct, or to retard his operations.

The undecisiveness of the campaign, had, as is natural in such a state, occasioned a prodigious desertion on both sides. It was however greater on that of the king; it being a disadvantage to which the Prussian armies are particularly liable, from their being principally recruited with foreigners, who cannot be expected to bear that attachment to any service, which native troops bear to their country. Tradesmen and manufacturers, who are very numerous in that service, are also much more disposed to desertion, than the plain laborious countrymen who compose the Austrian armies. The Austrian Gazettes however, though their



their own desertion far exceeded any thing that could be expected upon the principle we have laid down, magnified that of the Prussians in terms of such extravagance, and killed such multitudes of their men, in paltry rencounters of no name, that had any credit been given to them, it would have brought no small degree of imputation upon their own commanders, and of disgrace upon their troops, to have suffered their country to be insulted and ravaged by such a handful of men, as the remainder must necessarily have been.

Indeed the campaign was so barren of events, that it became necessary to catch at every small matter, which could help to fill up the attention, or to gratify the curiosity of the public. For it may be observed in the most despotic governments, that however the people are trampled upon and despised in the seasons of peace, and of felicity to their rulers, yet the serious and doubtful appeals to the sword, always restore them to some part of their natural consequence, and cause a particular degree of attention, however short its duration, to be paid to their opinions and likings. Thus, both parties magnified every small action into importance; and the taking a few carts from a convoy, or the rout of a subaltern's command of Hussars or Croats, were dwelt upon as matters of triumph. Such circumstances are, however, fortunate to brave men destitute of interest, who may then push themselves into notice and preferment by those spirited actions, which would have been overlooked and lost in the general

glare of great deeds and of victory.

The king at length finding that all his efforts on the side of Korningsgratz and Jaromitz, whether to provoke the enemy to an engagement, or to compel them to a change of position, proved equally ineffectual, made, towards the middle of August, a grand movement to his right, leaving General Wunsch, with a strong command, to keep the communication open, and to guard the important post of Nachod. Several motives concurred to this measure. It was hoped that by advancing towards the head of the Elbe, he might turn the enemy's left, and compel him to take new ground and positions. The king thereby approached nearer to Nimes, and it was to be expected that so effectual a communication might have been opened with Prince Henry's army, as would afford an opportunity for a sudden junction, if any great prospect of advantage should render that measure adviseable. It was taking new ground with respect to provisions and forage, which was a matter of no small consideration with an army, when the old was already eaten to the utmost degree of bareness. It is besides, not impossible, that as the army was to pass the defiles of Kovalkowitz, and other grounds equally dangerous, which a lesser General would not have ventured in the face of a vigilant and equal enemy, the king on the contrary, confiding in his own ability to remedy those disadvantages which he well foresaw, held them out as lures, to tempt the Austrian Generals to an attack. At any rate, if none of the proposed



posed effects were produced, any change of ground and situation, was better suited to the king's temper and character, than that tiresome sameness which he had so long endured.

If any snare was intended, the enemy was too wary to be entrapped in it. The king passed all Aug. 14th. the defiles without obstruction, and keeping to the northward, encamped at Burkersdorf, between Trautenau and Arnau, his right inclining to the former, and his left to the latter of these places. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick advanced with a separate corps on the front of the left to Langenau, from whence he extended his posts towards Hohen Elbe. It is impossible, without a knowledge of the country, which can only be obtained by seeing it, or an exact delineation of the various posts and positions of the Austrian army, which has not yet in any degree been communicated, to account for several of the movements which took place at this time, and for a month after, on the king's side. The Prince of Brunswick's advance to Langenau, probably looked towards a design of attacking General Dalton, who lay with a strong force at Arnau; or perhaps it was hoped that his separation from the main army, might have enticed that General to an attack upon him. Neither of these events, however, took place.

The king advanced afterwards to Wiltschitz, Hermanseifen, and Lauterwasser, and the hereditary prince pushed on to the high grounds of the Schwartzberg, almost at the north-east extremity of Bohemia; Trautenau, Branau,

and all the country on the right, as far as Silesia, being abandoned by the Austrians, who kept their posts on the left, up towards the source of the Elbe, in great force. All the movements that were made, whether in advancing or retiring, in this rough and impracticable country, through wild forests, mountains, and the most miserable roads, would have been exceedingly dangerous under less able commanders, and in case of misfortune, would have drawn the heaviest censure from the military world, on those who had involved an army in such straits. It is not even impossible, that both sides built too much upon the king's name, the superiority of his troops, and the excellency of his officers.

Nothing can more clearly shew the full and certain confidence which the Austrians reposed in the security afforded by their inaccessible situations, than, that the emperor, with so mighty an hostile force full in his view; with an enemy so quick in discerning, and so prompt in seizing, all appearances, and every opportunity of advantage, with the utmost vigilance watching his motions, and all his sagacity and penetration in constant exercise, to obviate the strength of his positions, to profit by any error in their arrangement, or by the smallest inattention to the mutual connection and dependence of so many detached parts; should, notwithstanding these circumstances, venture to quit an army exposed to such a situation, and as if no enemy had been near, pay a visit of some days to that under the command of Marshal Laudohn. It will scarcely increase our surprize to know, that, upon  
his



his return he detached several regiments to reinforce that army.

In the mean time, both armies grew very sickly, the heavy and continued rains, incident to the season in that mountainous country, engendering fevers, fluxes, and other putrid disorders in great abundance. It will be easily supposed that the strangers were the greater sufferers in this general calamity. The rains also, rendered the roads in the vallies so deep, and the hills so slippery, that, if all other obstacles had been removed, to attack, or be attacked, became for several days equally impracticable.

In these circumstances, the King being fully convinced, that nothing could provoke or induce the enemy to venture an open engagement, finding that all other means had proved equally ineffectual, and that they were so covered with woods, hills, defiles and entrenchments, that an attempt to force them, whatever the success, must be attended with the certain loss of the best and bravest of his troops; with great justice thought it advisable to preserve so fine an army for more eligible service. And as the Winter was now fast approaching, whilst the sickness of the troops, and the impracticability of the roads was daily increasing, he at length determined to evacuate Bohemia.

Sept. 8th. The King accordingly, having previously sent off his heavy artillery, fell back from the high grounds of the Lauterwasser, where he had been for some time encamped, and retired to his old camp at Wiltshitz. Nothing was ever conducted with greater ability than this retreat,

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which was made in the face of the enemy, by roads little less than impassable, through an impracticable country, and the most dangerous defiles. The Austrians by no means neglected the opportunity. Their light troops made several attacks with great vigour upon the different lines of march in the most difficult grounds, and made bold pushes to seize a considerable part of the artillery which remained with the army, and which seemed to be so inextricably involved in the mud and sloughs of the hollow ways, that they already deemed them a certain prize. All the movements were, however, made with such judgment, and the different columns so effectually supported and covered each other, that they were every where repulsed without obtaining the smallest advantage, or taking a single piece of cannon; the loss of men was pretty equal on both sides. This retreat, in such a country, and in the face of so powerful and numerous an enemy, was said to be immediately directed in all its parts by the King, who gave written directions for every movement; some of which are said to have been so bold, and the success so evidently depending upon the clock-like operation and coincidence of the whole, that his oldest Generals were startled at the design. In a word, it is represented as a masterpiece in its kind.

The King continued near a week at Wiltshitz. Towards the middle of the month, the Sept. 14th. army moved to Alstadt, near Trautenau; and in some days after to Schatzlar, near the frontiers of Silesia, and on the high road to Landshut, where it

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continued till about the end of October, when it finally evacuated Bohemia. The ground was little less difficult in the two former of these movements, than in the march to Wiltſchitz, and the Austrians, under General Wurmſer, being now much more powerful, the attacks were more frequent and violent; which, however, produced no other effect than a greater loss of men on both sides, no advantage of any value being gained by either. It is given as an instance of the advantage, and a proof of the excellency of discipline, that a Prussian regiment, having in one of these engagements been so closely pressed on all sides, as to be under a necessity of throwing itself into what is called a hollow or square battalion, upon repelling the enemy, and in all the heat of a brisk engagement, it instantly recovered its former order of march, with the same ease and regularity, that it could have paraded from the ground of exercise on a field-day.

During the greater part of these transactions, Prince Henry continued at Nimes; his army occupying the posts we have already stated, and enjoying the most profound tranquillity; being likewise free from those inconveniences which had distressed the King's forces, in a miserable country, rendered still more wretched by the badness of the weather. When it became at length apparent, that the caution and situation of the enemy must unavoidably frustrate all the views of the campaign; that the taking up of Winter quarters in Bohemia, was from the same causes rendered utterly impracticable; and that the approaching season

would render the evacuation of that country without loss, every day more difficult; the Prince made several motions preparatory to that event, but immediately tending to divert the attention of the enemy from his real design, and with a hope of leading him to some change of position, which might either on his own side, or on that of the King's, afford an opportunity for opening a more favourable scene of action.

The Prince accordingly Sept. 10th. quitting Nimes, and turning to the right, advanced towards the Elbe by the way of Neuschloss, Pleiſwedel, and Aufche, and passing that river at Leutmeritz, encamped not far from thence at Tſchiſchkowitz, on the great road to Prague. At the same time, a part of the left wing, under the Prince of Bernberg, fell back towards the upper Luſatia, until it had occupied the strong grounds on the side of Gabel and Zittau. This movement on the side of the Prince, obliged Marshal Laudohn to quit the Iſer, and, passing the Elbe and the Muldau, to encamp at Martinowes, near Budin, to prevent his advancing towards Prague. After a number of skirmishes had taken place, and that the armies had for some days kept these positions; the Prince quit- ted his camp at Tſchiſchkowitz, and returning without loss to the confines of Saxony, had entirely evacuated Bohemia by the end of the month.

Nor was the war on the side of the Austrian Silesia productive of any action of consequence; for the Prussian Generals being much superior in force to the Marquis de Botta, he was not able to under- take



take any thing considerable towards the defence of that country. Thus they overran the Dutchies of Troppaw and Iagerndorf without much difficulty, and took such

measures with the inhabitants, as strongly indicated a design of annexing them to the King's dominion, and thereby entirely rounding his possession of Silesia.

## C H A P. III.

*State of Affairs previous to the Meeting of Parliament. Consequences of the American War with respect to Commerce. Conduct of France. Stability of Administration equally secured by good or bad success. Sanguine hopes raised by General Burgoyne's success at Ticonderoga; checked by subsequent accounts. Speech from the Throne. Addresses. Amendments moved in both Houses. Great Debates. Protest.*

NO equal space of time for several years past, afforded so little domestic matter worthy of observation, as that part of the year 1777, which elapsed during the recess of parliament. Neither the town nor the country presented any new object of party contention. The American war, and many of its consequences, were now scarcely objects of curiosity, much less of surprize; and being in the habit of deriving no benefit from our colonies, and of considering them only in a state of enmity and hostility, it seemed as if their total loss would be no longer a matter of much wonder or concern; but that rather, on the contrary, that event would be felt, as a cessation from war, expence and trouble, usually is felt in other cases.

The loss and ruin brought upon numbers of individuals, by this fatal quarrel between the mother country and her colonies, was little thought of, excepting by the sufferers, and had, as yet, produced no apparent change in the face of public affairs. For although our foreign commerce, was

by this time, considerably embarrassed, and loaded with extraordinary charges; although it was already reduced in some of its parts, and in others, such as the African branch, nearly annihilated; it had not yet received those strokes, or at least they were not yet so sensibly felt, which have since shaken the mercantile interest of this country to a degree which it had not often before experienced.

Indeed that commerce, which had so long equally excited the envy of other nations, and the admiration of mankind, was so immense in its extent, and involved such a multitude of great and material objects in its embrace, that it was not to be shaken by any usual convulsion of nature, nor to be endangered by any common accident of fortune. It accordingly bore many severe shocks, and sustained losses of a prodigious magnitude, before they were capable of apparently affecting its general system.

We have formerly shewn that the American war, from its peculiar nature, and the greatness of the expence, with which it was



conducted and supplied, had produced a new species of commerce, which, however ruinous in its ultimate effects, had for the present a flattering appearance. For this substitute, including all the traffic appertaining to or consequent of the war, as well as the commercial speculations which arose by licenced exception or evasion of the several restraining acts of parliament, afforded employment, like a great and legitimate commerce, to an infinite number of persons, and quantity of shipping, yielding at least equal benefits to the gross of those who were concerned; and far greater emoluments, devoid of risque, or even of the employment of much capital, to the principals, than the profits of any real or open trade could possibly admit.

Thus, however frail its establishment, and necessarily short its duration, a new, powerful, and numerous connection was formed, totally distinct from the great, ancient, mercantile interest; and thus, although our Gazettes teemed with bankruptcies, generally doubling and trebling in number, whatever had been usually known, in the same time, in this country, yet the gainers, or the candidates for gain in the new adventures, were so numerous, and presented such an appearance of ease, affluence, and content, that the plaintive but feeble voice of the unfortunate was little attended to; and the cheerfulness which the splendour and happiness of the former spread all around, prevented any gloomy reflections from arising in the minds of those who had as yet no sensible feeling of the public calamity.

It is true, that the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland were insulted by the American privateers, in a manner which our hardiest enemies had never ventured in our most arduous contentions with foreigners. Thus were the inmost and most domestic recesses of our trade rendered insecure; and a convoy for the protection of the linen ships from Dublin and Newry, was now for the first time seen. The Thames also presented the unusual and melancholy spectacle, of numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the British flag used to afford to all the world.

Against this must be set, that his Majesty's ships took a prodigious number of American vessels, both on their own coasts and in the West Indies. The perseverance with which the Americans supplied the objects for these captures, by continually building new ships, and seeking new adventures, seemed almost incredible. At a time when the whole of a trade, carried on under such discouraging circumstances, seemed to be extinguished, the Gazettes teemed again with the account of new captures; which, though for the greater part, they were not of much value singly, yet furnished, at times, some very rich prizes; and, in the aggregate, were of a vast amount. They probably much overbalanced the losses which we sustained from their privateers. But it was, to a thinking mind, melancholy, that

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we had a computation of that kind to make.

The conduct of France during this whole year, in every thing that regarded England and America, was so slightly covered, and so little qualified, that it seemed to leave no room for any doubt, (excepting with those who were determined to place so implicit a faith in words, as to admit of no other species of evidence) as to the part which she would finally take in the contest. As she was not yet, however, in sufficient preparation for proceeding to the utmost extremities, nor her negotiations with the Americans advanced to an absolute determination, she occasionally relaxed in certain points, when she found herself so closely pressed by the British ministers, that an obstinate perseverance would precipitate matters to that conclusion, which she wished for some time longer to defer.

Thus, when a bold American adventurer, one Cunningham, had taken and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out at that port, the English packet from Holland, and sent the mail to the American ministers at Paris, it then seemed necessary in some degree to discountenance so flagrant a violation of good neighbourhood, as well as of the standing treaties between the two nations, and even of the particular marine laws and regulations established in France, in regard to her conduct with the people of other countries. Cunningham, and his crew, were accordingly committed for some short time to prison. Yet this appearance of satisfaction was done away by the circumstances which attended it. For Cunningham's impri-

sonment was represented to the Americans, as proceeding merely from some informality in his commission, and irregularity in his proceedings, which had brought him to, if not within, the verge of piracy, and which were too glaring to be entirely passed over without notice. And he was, with his crew, not only speedily released from their mock confinement, but he was permitted to purchase, fit out, and arm, a much stronger vessel, and better sailer than the former, avowedly to infest as before the British commerce.

It was in the same line of policy, that when the French Newfoundland fishery would have been totally intercepted and destroyed in case of an immediate rupture, and that the capture of their seamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable, than the loss even of the ships and cargoes, Lord Stormont obtained, in that critical situation, an order from the ministers, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, should immediately depart the kingdom. Yet, satisfactory as this compliance, and conclusive as this order appeared, it was combated with such ingenuity, and such expedients practised to defeat its effects, that it was not complied with in a single instance throughout the kingdom. It, however, answered the purpose for which it was intended, by gaining time, and opening a subject of tedious and indecisive controversy, until the French ships were safe in their respective ports.

It would seem, that Monf. de Sartine, the French Minister of the marine, and great advocate for



the American cause, was determined, that whatever charges of duplicity might be brought against his country, they should not rest personally with himself. For this Minister, upon some reports which tended to discourage the commerce with the Americans, as if the court would not protect its subjects in conveying the products of that continent in their vessels, which would accordingly become legal prizes to the English if taken, assured the several chambers of com-

July 4th, 1777. merce by a public instrument, and in direct contravention of all our navigation laws, that the King was determined to afford the fullest protection to their commerce, and would reclaim all ships that were taken under that pretext.

Upon the whole, whatever evasion or duplicity might have appeared in the language or professions of France, her conduct was so unequivocal in the course of this business, that the only matter of surprize would be, if it could be thought possible that she imposed upon any people by the one, or that they could mistake her designs in the other. It indeed required no great sagacity to discover, that she had now acquired so thorough a relish for the sweets of the American commerce, that nothing less than the most irresistible necessity could induce her to forego the possession of what she had obtained, and the vast hopes with which she flattered herself in future. But as yet she waited the event of the American campaign, and the completion of her naval equipments, (which were carried on with the greatest diligence and in the most public manner at Brest and Tou-

lon,) before she risked any decisive step.

No change of any sort, whether by death, removal, or internal arrangement, had taken place in administration during the recess. Every day of the American war rivetted the ministers faster in their seats. Good and bad success produced the same effect in that respect. In the former instance, who could be deemed so fitting to conclude the business, as those by whom it was framed, and so far happily conducted? In the other, who could be found hardy enough to undertake the completion of a ruinous system, which, besides its failure already in the execution, was originally, and in its nature, clogged with infinite difficulty and danger? Thus situated, and supported by an uncontrollable force in parliament, it seemed that nothing could disturb their repose, until the present American system was in some manner disposed of.

General Burgoyne's success at Ticonderoga, with the total discomfiture and ruin which every where attended the Americans in their precipitate flight on the borders of Lake George, excited the greatest triumph on the side of administration; and whilst it wonderfully elevated the spirits, was considered nearly as crowning the hopes of all those who had supported or approved of the war. We have already seen that the northern expedition was looked upon as the favourite child of government. The operations on the side of the Jerseys and Philadelphia were evidently considered in a very secondary point of view. As the noble Lord who conducted the American affairs had all the applause of this measure,



measure, which was considered entirely as his own, it is not to be wondered at, that both himself and his brethren in office, should be deeply interested in the event, and value themselves highly on the appearance of success.

The subsequent dispatches from General Burgoyne did not long support the hopes which were founded on the first successes. The unexpected difficulties and delays which the army experienced in advancing a few miles from Skenesborough to the southward, were, however, counterbalanced in opinion by its arrival on the Hudson's River, the retreat of the enemy from Fort Edward, their abandoning Fort George and the Lake, by which a free passage was opened from Ticonderoga, and St. Leger's success in defeating and ruining the Tryon county militia near Fort Stanwix.

All the former and present sanguine expectations which had been formed, were, however, in a great measure overthrown by the advices which were received some time previous to the meeting of parliament; an event which was probably this year held back, in the full confidence of its being ushered in with the particulars of some great and decisive success. Those which came to hand, after a tedious season of expectation, bore a very different complexion. The insuperable difficulties that necessarily suspended the operations of an army in such a country, and under such circumstances, were now practically discovered. The double defeat of Baum and Breyman, by a supposed broken and ruined militia, in an attempt to remove or to lessen some

of those difficulties, was still more dispiriting; and was not in any degree cured by the hope which the General expressed, of support and assistance from the co-operation of Sir William Howe's army; both as it marked a despondency of success from his own force, and that the ministers knew the impossibility of his receiving any support from that quarter. But, as if it had been to crown the climax of ill news and ill fortune, the same dispatches were accompanied with others from Sir Guy Carleton, which brought an account of the failure of the expedition to Fort Stanwix, the bold and unexpected attack of the rebels on the side of Ticonderoga, and of a still more unexpected and extraordinary event, in a short sketch of the desperate and doubtful action which was fought on the 19th of September between General Burgoyne and Arnold; which, naked as it was of circumstances, seemed to shew the latter to be the assailant, by the mention of his retiring to his camp when the darkness had put an end to the combat.

Although the knowledge of these events seemed to open a view to some of the succeeding misfortunes, and even afforded room to presage a part of those unparalleled calamities which befel the northern army, it was still hoped, by those who were most sanguine in their expectations, that General Burgoyne, being so near Albany, could not fail of making his way good to that place; and that being then securely lodged, he would have an opportunity of concerting with Sir Henry Clinton, the means, either separately or jointly, of distressing the northern colonies; or if the



season and other circumstances did not encourage that design, they might decide upon the propriety of maintaining the post at Albany during the winter, or of advancing to New York if more eligible. In the worst case that could happen, they entertained no doubt of effecting his retreat back to Canada. Others were apprehensive of some of the fatal consequences that ensued.

Such was in general the state of affairs, so far as they were known, and of public opinion, at the meeting of parliament. The accounts from Sir William Howe went no farther than the successful landing of the army at the head of Elk; his preparation for advancing towards Philadelphia; with the situation and apparent design of the enemy to impede his progress.

Nov. 20th, The speech from the  
1777. throne expressed great satisfaction, in having recourse to the wisdom and support of parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in America demanded their most serious attention. The powers with which parliament had entrusted the crown for the suppression of the revolt, were declared to have been faithfully exerted; and a just confidence was expressed, that the courage and conduct of the officers, with the spirit and intrepidity of the forces, would be attended with important success; but under a persuasion that both houses would see the necessity of preparing for such further operations, as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels, might render expedient, his Majesty was, for that purpose, pursuing the proper measures for keeping the land

forces complete to their present establishment; and if he should have occasion to increase them, by contracting any new engagements, a reliance was placed on their zeal and public spirit to enable him to make them good.

Although repeated assurances were received of the pacific disposition of foreign powers, yet as the armaments in the ports of France and Spain were continued, it was thought adviseable to make a considerable augmentation to our naval force; it being equally determined not to disturb the peace of Europe on the one hand, and to be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown on the other.

The Commons were informed, that the various services which had been mentioned, would unavoidably require large supplies; and a profession was made, that nothing could relieve the royal mind from the concern which it felt for the heavy charge they must bring on the people, but a conviction of their being necessary for the welfare and essential interests of these kingdoms.

The speech concluded with a resolution of steadily pursuing the measures in which they were engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which his Majesty was determined to maintain through the several parts of his dominions; accompanied with a profession of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of his subjects; a renewal or continuance of the former hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, upon a recollection of the blessings of their former government.



ment, and a comparison with the miseries of their present situation ; and a declaration, that the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to his American colonies, would be considered by his Majesty as the greatest happiness of his life, and the greatest glory of his reign.

The addresses were so exactly in the present established style and form, and in such perfect unison with the speech, that any particular notice of them would be needless. All the measures which it held out, whether in act or design, were applauded ; its positions confirmed ; and an unlimited concurrence agreed. The ministers received their usual portion of praise in that share assigned to the prudence and wisdom of our public counsels ; and the firmness, dignity, humanity, and paternal tenderness expressed in the speech, were highly extolled.

The address in the House of Commons was moved for by Lord Hyde, and supported, besides a panegyric on the matter and nature of the speech, by stating the necessity which originally induced the war, and which still operated with equal, if not greater force, for its continuance, until the great purpose for which it was undertaken was attained, by bringing the Americans to a proper sense of their condition and duty, and replacing the colonies in their due state of dependence on government, and subordination to the supreme legislature. It was said, that notwithstanding the news-paper abuse thrown upon our commanders, the fullest confidence was to be placed, and the strongest hopes of success formed, on their zeal, ability, prudence and spirit ;

that the superior excellency and intrepidity of our troops, was acknowledged by all the world ; and that with such commanders and forces by sea and land, unrivalled as they were by any other country, no doubt could be entertained, that the contest would be brought to a happy, and not very distant conclusion. But that this happy consummation could only be attained by affording the most perfect confidence, and the fullest support to government ; whilst any illiberality of thinking, or narrowness of acting in either respect, must necessarily have the worst effect on the operation of all the measures which tended to a final settlement. And that it was evident, as well from his Majesty's most gracious declaration, as from the humanity and general prudence of government, that an immediate stop would be put to the effusion of blood, as soon as the conduct of the misled multitude in America, whether from the success of our arms, or from a due sense of their own past and present condition, should render it consistent with the honour, the dignity, and the interest of the nation, to adopt measures of lenity, and to restore that tranquillity and happiness to all the people, which are the natural consequences of subordination, order, and a reverence for the laws.

A young member, who seconded the motion for the address, felt himself so fully satisfied in the wisdom and rectitude of the governing powers, and had such conviction of the utility of their measures, that he could not refrain from being lost in astonishment, if it should be found that any man, who was a native of this country,

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and bred up in due allegiance to the throne, could, under any impulse of faction, venture to stand up in that house, and so far to abet the American rebels, as to express a sentiment contrary to the spirit of the measures which were adopted by government, and which were now so graciously communicated to parliament. He also insisted, that the nation was never so flourishing as at present; that trade and manufactures, instead of declining, had increased and thriven during the contest with America; and that some excess in luxury, the usual concomitant of increasing riches, and effect of opulence, was the only circumstance of our condition which could afford room for regret or apprehension to the most austere, or the most desponding. He concluded, that those, if any, who held a difference of opinion upon those subjects, must be under the immediate influence and domination of the most perverse and factious spirit.

The conclusions involved in this declaration or opinion had no effect in deterring the marquis of Granby, from immediately avowing those very principles and that conduct which had been so loudly condemned. This young nobleman, who from his first coming into parliament, had uniformly opposed the whole system of American measures, introduced his motion for an amendment to the proposed address, by stating and lamenting, in a concise manner, but pathetic terms, the ruinous and melancholy effects which the present unnatural war had produced both in England and America; representing and enforcing at the

same time the still more fatal consequences which must necessarily ensue from its continuance. He declared, with great humanity, that he felt himself nearly equally interested in all the calamities which it had or would spread among the English on either side of the Atlantic; that it made but little difference, in point of effect, on which side the expence of blood or treasure seemed more particularly to lie; it was on either, a lessening of the common stock, an exhaustion of the common strength, and a further dissolution of that union, the restoration of which could only again render us happy, as well as great.

Under these persuasions he felt the most ardent desire for grasping at the present moment of time, and having the happiness even to lay the groundwork of an accommodation. He observed, that all the force, all the powers, all the foreign and domestic resources of this country, had for three years been ineffectually exerted, in order to obtain peace with that continent at the point of the sword. That allowing, as he most willingly did, under the fullest conviction, and with the greatest satisfaction, all the merit that was attributed to our commanders, and all the intrepidity to our troops, it was now evident, from those very circumstances, that there must have been either some egregious misconduct in the plan and management of the war, or that it was attended with such inherent and insurmountable difficulties as it would be a folly to contend with any longer. In either case, the effect was the same; for if the failure even proceeded from the inability



inability of those who were intrusted with the conduct of our public affairs, we were not now in a condition to engage in a new experiment, under any change or ability of guidance.

As we had then so full an experience of the impracticability of coercion, it was time to abandon so ruinous a project, and apply to gentler methods for attaining an object, which was so essential to our well being, that our dearest interests, our greatness, and perhaps even our existence, were entwined in its substance. He would therefore recommend it to the ministers to forge bonds of amity for the minds, instead of chains for the bodies of the Americans, and flattering himself that the present moment of uncertainty, with respect to the success of our arms, would be a right and most proper season for giving an unasked and unequivocal mark of cordiality and kindness, he would move an amendment to the address; the substance of the amendment being—"To request of his Majesty to adopt some measures for accommodating the differences with America; and recommending a cessation of all hostilities, as necessary for the effectuating of so desirable a purpose; with an assurance, that the Commons were determined to co-operate with him in every measure that could contribute to the re-establishment of peace, and the drawing such lines as should afford sufficient security to the terms of pacification."

The motion for the amendment was seconded by Lord John Cavendish, and supported in general by

the opposition upon the following grounds. That three years war, at an immense expence, with 55,000 land forces, and a hundred ships of war, had only left us in nearly the same situation that we begun. We had lost Boston, and we gained New York. The loss of one army was too much to be apprehended; its escape indeed, in any manner, and with any loss, was the utmost that could be hoped. If the other army should even succeed against Philadelphia, what prospect would that afford of bettering our affairs? On the contrary, was there not every reason to apprehend, that such a separation of our forces would be attended with the most alarming consequences, and even endanger the loss of the whole.

Every hope of obtaining a revenue from America had been long over; the country gentlemen were called upon, to know if any one of them would still avow the entertaining of so frantic an idea. Yet in that blind pursuit, the offspring, they said, of folly, ignorance, obstinacy, and injustice, we had already squandered above fifteen millions of money, which was finally sunk, and every shilling of it forever lost to the nation. If peace were at this moment concluded, they said, without contradiction, that by the time we had brought home and disbanded our forces, got rid of our German connections, with all the other incumbrances, incident to, or consequent of the war, we should have increased the national debt above thirty millions more than it had been at the commencement of the troubles; which would then far exceed all calculations that had ever been made relative



lative to the ability of the nation, and the degree of burthen which it was capable of supporting.

They observed, that the speech did not in any degree look towards peace. Untaught by experience and loss, it shewed an obstinate determination to persevere to the last in the same fatal measures, which had already sunk us to our present state of humiliation, misfortune, and disgrace; that, in a word, it led to an eternity of war; or to such a continuance of it as was only to receive a period, from our not having a shilling left to support it longer. That fresh hopes of success were continually held out from the throne, and the coming year has constantly been announced, as that which should conclude our misfortunes, and fix a period to our insanity. The seasons are not more constant in their succession, than the renewal of expectation, and the failure of success in every year. Will then, said they, no unremitted succession of failures in hopes and promises, no repetition of disappointment, nor series of calamity, prove sufficient to restore us to our reason, or to awaken us to a sense of our condition?

The boasted sentiments of humanity which had been so highly extolled, were said to be very becoming, so far as they went, from a prince to his people; but unfortunately, they were openly and palpably contradicted, as well by every part of the conduct of the ministers in other matters, as by the requisitions made in the speech itself. They were to judge of their intentions by other tests, than by the particular professions which they held out at certain seasons for

the attainment of certain purposes; these sentiments were said to come under that description, and that, in fact, they were intended merely to renew the deception which had been so successfully practised two years before, when both the nation and parliament were amused with the hopes then held out, of proposing a rational scheme for an accommodation with the colonies; instead of which, they found themselves laughed at several months after, when the ministers had obtained all they wanted under that colour, by the mockery of sending commissioners out to offer pardons to the Americans.

It was said, that the language held out, of the prosperity of the nation, was, exclusive of its being totally unfounded, little less than a mockery of its distress. The rise of interest, the fall of stocks, and of real estates in their value at market, were political barometers of such a nature as left no room to doubt of their accuracy. If other proofs were wanting, our Gazettes, however defective in other respects, presented long memorials, the authenticity of which would not be doubted, of private calamity arising from public misfortune and distress. Nor were the causes incompetent to the effects. The loss of our vast American import and export commerce, was in itself such a detraction of national opulence and strength, as must have severely and visibly affected the œconomy of the greatest and wealthiest state that ever existed. But when to this is added the consequent ruin brought upon our West-India islands and trade; the near annihilation of our African, Mediterranean, and Levant commerce, with the ruin in a  
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great degree of our fisheries, the absurdity of supposing that we are thriving under such circumstances, is so obvious as not to merit an answer. We are now in the state of substantial traders suffering great losses in a bad season, who are still enabled to support for a time their former port and appearance, from the property and credit which they had established in better times.

It was asked, whether the destruction of our home trade, by the swarms of American privateers which had during the Summer infested and insulted our coasts, the terror into which the metropolis of Ireland had been thrown, and the fortifying for the first time in all our wars of its harbour; with the consignment to foreigners of the freight of our native commodities, from the incompetency of the British flag to the protection of its own commerce; whether these circumstances were to be adduced merely as evidences of national strength and prosperity, or whether the credit of them was to be applied to the general wisdom of our counsels, and to the particular ability with which the war was conducted? If such are already the consequences of an American contest with our revolted colonies only, what are we to expect when an European war is brought home to our doors by the junction of the whole House of Bourbon with those colonies, whom we now seem incapable of contending with to effect singly? This fatal event, said they, has been long foreseen and repeatedly foretold by the opposition, as the certain result of the folly, injustice, and violence of our counsels, and the infatuated

blindness and obstinacy of government. These predictions had been the constant jest of the Ministers, whose ill timed and ill fated ridicule, was confirmed by those standing majorities, who have uniformly supported them in their most ruinous measures; but if there were any deficiency of other confirmations, the verity of these predictions is now established by the speech before us; nor will the unwillingness with which the acknowledgement is made, nor the necessity by which it is extorted, lessen the validity of that testimony.

The House was repeatedly called upon, and exhorted in the most urgent terms, to reflect seriously upon the present critical state of public affairs; that they were involved at this moment in such a situation of difficulty and danger, as they had never before experienced; that it therefore behoved them to act with the greatest circumspection, and by the prudence and wisdom of their present conduct to atone for past errors, and to afford a remedy to their consequent evils, so far as they were yet capable of being cured. And they were warned, not by a blind and precipitate vote, without a single ray of information on public affairs for their guidance, to pass an address, which, besides an approbation of all their past conduct, would afford a sanction to the Ministers for a perseverance in the same destructive measures which had involved us in the present most unhappy situation.

Upon the whole it was said, that they were now, in the language which had been so often used on the other side, to pass, or not to pass the Rubicon; they were to cast



cast the die, in their present resolution, which was to determine war or peace, safety or destruction. They were not only to vote war or peace with America, but war or peace with the House of Bourbon. The address, and the amendment, afforded either alternative. A gentleman whose powers of eloquence, have been universally celebrated, supplicated the House in the most pathetic terms, to seize the present happy moment for attempting an accommodation, when neither elated with insolent victory, nor debased with abject defeat, we could with honour to ourselves make such proposals to our colonists, as they could without dishonour accept.

On the other side the Minister said, that he supposed there was not a second opinion in the nation with respect to peace, nor a wish that did not tend to its accomplishment; that no man in or out of the House wished more fervently for that happy event than he did himself; that the only difference of opinion which could arise, was on the means of attaining that wished-for object; but that the proper moment for chalking out the lines of an accommodation was not yet arrived: that happy moment could only be found in the season of victory; the attempt would be as futile, as it would be productive of ridicule, disgrace and contempt, at any other. He seemed tacitly to give up the idea of taxation, by not considering it as a bar in the way of accommodation; and objected to a cessation of arms, as it would seem a direct admission of the American claim of independency; but he said that the

Commissioners were enabled to grant a cessation whenever they deemed it expedient, and that such overtures were made or accepted on the other side, as afforded any fair ground for opening a negotiation.

To remove the visible impression which had been made by the language and opinion of a foreign war held out by the opposition, he said, that from the information he had been able to collect, there was no reason to apprehend such an event. France and Spain held out the language of friendship, and he believed they were sincere. As it was not their interest now to quarrel with us, he could not believe that it was their intention. The present contest exhibited a new and very doubtful case. For if America should grow into a separate empire, it must of course cause such a revolution in the political system of the world, that a bare apprehension of the unknown consequences which might proceed from so untried a state of public affairs, would be sufficient to stagger the resolution of our most determined or enterprising enemies. It was, however, acknowledged, that strong remonstrances on our side had been necessary to obtain explanation or redress, at times that the language or conduct of France had appeared unintelligible or equivocal; and that, as only a limited confidence could with prudence be placed on any promises whatever in the political intercourse of nations, and that the two powers in question had thought proper to keep up great armaments in their respective ports, he had deemed it prudent to put this country in

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an equal state of defence, and thereby to guard against the possibility of a surprize.

It was further advanced on the same side, that, independent of arms, there was every reason for hoping that the troubles in America would be brought to a happy conclusion; that the great bounties which the Congress offered to soldiers, was an irrefragable proof of the difficulty which they experienced in endeavouring to recruit their forces; that the hardships which the people actually suffered at present under the despotism of their tyrants, compared with that mild and happy government which they had withdrawn themselves from, and under which they had risen to such a degree of power and greatness, had already nearly brought them to a sense of their error, and would soon make them sick of rebellion. That the proposed amendment, if carried, would only tend to revive and keep up that wild spirit of independence, by which the people had so long been hurried away from the right use or application of their reason; and that they could not therefore but consider themselves as enemies to their country, were they not to stamp a direct negative upon the amendment.

Some others went so far as to insist, that the contest now, was not whether America should be dependent on the British legislature; but whether Great Britain or America should be independent? Both, they said could not exist in that state together. For such were the sources of wealth and power in that vast continent, from its extent, its products, its seas, its rivers, its unparalleled growth in

population, and above all, its inexhaustible fund of naval treasures, that this small island, which had hitherto supported its greatness by commerce and naval superiority, would be so cramped in its own peculiar resources, and overlayed upon its proper and natural element, that it must in a few years sink to nothing, and perhaps be reduced to that most degrading and calamitous of all possible situations, the becoming a vassal to her own rebellious colonies, if they were once permitted to establish their independence, and of course their power.

These gentlemen laughed at the idea of a cessation of arms, which they represented as the most absurd that could possibly be conceived. How said they, is it to be obtained? Is a herald to be sent to the rebel camp with the proposition? If they refuse to comply with it, how are we to act? Must our troops lie upon their arms, and suffer themselves to be beaten and their throats cut, only to give the world a specimen of their forbearance, and shew that their passive is equal to their active valour? The Congress have already refused to negotiate or treat with our Commissioners upon any terms, without a previous and absolute acknowledgment of their independency. This indeed would cut off at one stroke all the matters in contest; but then it would leave nothing behind to treat about.

As the opposition entered into a rigorous scrutiny of the conduct of administration with respect to American measures in general, as well as to what related more particularly to the prosecution of the war, the debate was of course traced



from its original ground ; so that the immediate subject of the speech, the address or the amendment, seemed to be in some degree forgotten or abandoned, during the eagerness of charge, and the severity of censure on the one side, or the solicitude of personal defence, and the vexation of recurring to a justification of past measures on the other.

In this course of stricture and censure, in which a more than common degree of acuteness and asperity were displayed, a gentleman highly celebrated for his ability, and not less distinguished by his constant opposition to the Ministers, than by the severity with which he scrutinizes their measures, laid a double portion of that general blame and reproach which, he said, was due for our present calamitous situation, to the share of the noble lord who presides at the head of the American department. To his administration he principally attributed, besides the most ruinous measures, and disgraceful consequences of the war, the final loss of our colonies. To him he also attributed the inhuman measure of employing the savages, not, he said, to subdue, but to exterminate a people whom we still pretended to call our subjects ; a measure, which he described, as a warfare against human nature, without its being capable of producing any real military advantage ; and calculated merely for the destruction of the weak or the peaceable, for the murder of old men, women and children.

It required no less than the acknowledged ability of the noble Minister, to withstand the torrent of wit and eloquence, in which

these charges and censures were involved, and in some degree to deaden the effect of that brilliance of colouring with which the picture was charged. He entered into a defence of several parts of his conduct in the American war, in a speech much longer than was usual from him ; and as to the particular charge of employing the Indians, he asserted that it was a matter of necessity on the part of government ; for that the Americans had before tampered with them, and had strained every nerve to induce them to take an active part against the royal cause ; so that in this measure which had been described in such colours of horror, and reprobated with such warmth of indignation, we only successfully copied the example which had been set, though it failed in the execution, by the immaculate and infallible Congress.

The whole weight of debate on that side, fell upon the Ministers themselves, or upon a very few official men. The country gentlemen were unusually blank. They saw not only an end to all their hopes of obtaining a revenue from America, but they found themselves saddled with the burthen of a war, which in point of expence, proportional to the service or force employed, was infinitely more ruinous than any other in which the nation had ever been involved, without even a remote prospect of its being brought by any means to a conclusion. For the hope of attaining that end by arms was now pretty well done away, whilst the unalterable determination of government to continue the war was evident ; so that the only resort left for its accomplishment, must have



have been by a direct and total renunciation of all their former professions and principles.

This was a degree of practical philosophy which could scarcely be expected. That party, however, thinking it right to persevere, at least until the fate of the campaign should become more explicit, sacrificed to its opinion of consistency, by giving their silent votes, but nothing more than their silent votes to the Minister. The motion for the amendment was accordingly rejected by a majority, which was, at least, nothing inferior to what had been usual upon such occasions, the numbers being 243, to 86 who supported the amendment to the address. The debate was renewed in the House on the ensuing day upon bringing up the report from the committee, and a motion made for recommitting the address. The report was however received, and the address confirmed, on a division at 11 o'clock, by a still greater majority than before.

The address in the House of Lords was moved for by Earl Percy, who had lately succeeded to that Barony by the death of his mother the Duchess of Northumberland, and the motion was seconded by the young Earl of Chesterfield. An amendment was moved by the Earl of Chatham, which accorded in matter and design with that proposed in the other House, a cessation of hostilities being recommended as preparatory to the opening of a treaty for the restoration of peace in America, and the final settlement of the tranquillity of those invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war, and by

a just and adequate security against a return of the like calamities in times to come. With an assurance, that the Lords would cheerfully co-operate, in such explicit and most solemn declarations and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as might be judged necessary for ascertaining and fixing for ever the respective rights of Great Britain and her colonies.

The noble Earl introduced and supported his amendment with a speech of considerable length, which, notwithstanding the pressure of years and infirmities, afforded no equivocal testimony of that commanding eloquence, which had once been so renowned; and of those great abilities, which shone with such lustre in the days of the prosperity and glory of his country. He, however, experienced, upon this, as upon several succeeding occasions, a change of condition, which to a man of his high and unconquered spirit, who still saw fresh in recollection the time, when the fortune of Europe seemed to hang upon his voice, and that he appeared the great arbiter of peace or war to mankind, could not fail of being exceedingly mortifying and grievous. His friends observed that it was a melancholy proof, that no powers of eloquence or ability can attain their object, nor extent of merit or services preserve a due weight or regard, any longer than they are connected with and supported by power; and they remarked, that it seemed to become fashionable, if not a rule of conduct, with the Court Lords, not only to treat his speeches and propositions with an affected indifference, which seemed to border



too nearly upon contempt, but to thwart, and endeavour to overbear him on smaller matters, in a manner, which in other places, would have probably been considered, at least, as captious and petulant.

The noble Earl found great fault, both as to matter and manner, with the speech from the throne. He said, it had been customary on similar occasions, not to lead parliament, but to be guided by it; it had been usual to ask the advice of that House, the hereditary Great Council of the nation, not to dictate to it. But the present speech, said he, tells of measures already agreed upon, and very cavalierly desires your concurrence. It indeed talks of wisdom and support; and it counts on the certainty of events yet in the womb of time; but in point of plan and design it is peremptory and dictatorial. This he insisted, was treating them in the most contemptuous manner; it was a language not fit to be endured, and for which the Ministers who advised it deserved the severest reprehension. It was besides the language of an ill-founded confidence, supported only by a succession of disappointments, disgraces, and defeats. It required them to place an unlimited confidence in those, who had hitherto misguided, deceived, and misled them; and to grant, not what they might be satisfied was necessary, but what the Ministers might think so; troops, fleets, treaties, and subsidies, not yet revealed. If they should agree to the proposed address, they would stand pledged for all these, whatever their extent; they could not retreat; whatever they might be,

they must stand bound to the consequences.

In stating his arguments for the amendment, he asserted some facts, and predicted the same consequences, which were foreseen in the House of Commons. He declared, that the House of Bourbon would break with us; that he knew their intentions to be hostile; and that the present, was the only time, in which parliament or the nation would have it in their power to treat with America. That France and Spain had done a great deal; but they had declined to do all that America desired. That America was at that time in an ill humour; and might then be detached from her connections with those powers, if reasonable terms of accommodation were held out to her; but if not, the opportunity would be lost; an opportunity, which he foretold, we should never again have. And describing the war with its consequences in that strong and comprehensive language, by which he was so particularly distinguished, after declaring that the plans of the Ministers were founded in destruction and disgrace, he said further, "It is, my Lords, a ruinous and destructive war; it is full of danger; it teems with disgrace, and must end in ruin."

The motion for the amendment was supported by nearly all the eloquence and ability on that side of the House; most of the distinguished speakers having taken so full and active a share in the debate, as to render it exceedingly interesting. As the immediate danger of a foreign war, and our inability to support it whilst we continued involved in our unhappy domestic



domestic contest, was one of the strongest new grounds of argument taken by the opposition, in support of all other and former motives for an accommodation, the noble lord at the head of the Admiralty, to obviate any effect founded upon that apprehension, drew a most flattering representation of our then state of naval force and preparation. That Minister is said to have declared, that we had at that instant a naval force in readiness for immediate service, superior to any thing which the whole House of Bourbon could then oppose to it; that we were so forward in point of preparation, as to insure to a certainty a continuance of that superiority; that he should be wanting in the discharge of his duty if it were otherwise; and that happy in giving the present information, he wished it to be generally known, that we had nothing to dread from France and Spain, but should be at full liberty to prosecute this war, to a fair, honourable, and happy issue.

The noble Lord who moved the amendment, had also dwelt long, and with much severity of animadversion, not only on the war and on its consequences, but on the mode of carrying it on, by which he said all remains of brotherly love towards us, must be eradicated from the bosoms of our countrymen in America. That the tomahawk and the scalping knife, were disgraceful weapons for enforcing British authority. That the calling on the savages, whose way of making war is to murder women and children, and to burn their prisoners of war alive by slow fires, and then to eat their flesh, was a scandalous proceeding in a

civilized and Christian nation. A noble Duke long celebrated in opposition, after calling on the right reverend Bench to assist in the Christian purpose of stopping the effusion of Christian Protestant blood, reminded them that their temporal concerns were only a secondary object of their sitting there; that their first duty was, by example, mildness, and persuasion, to soften the public deliberations; and particularly in cases which so materially affect the object of all religion, as the morality of actions, and were of such extent as that now under deliberation. That it became a mere jest, to retire from that House when a poor criminal was at their bar, because they could not bring themselves to vote in a case of blood, and yet to advise the most sanguinary measures, in which the lives of thousands were involved.

To all this the Ministry answered, that a state of war was as little desired by them as by the Lords in opposition; but that when they were at war, they must use the instruments of war. Much declamation they said had been poured out; and much artifice used to soften us into a false tenderness, by dwelling on the use of the scalping knife and tomahawk; but that the musquet and the bayonet were far more terrible weapons. If the savages destroyed more than they were wished to destroy, and that women and children fell (contrary to the wishes and endeavours of those who employed the savages) in the common havock, they alone were to be blamed, who by their unprovoked rebellion first brought on the necessity of arms, and then by tam-



pering with the savages, had thought fit to set the example from which they suffered. That it was not, however, of importance, who first set the example of the employment of that people. They were found in the country, and whoever made war there, must have them for friends or enemies. That they had been used in the late war between the French and English indiscriminately, as each could obtain their assistance, both having equally endeavoured at it. That the very terror of their mode of making war, renders them the most eligible instrument for speedily extinguishing the rebellion, as it would operate more powerfully on the minds of those who were at a distance and yet untouched; and since war cannot be made without bloodshed, it ought to be considered as merciful rather than cruel; as it tended to shorten the calamities of that dreadful state—and one of the ministers concluded with saying that he thought the measure perfectly just and wise; and that the administration would be highly censurable, if, entrusted as they were, with the suppression of so unnatural a rebellion, they had not used all the means which God and nature had put into their hands.

The whole of these arguments, but particularly the last expression,

rekindled the flame of Lord Chatham's eloquence; and he had been seldom known so brilliant as in the severe animadversions he made on the hypothesis of the noble Lord, that the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, and the torturing and devouring of captives, were the means of war furnished by God and nature, which notions, he said, standing so near the throne, must pollute the ear of Majesty.

In this manner, and with vehement altercations, the whole conduct and principle of the war, and of the opposition to it, was torn to pieces. The question being at length put towards eleven at night, the amendment was rejected by a majority of 97, including 13 proxies, to 28 Lords who supported the motion. The main question on the address being then put, was carried without a division. A short protest was entered by the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Effingham, which contained their dissent only in these words——“Because this address is a repetition of, or rather an improvement on, the fulsome adulation offered, and the blind engagements entered into on former occasions by this House, relative to this unhappy civil war.”



## C H A P. IV.

*Parliamentary enquiries into the state of public affairs, adopted by the Opposition in both Houses. Motion for 60,000 seamen. Animadversions on the state of the navy. Debates on the motion for a new bill, to continue the powers granted by the former, for the suspension in certain cases of the Habeas Corpus law. Progress of the bill. Debates on the motion for four shillings in the pound, land tax. Motion by Mr. Fox for an enquiry into the state of the nation. Subsequent motions. Motion for certain papers, after long debates rejected upon a division. Circumstances attending the disclosure of the unhappy event at Saratoga. Debates upon the magnitude of the sum granted in the committee of supply for the ordnance service. Motion by Colonel Barre for papers, rejected. Mr. Hartley's motions relative to the American war, rejected. Motion by Mr. Wilkes for the repeal of the declaratory law, rejected upon a division. Great debates upon the motion of adjournment. Amendment moved by Mr. Burke. Original motion carried upon a division by a great majority. Transactions in the House of Lords, similar to those of the Commons. Duke of Richmond's motion for an enquiry into the state of the nation, agreed to. Lord Chatham's motion for the orders and instructions to General Burgoyne, after considerable debates, rejected upon a division. Debates upon a second motion by the same noble lord, relative to the employment of the savages in the American war. Motion rejected on a division. Debates upon the question of adjournment. Motion carried upon a division.*

FROM this time to the recess, and indeed during the greater part of the session, enquiry into the conduct of public affairs, whether particular or general, became the great object of opposition in both houses. Neither the highly pleasing representation of the state of our navy, both in point of immediate effect, and forwardness of preparation for future service, which had been laid before the lords, nor the further confirmation of that state, which was given by the board of admiralty in the house of commons, were in any degree capable of curing the infidelity of those, who either, from what they stated as direct information, or for other reasons, held

a strong and determined opinion, that the navy was shamefully and dangerously deficient in both respects.

Indeed that favourable representation produced effects, very different from what were probably wished or expected; for instead of removing doubt, or silencing enquiry, it increased the one, and added a spur to the other. At the same time it involved the admiralty in a kind of dilemma, which it was not easy to get clear of. For if our navy was in that powerful and flourishing state which had been described, it was not easy to assign any colourable reason for concealment; and to oppose with a good grace enquiries, tending



to the establishment and promulgation of a fact, which it was our interest that all mankind should be acquainted with; and which would hold out the only effectual bar to restrain the designs of our enemies, if they intended to profit of our intestine troubles.

The unhappy news which arrived from America, opened also an ample field for enquiry, as well with respect to the plans and scheme of the war framed at home, as to the conduct and means which were used for their accomplishment abroad. It seemed necessary to know, whether the failure of success lay with the design or the execution; or if with neither, but proceeding merely from such inherent obstacles as it was impossible to surmount, to devise the speediest measures, with the least possible loss or dishonour, for withdrawing from so unfortunate and ruinous a pursuit.

Nov. 26th. Upon a motion in the committee of supply, that 60,000 seamen should be voted for the sea service of the ensuing year 1778, as the commissioner of the admiralty who made the motion, was, in pursuance of a call upon him for that purpose, entering into some detail of the disposition and state of the navy, so far as related to the ships upon service abroad, and in commission at home, the first law officer of the crown in that house, excited some surprize, by objecting to his proceeding in that official explanation of matters appertaining to his own department, and immediately relative to the question before them, although it had been freely entered into as soon as it was proposed by the

lord of the admiralty, and who seemed naturally to be the competent judge of its propriety. The learned gentleman contended, that the disclosure of particular strength or weakness which such a detail must afford to our enemies, would be equally improper and pernicious; that if any hostile intentions were entertained, it would be in fact, pointing out and instructing them, where and in what manner to direct their operations; that secrecy was the very life and spirit of all military enterprize; that the disclosure of such secrets to enemies, would be an act of the most unparalleled insanity; and that the honourable gentleman must undoubtedly have mistaken the nature of the question, when he indicated a disposition to an official compliance.

Such a check upon information, from so unexpected a quarter, and to which the matter seemed so entirely foreign, brought out much severe observation on the other side, and gradually extended the debate to a great variety of matter. They said, that to refuse official information relative to the state and strength of the navy, at a time that so vast a demand was made upon them for its support, was a procedure contrary to the known rules and usages of parliament; that they had a right to know, as well what they were voting for, as what they were voting; and that they trusted, however compliant the house had been upon every matter relative to the American war, they would not endure such a refusal without proper animadversion.

They said that the French were well acquainted both with the  
state



state and distribution of our naval force; but that foreigners, whether hostile or friendly, were no objects of concealment with the ministers; they were not so totally ignorant of themselves, and of the nothingness of their counsels in respect to other nations, not to know that they were incapable of producing any secrets, which could be worth the smallest purchase to an enemy. It was parliament, and parliament only, that the wretched policy, the concealments and secrets of the ministers reached to. If they could withhold all means of information from the representatives of the people, and from the hereditary guardians of the nation, and thus lead them in the dark, from one scene of public error, delusion, and imposition to another, as they had hitherto successfully practised from the commencement of the American contest, their designs were accomplished, and they arrived at the summit of all their wishes. Their system of secrecy went no further. It might be retailed in foreign and domestic gazettes, without giving them the smallest uneasiness, provided that it were withheld from parliament, or that a majority would accept the terms *official information*, and *secrets of government*, as a bar to every species of information and enquiry, and a plea for the most obstinate blindness, and unpardonable ignorance.

They concluded, that there could not be a stronger evidence of the bad condition of the navy, and of the misapplication of the vast and unusual sums of money, which had of late years been granted for its support and in-

crease, than that dread which the minister constantly shewed, of all enquiry into its real state. If it had been in that which they pretended, they would have been as eager to particularize and display its strength, as they are now studious to keep every thing relative to it in darkness. And with great reason, said they, for besides the honour which it would do to themselves as ministers, and the love and gratitude with which it would inspire their country; it would afford the best security which they could possibly obtain, for the good faith and pacific conduct of the house of Bourbon. They would then have no occasion to tremble at the thoughts of a war, nor to degrade under that apprehension, as they have done for several years, the majesty of this country, by crouching to every insult, indignity, and real injury, offered by foreign nations.

On the other side, some gentlemen did not think that such enquiries were parliamentary. Others did not recollect that details of the sort had been usually entered into upon similar occasions. Those who particularly defended the admiralty said, that they wished for nothing more than to lay open a true state of the navy, in every particular, to the whole world. That its formidable condition would strike terror in foreign nations; it would put domestic faction to shame, and give real comfort to every well wisher to his country. But if it once came to be a practice to lay these matters before the public when it was thought expedient to make a display of our strength, there may be times, when a prudent conceal-



ment, would be argued as a proof of weakness. It was in contemplation of such future occasions, and as a general principle of policy, and not from a consciousness of any present defect, that the state of the navy was wished to be held back from parliamentary inspection. The commissioners of the admiralty, however, being very closely pressed, at length consented to enter into the detail under certain modifications.

A statement of the navy being accordingly given, several of its parts were controverted, and some said to be in a great degree unfounded. The assertion of the first lord in the other house, and which was confirmed by his colleagues in this, that we had 35 ships of the line for home defence, fully manned, and fit for immediate service, besides seven more, which only wanted such a number of their complement of men, as might be supplied with the greatest ease and expedition, was contradicted in the most express and unqualified terms. Indeed that assertion had the fortune to experience the same fate in the other house; and it was strongly insisted upon in both, from what was said to be undoubted information, that our whole force in condition for immediate service on the home defence, did not at most exceed 20 sail of the line.

These strong charges on the one side, were combated by assertions equally strong on the other. It was insisted by the commissioners, that the British navy had never been in a more respectable or flourishing state than at present; and that whether it was considered with relation to immediate service, or

preparation for future, it was in either respect, far superior to the united maritime force of the house of Bourbon.

Some few of the opposition objected to the motion for 60,000 seamen, merely as tending to the support of the war, the principle and object of which they detested, and which they said could never be brought to a conclusion, under the inability with which it was conducted. Others objected to the enormity of the supply, at a time when we were at peace with all the world, excepting only the trouble we had in chastising a few of those ragged mobs in our own colonies, who had so long been the objects of our contempt and ridicule. They observed, that when the famous French armament was destroyed at La Hogue, we employed but little more than half the number of seamen which was now required. That, in the glorious year 1759, the naval establishment did not exceed by a single man the number which was now demanded; and the whole expence, including naval ordnance, stores, and a large debt of a million, amounted only to 5,200,000*l*. though the peace establishment for the year 1778, will exceed five millions. And that if France could thus ruin us by an insupportable expence under the name and delusive appearance of peace, any state of war would be preferable to such a condition.

As a conviction of the necessity of a strong naval protection was much superior on all sides, to any confidence reposed in a good disposition which the ministers attributed to foreign powers, the resolution for 60,000 seamen was accordingly



accordingly agreed to in the committee without any division.

Upon receiving the report next day from the committee, those gentlemen who had more particularly and directly attacked the admiralty board on the score of its conduct, having now obtained some fresh information as to facts, renewed their charges with a degree of vehemence, which brought on much heat and personal asperity on both sides. The report being however received and passed without a division. Mr. Luttrell, in order to support his charges, moved that the last weekly returns received at the admiralty, from the commanders in chief at the home ports and stations, should be laid before the house. This was at first opposed, on the old ground of affording improper intelligence to our enemies; but it being perceivable, that the sense of the house, with which the minister also coincided, seemed to lean to the other side, the lords of the admiralty at length acquiesced, and the motion was agreed to.

The bill of the preceding session for the suspension in certain cases of the Habeas Corpus law being now near expiring, the Attorney General, premising that the same cause still continued, namely the rebellion in America, which had at first rendered that measure necessary, moved for leave to  
26th. bring in a bill to renew the powers of the former during a certain limited term.

This revival of an act which they had originally deemed so obnoxious, renewed the activity of some of the gentlemen in opposition, who contended that it was first necessary to know what effect the for-

mer bill had produced, before they consented to a renewal of its powers. Upon this ground Mr. Baker moved for and carried an address, requiring a correct return and full description of all the prisoners, with an account of the prisons, whether in Great Britain or America, in which they were confined, together with copies of their several commitments, an account of the bail offered for their enlargement, and all other proceedings whatever of the privy council, in consequence of the powers vested in them by the late bill, to be laid before the house. This motion was afterwards amended and enlarged by the same gentleman, so as to include all persons who had been taken up for high treason, from the day after the battle of Lexington, being the 18th of April 1775, to the date of the late act.

The new ground taken on that side, in the different debates that arose during the progress of the bill, was, that as the past act had produced no manner of effect, and of course could have remedied no evil, it was evidently useless in the first instance, and consequently unnecessary by a renewal in the second; that the tampering wantonly with a matter of so much consequence to the people, as the suspension of any part of a law, the full operation of which was their only security for life and liberty, and that without any plea of necessity, or even room now left for the pretence of utility, was a proceeding of a most dangerous nature.

With respect to the operation of the bill on the American prisoners of war, the conduct of administration



tion was said to be in the highest degree inconsistent. Our generals on the other side of the Atlantic have established a public cartel, such as is agreed to with an alien enemy, for the exchange of prisoners with the colonists. In Europe, the conduct is totally reversed. His Majesty's minister at the court of France, when a proposal is made to him by the American delegates there, to lessen the miseries of war, on this, as well as the other side of the Atlantic, by the establishment of a similar cartel, answers them in lofty terms, that he receives no applications from rebels, excepting they come to implore for mercy. The answer was undoubtedly spirited, and becoming the representative of a great nation; but where is the consistency on the side of the ministers?

On the other side it was argued, that the same causes still continued, which had rendered the original bill necessary. That the matter should be considered in a much more favourable light than that in which it was represented. The bill was instituted, not so much to punish, as to prevent rebellion. Nothing could more clearly shew the excellency of its design and effect, than the very reasons which were brought to prove its being unnecessary, from the little scope that had been afforded for its operation. If scarcely any persons had suffered confinement or inconveniency from the powers which it lodged in the crown, it only shewed that those crimes had not been committed, to the prevention of which they were directed. That there was no room to doubt, but the terrors held out by the former

bill, had awed numbers of disaffected people into obedience and fidelity, and thereby shut the door against domestic rebellion; that as it had thus in its past operation prevented the commission of numberless crimes, and the hard but necessary exercise of justice in their consequent punishments, there was no reason to doubt but it would produce the same happy effects in its future; and that it was the characteristic of good government to provide in the first instance for the prevention, not the punishment of crimes.

This avowal of suspending the liberty of the subject, and administering terror, like Prior's phylisick, "*by way of prevention,*" roused all the spirit and ability of one of the most distinguished leaders of opposition in that house. He observed, that the same arguments might hold good to eternity, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus law be continued upon that ground to the end of time; that if that mode of reasoning should prevail in the house, the fence of liberty might be cut down, and Britons be at once deprived of their most valuable privileges; the same cause for which the bill is passed in this session, will hold equally good in the next, and in every other. The land-tax, said he, was introduced as a temporary revenue, and through that means granted by the house; the army was at first voted for one year only; but now your army is a standing army; your land-tax is a standing revenue to maintain this standing army; and this suspension may be considered, like them, as a standing measure of government, and thus consequently become an eternal suspension



sion and destruction of the Habeas Corpus law.

The ministers denied the conclusions drawn by this gentleman to be in any degree fairly deducible from the premises, and totally disclaimed, on their own side, any designs inimical to the liberties of the people, or intention of continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, any longer than the particular circumstances of the times rendered the measure necessary, and that its utility continued evident.

Notwithstanding the opposition in point of argument which this bill encountered, it was carried through without a division until the last reading, which happened on the 4th of December, when it was passed by a majority of 116 to 60.

28th. On a motion in the committee of Ways and Means, for granting a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, it was observed, on the side of opposition, that in all this disposal of the public money, not a single country gentleman had risen to speak of peace, or to complain of the war. That their supineness, or their acquiescence, deserved the severest reprehension. If they were asleep to the distresses of their country, they ought to be awakened; if they were ignorant, they ought to be informed; or if they were merely indolent, they should be roused. In pursuing this train of observation, the gentleman entered into some detail of the hitherto nearly unparalleled expences of the war, and of the still greater, which they were to provide for in the ensuing year. In contrast to these effects of the war, he enquired into

the state of expectation with which it was attended. Were we to be relieved by conquest from this burden of taxation? By no means, there is no conquest aimed at; our administrators say, that the drawing of a revenue from the colonies by that means is not the object of the contest, and they acknowledge that if it were, the Americans would not be able to bring any revenue into our exchequer. Thus, said he, we are irrecoverably ruining ourselves, merely upon a punctilio of honour, only to have it to say that we exceeded the Americans in obstinacy, and that in an absurd and unjust contest, commenced and forced into being by ourselves, we nobly persevered in violence and injustice, until, at the expence of absolute destruction to both parties, we may have the glory of compelling our colonies to acknowledge the wisdom, policy, and equity of our proceedings.

This attack called up two gentlemen, who are more particularly, or avowedly, attached to the court, than others of that party. They entered upon the old question of the right of taxation; said, we were contending for a right, which, if relinquished in the manner that was proposed and wished on the other side, would terminate in the loss of America, and the consequent ruin of this country. That a right established, and not exercised, was in fact no right. And that, as we were heavily taxed ourselves, it was but reasonable, that when we had compelled the colonies to return to their duty, they should contribute in common with the rest of their fellow-subjects to the support of that government,



ment, of whose protection they were to be equally partakers. That if we were now tamely to give them up to their own madness, we should do them the greatest of all injuries; we should deprive them of the benefit of the best constitution in the world. A tame dereliction of the rights of that constitution, would destroy the best hold we had upon their affections, and justly forfeit all their confidence.

The second of these gentlemen charged the whole American war, with all its consequences and misfortunes, to the opposition made to government in this country, both within doors and without; and then recurring to his ground of debate, and borrowing the ideas and phraseology of a great law lord in the other house, said, that the question now was, whether the Americans should kill us, or we kill them; so that we were acting entirely at present upon the defensive.

A gentleman on the other side, after observing that he considered what had fallen from the two last speakers as the sentiments of their party, said, he would, upon their own ground, propose two questions as a test to administration, and a third to those who were considered as their principal supporters in the present measures, viz. Would any minister stand up in his place, and venture to fix a time for the termination of the present contest, that is, when the right now so warmly contended for will be established? Will any minister say, that upon a supposition of the greatest success on our part, and the most thorough reconciliation or submission on the other, we are to expect a revenue

from America? If then, said he, neither a period is pretended to be fixed to the present waste of blood and waste of treasure; and though it could, if no revenue, either to replace the immense sums we have already spent, or the more enormous expence which we are likely to incur, I wish to know from any of those, who with an unlimited attachment to every court measure, choose to call themselves country gentlemen, how they can justify, even on their own ground, to themselves, or to their constituents, the persisting in measures, which do not promise the attainment of a single object for which they ostensibly give them their support.

A gentleman who represents the most extensive landed property, and the most numerous body of freeholders, under any collective description in the kingdom, after placing, with his usual refinement, the offensive motives to the war in several ludicrous points of view, and adding to those already avowed, that it was persevered in merely to gain the confidence of the Americans, and that we were to beat them only to secure their affections; farther observed, that there had been more money already expended in this ruinous pursuit, from the conclusion of which the smallest benefit was not even expected, than would serve to have purchased, inclosed, cleared, manured, cultivated, sown, and planted, all the waste lands in Britain;—more than would have converted all the heaths, hills, and wastes in the kingdom into gardens. Such he said were the motives, and such the effects of this war; and such the ground upon  
which



which they were called to grant the present supply.

These disputes gave rise to an enquiry into the state of the nation. It was said, that it was in vain to waste time in general declamation upon a subject which could only be determined by an exact deduction of particulars. The great question of the propriety of carrying on this American war, could only be settled by a view of the experience we have had ; and a calculation of the means which remain to the nation for the attainment of this favourite object. On Dec. 2d. these grounds Mr. Fox having moved for a committee of the whole house to consider of the state of the nation, gave a short sketch of the matters which he proposed to lay before them as the principal objects of their consideration, under the following heads ;—1st, The expences of the war, and the resources which the nation possessed, to raise the supplies necessary for its continuance ;—2dly, The loss of men from that war ;—3dly, The situation of trade, both with respect to America and the foreign markets ;—4thly, The present situation of the war ; the hopes that might be rightly entertained from its continuance ; the conduct and measures of the present administration ; the means of obtaining a lasting peace ; and our present situation with regard to foreign powers ;—5thly, What progress the commissioners had made, in consequence of the powers with which they were entrusted, for the purpose of bringing about a peace between Great Britain and her colonies.

Under these general heads, he

observed, that many other enquiries would arise, and it would be the business of the committee to follow every path that tended to lead to a thorough investigation and discovery of the state of the nation. If it should appear, said he, that the nation is in a bad state, and that the late and present measures of administration had reduced us to an extremity of danger, which he was afraid they certainly had, a new system must be introduced, and a new set of ministers appointed ; but if, on the contrary, the nation should be found in a flourishing state, and the present measures likely to prove successful, the present system should by all means be continued, and the present ministers remain in power ; for he was convinced that none but the present ministers, would prosecute the present system.

The minister agreed to the motion with great appearance of cordiality, and said he would do every thing in his power to second the design of the mover, and to promote the great end which he had in view. That nothing could render him more happy, than an opportunity of convincing the house, that the nation was in a much more flourishing state, than many of the other side either actually did, or affected to believe it. He, however, reserved to himself the right of withholding any such papers from the house, as it might be inconvenient, dangerous, or prejudicial to government to expose.

Mr. Fox followed his motion with several others—For, An account of all the troops foreign and domestic, that had been employed since the year 1774 ;—Lists of all  
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the ships of war that had been employed in that time, and of those that had been lost, taken, or destroyed, with exact returns of the men that had been killed or taken prisoners;—The last general returns of all the hospitals in North America;—Copies of the last returns of the troops in Great Britain, Ireland, North America, and the West Indies;—With lists of the ships of war employed as convoys to protect the trade of this country.—And in order to afford time for procuring the papers, lists, and accounts required, as well as for their being separately examined, and their matter duly weighed by the members, he proposed that the meeting of the committee should be fixed for the 2d of February.

All these motions having passed without opposition, he moved for an address to lay before them copies of all such papers as related to any steps taken for the fulfilling of that clause of the prohibitory act of the 16th of his present Majesty, by which persons appointed and authorized by him, for certain purposes therein specified, were empowered, under certain conditions, to declare any colony, province, district, port, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty; and also, for returns of those colonies, or places, which had, in conformity with their compliance to the proposed conditions, and pursuant to the powers of the said act, been declared to be at the king's peace.

This motion put an end to the acquiescence of the minister, who opposed it strongly, upon the ground that the producing and exposing of any papers relating to a negotiation during its existence,

would be a proceeding not only contrary to all established forms and practice, but totally subversive of the business in hand, and probably attended with the greatest prejudice to the cause in general. He declared himself ready and willing to grant every reasonable information in his power; but he also declared, that he neither could nor would consent to make discoveries, which would not be less inconsistent with all sound wisdom and true policy, than prejudicial to government, and contrary to the real interests of this country.

This refusal called up all the powers of debate on both sides. It was further urged in opposition to the motion, that negotiations with rebels in arms, could not be entered into with the people at large, but must be privately conducted with select bodies of men, perhaps with individuals, and the greatest secrecy observed in the whole transaction, as any discovery might draw the vengeance of those who held different principles, upon such particular bodies or individuals. But that, in truth, they did not know that any negotiation had been entered into. It was impossible that any treaty of conciliation could be opened with rebels in arms standing up for independence. The very act would be an acknowledgment of their independence.

These reasons were very lightly treated on the other side. The only injury, they said, which could possibly arise from the motion, and indeed the only that was apprehended, was to the ministers themselves, by a disclosure of their conduct to parliament. The Americans



cans were thoroughly informed on the spot, and in the first instance, of every particular relative to the subject. They were not themselves seeking to pry into secrets of state, or to discover the private intelligence, which government, by political means, might receive from particular persons. The motion went only to public transactions, with public persons or bodies of people, in their public capacity. No others could be enabled to give efficacy to any negotiation or treaty.

It was, they said, merely a parliamentary enquiry into the result of a parliamentary act. The commission to Lord and Sir William Howe was the consequence of an act which originated with them; and it was not only a propriety, but a duty, to examine into those transactions which had followed their appointment. Some parts of the subject were already publickly known, and disclosed so much of the matter as was sufficient to shew that the enquiry was not only proper, but necessary. It appears by these, said they, that neither New York, Long Island, Staten Island, or any other territory we have gained possession of in America, have as yet been restored to the king's peace. It is also known, that Governor Tryon has written to General Sir William Howe, one of the commissioners, for the purpose of restoring New York to that security and benefit; but that the General returned for answer, that it was not in his power to do any thing in the business, without the concurrence of the noble lord who presided in the American department. This was accordingly a matter which came of course within

the care and investigation of the committee; they were to enquire how far the measures pursued by the ministers at home, and by the commissioners abroad, tended to fulfil the intentions of the house; and whether any part of the failure in effect lay with the one or the other.

Whilst the debate, notwithstanding the frequent calls for the question on the side of the majority, was yet kept up in full heat and vigour, and that the first law officer of the crown was in the midst of a speech, wherein he was with the greatest ability stating the ill policy which it would be in the ministers, and the danger with which it would be attended to the state, to disclose information of such importance at this critical period of time, intelligence was received from the other house, that the same motion had been made by the Duke of Grafton, and was agreed to by the lords in administration.

Nothing could exceed the embarrassment into which the ministers were thrown upon this unexpected intelligence. Nor did the opposition miss the opportunity of improving it. Wit, ridicule, and the most pointed observation, being alternately applied to support the advantage which it afforded. The minister was rallied on the awkwardness of his situation, and the strange dilemma in which he was involved, of either recording by a resolution of the house, that the Commons of England were not worthy of being entrusted with secrets which were freely communicated to the lords, or of being under a necessity to intreat a large part of those numerous friends and  
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supporters, who had so long carried him triumphantly through all opposition, to abandon their colours upon this occasion, and unwillingly to leave their leader to undergo the disgrace of voting in a cabinet minority. The minister was humourously advised, as the only means of extricating himself from that dilemma, and as affording the only salvo in his power for the indignity offered to that house, to impeach those ministers, who in defiance of that wisdom and sound policy, which he had just laid down as the motives for his refusal, had dared to betray the king's secrets to the house of lords; a measure of justice, in which the opposition assured him of their most hearty support.

But they entered with more seriousness and severity into the contemptuousness of the treatment, and said, that to grant a motion for papers to be laid before one house, and refuse it to another, was such an indignity as it was hoped no British house of commons would ever submit to. The majority were called upon to consider the manner in which they were treated; they were held unworthy to be trusted with a secret; they were told it would be fatal to trust them; and yet this mighty secret was thrown upon an open table in another place, from whence the news-papers would entrust all those with it, in whatever quarter of the world, who were only capable of reading English. Was this a treatment, they said, for free men, and the representatives of free men to bear? They are not to be trusted; they must not know secrets; their superiors might search into the state of the nation, but

they were either too insignificant to be consulted, or too dangerous to be trusted. They were desired to reflect on the importance of the situation in which they were placed; on their responsibility to that great body of free and independent electors, to whom they owed their political existence; and to bear in mind the regard due to their own honour, whether as men, or as members of a British parliament.

The minister felt himself so goaded on all sides, and the attacks were rendered so extremely vexatious by the diversity of manner with which they were conducted, that he could not refrain from growing warm, and seemed for a short time to be surprized out of his usual good humour. He said, that whatever effect the present anecdote might have upon the house at large, he should, for his own part, adhere to his former opinion. He could not indeed bring himself to believe, that an unauthenticated anecdote could possibly produce any change in their sentiments. He reprobated in terms of great asperity, and condemned as exceedingly disorderly, the introducing of any thing that passed in the other house, with a view of influencing the determinations of that. What the other had done, or might do, was nothing, he said, to them. The house of commons were not to be guided in their deliberations by any extrinsic consideration whatever; much less by the act or conduct of any other body. If they should submit to any influence or direction of that sort, it would be, indeed, a dereliction of their importance and dignity. But they  
never



never had, and he trusted they never would. He concluded, that the king's servants in the other house were certainly entrusted with the secrets of government, and were competent judges for themselves, of what ought, and what ought not to be disclosed. That he also, having the same right of judging for himself, held his first opinion, that the motion was of an extent which neither wisdom nor sound policy could agree with: and that it was dangerous and unprecedented to give such papers to the public as were now demanded, pending a negociation.

The debate, as usual, wandered over a great part of the American affairs; but the ground, however wide in extent, had been already so frequently traversed, that it could not afford much novelty. A federal commercial union was talked of by some as the only hope now left with regard to America.—Others still thought, that an accommodation was not yet impossible. That if proposals really amicable, accompanied by equally good dispositions, were made; and that these were supported by that unfeigned sincerity, that fairness of design and openness of conduct, which can alone restore confidence, and which would even in some degree regain affection, the Americans might still be induced to coalesce with this country in such a degree of union, as, along with securing all their own rights, might preserve to her a monopoly of their trade; the only advantage which in justice or wisdom, they insisted, that Great Britain should ever have sought from her colonies. But to the want of those dispositions, of that sincerity, fair-

ness, and openness, they attributed the failure in every scheme of accommodation which had been hitherto adopted.

A renewal of the severe censures, which the mover of the present motion had in a late debate passed upon the conduct of the noble lord at the head of the American department, and which now seemed to be directed with new fervour, called that minister again to enter into some defence or justification of his measures. In the warmth incident to such a situation, the noble minister was led or surprized into an acknowledgment, that notwithstanding the great power and vast resources of this country, the bravery of our fleets and armies, and the ability of our officers, he began to despair of the practicability of reducing the Americans to obedience by force of arms, if they should continue to preserve their union entire.

He also acknowledged, that he had great reason to doubt the validity of much of the information which he had received from that quarter; but insisted, that his measures would be found perfectly justifiable, when candidly compared with the information on which they were founded; and that it would appear, they must necessarily have been crowned with success if that had been true. He, notwithstanding these acknowledgments, persisted in his opinion, as to the propriety of continuing the war, and of the most decisive exertion in its prosecution; reprobated the idea of a federal union with rebels; declared America to be nearly ruined, and suffering under every species of human misery and calamity; and, building much upon



the disunion of the several colonies, as well as of the people in each, and on the accounts, which, though not sufficiently authenticated, he had reason to believe to be true, of the great successes of Sir William Howe, he still entertained an expectation, that if means were devised to prevent the secret assistance which they received from some of the European powers, the Americans might still be compelled to return to their duty.

This unexpected acknowledgment of matters which had been so often urged on the other side, to shew the impolicy of the contest in its origin, with the hopelessness of success, and the ruinous consequences of the pursuit, coming from such a quarter seemed at once a dereliction of all the strong ground of argument, and to afford the most incontrovertible evidence of the wisdom and necessity of bringing the troubles to that speedy conclusion, which was so much contended for on the other side.

In taking this ground, the opposition animadverted on the supposed incongruity of several parts of his lordship's speech and conclusions. He acknowledges, said they, the impracticability of subduing the colonies, if they continue united; he does not pretend that he is certain that they are not united; and yet he urges the prosecution of the war, although upon his own state of the question, there is not the smallest hope of success. They insisted, that it was not yet too late for an accommodation, founded upon clear, permanent, and constitutional principles, which, though not affording all the advantages we enjoyed, before they were scattered by our

folly and injustice, would still be of the greatest utility to this country. But that if the ministers persisted any longer in their system of devastation and carnage, and placed their trust of subduing minds and affections in the tomahawk and scalping knife, there could be no doubt but the temper and minds of the Americans would become so soured and alienated, by repeated cruelties and renewed losses, that they would never after listen to any terms of accommodation, nor agree to hold any political relation whatever with this country. One of the noble lord's grounds of hope (such hope as it was) consisted in keeping from them the clandestine aid of foreign powers. What reason had they to think that such aid would not be continued, increased, and avowed? The ministers would, however, act now, they said, as they had done in many former parts of the American business. They first predicted events, and then pursued such a line of conduct, as of necessity verified their predictions. Thus they asserted, that independency was the sole and original aim of the colonies; but finding that the people were exceedingly backward in applying to that last and fatal resort, they adopted such effectual measures of violence and injustice, as drove them headlong into independence. They now assert, that the Americans will not listen to any terms of accommodation; and they will accordingly pursue the same effectual measures, until they have driven them so fast into the arms of France, that it will not be in their power, if they were even so disposed, ever to look back, much less to return, to their ancient



cient political connections with this country.

The question being at length put, it soon appeared that the minister had not adopted that part of the alternative which had been proposed to him on the other side, of voting in a minority; and Mr. Fox's motion for laying those papers before the Commons, which had been granted to the Lords, was, in a manner which in other seasons would have been deemed incredible, rejected upon a division, by a majority of 178 to 89.

Dec. 3d. The succeeding day was marked by the disclosure of the melancholy catastrophe of General Burgoyne's expedition, and the unhappy fate of the brave but unfortunate northern army at Saratoga. A disclosure, which excited no less consternation, grief, and astonishment in both houses, than it did of dismay on the side of the ministers. The noble lord at the head of the American department, being called upon by a gentleman in opposition for the purport of the dispatches which were received from Canada, was the unwilling relater of that melancholy event, in the house of commons.

This of course brought out, with fresh fervour, and additional asperity, all the censures and charges that ever had been, or that could be, passed or made, whether relative to the principle or policy of the contest, the conduct of the war, or the general incapacity of the ministers. After condemning and reprobating the latter in terms of the utmost severity, the opposition applied the most pathetic expressions which our language affords, to deplore the fate

of the gallant General and his brave army, who, they said, after surmounting toils, dangers, and difficulties, which should have crowned them with lasting glory and honour, and shewing themselves superior to every thing, excepting only the injustice of the cause in which they were engaged, and the inherent fatality of that ill-starred direction under which they acted, were so overwhelmed in the joint operation of these concurring causes, as not only to be plunged into irretrievable ruin, but also, what had never before happened to such men, nor could ever again be the reward of such actions, they were finally sunk into disgrace.

They condemned the whole plan and design of the expedition in the most unqualified terms. Said, that it was an absurd, an inconsistent, and an impracticable scheme unworthy of a British minister, and which the chief of a tribe of savages would have been ashamed to acknowledge. They reminded the American minister that they were not judging from events, but how often and earnestly they had warned him of the fatal consequences of his favourite plan. When they had truly foretold the event, they were only laughed at, and told, they were speaking in prophecy; was he yet satisfied of the truth of their predictions?

Ignorance, they said, had stamped every step taken during the expedition; but it was the ignorance of the Minister, not of the General; a minister who would venture, sitting in his closet, to direct, not only the general operations, but all the particular movements, of a war carried on in the interior de-



farts of America, and at a distance of three thousand miles. A junction between Howe and Burgoyne was the object of this expedition; a measure which might be effected without difficulty by sea in less than a month; but the minister chooses it should be performed by land, and what means does he use for the accomplishment of this purpose? Why truly, said they, as it was necessary for the armies to meet, it might have been reasonably imagined, that the northern army would have advanced to the southward, or the southern to the northward; or if it were intended that they should meet any where about the center, that they would both have set out in those directions about the same time; but the minister despising such simple and natural means of effecting a junction, dispatches one army from New York still farther south, and sends the other to follow it from Canada in the same direction; so that if they both continued their course till doomsday, it would be impossible for them to meet.

But the noble lord, they said, was the implicit slave of report, and the continual dupe to the false informations of men, who were interested in his deception; men who profited of the common calamities of England and America. Thus, on one day we had only a trifling mob to quell; nine-tenths of the people were not only zealously, but violently attached to government; and yet, most strange to tell, this vast majority of the people, as if loyalty had deprived them of all the powers and properties of men, suffered themselves to be fleeced and driven like sheep, by that ragged handful of their

own rabble. The next day, when we were to ransack Europe for troops, and exhaust Great Britain to maintain them, the Americans were suddenly become numerous and powerful. The delusion was then become highly contagious; and they were to be brought to their senses by nothing short of the exertion of the whole strength of this country. Again, we were told that the Americans were all cowards; a grenadier's cap was sufficient to throw whole provinces into panics; it seemed, however, odd enough, that 55,000 men, with an immense naval force, should be sent to reduce poltrons. Will the minister now venture to say, that the gallant army at Saratoga, with a noble artillery, and conducted by officers of the most distinguished merit, were compelled to the disgrace of resigning their arms and their liberty, by a wretched contemptible rabble, without spirit or discipline? But such, they said, was the misrepresentation and falsehood, which, partly intended to impose upon the nation, and partly operating upon the wretched folly, credulity, and incapacity of the ministers themselves, had already led to the loss of America, and to our present state of calamity and disgrace; and which, under the fostering influence of that perverse blindness and obstinacy, which have been so long the bane, and at the same time the only distinction of our public counsels, would terminate in the final destruction of this country.

The time and occasion did not serve for bold words or lofty language on the side of administration. The ministers, indeed, were sufficiently humbled. The noble lord



lord at the head of affairs, acknowledged that he was unfortunate. He, at the same time, justified his intentions; and declared that he was, and would be ready, whenever the general voice of the house desired it, to enter into an explanation of his conduct, and a defence of his measures. He also declared, that no man from the beginning had wished more earnestly for peace than he had done himself, nor would do more to obtain it now; and that if the laying down of his place and his honours could accomplish that wished for purpose, he would gladly resign them all. He said, that he had been dragged to his place against his will; but that however disagreeable it might be, whilst he continued in possession, he would support it to the best of his power. He concluded by observing (the house being then in a committee of supply) that whatever their future determination as to peace or war might be, it was necessary they should grant the supplies which were now demanded; as, if even a cessation of arms should take place, the expences must still continue, until the armies were brought home and discharged or reduced.

The American minister declared, that he was ready to submit his conduct in planning the late expedition to the judgment of the house. If it appeared impotent, weak, and ruinous, let the censure of the house fall upon him. He was ready to abide it, as every minister who had the welfare of his country at heart, should at all times, he said, be ready to have his conduct scrutinized by his country. But having also said

something, of wishing that the house would not be over hasty in condemnation, that they would suspend their judgment on the conduct both of the General and of the Minister relative to this unhappy event; hoping that the conduct of both would appear free from guilt; these expressions, or some others of the same nature, being considered as tending to criminate, or insinuate blame on the General, were highly resented on the other side, and contributed not a little to that severity of censure which he experienced on this day.

On the following day several motions for papers and accounts, deemed necessary for the information of the future committee into the state of the nation, were made by Colonel Barre, and agreed to by the house. These took in an account of all the grants for the payment of national and foreign troops from the 29th of Sept. 1774:—of the officers appointed to collect the stamp duties in America:—of the recruits raised in Great Britain and Ireland,—and of the persons appointed to act in the Commissariat of America; all within the time first given.

Upon receiving the report from the committee of supply, that 682,816l. should be granted for the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the office of ordnance in the ensuing year; the magnitude of the sum roused the opposition into action, and occasioned a motion by Sir P. Jennings Clerke, to recommit the report. In the speech made by that gentleman in support of his motion, he charged the perseverance of the ministers in their present



sent mad and destructive system, to the most unworthy of all motives, the mere covetousness of retaining their places; for as they knew, he said, that they were so exceedingly odious to the Americans, that they never would enter into any treaty, much less conclude a peace with them, so the greediness for their present emolument, superseding all other considerations, induced them to persist in war to the final destruction of their country. To avert this supposed danger, he made a ludicrous proposal, That as in a promotion of admirals, old captains, of less supposed capacity than others, were promoted but not employed, and vulgarly called Admirals of the Yellow Flag, being admitted to the pay of the rank—so, that a similar establishment should be made for ministers who should be allowed to continue the pay and name, whilst men, more fit, should execute the employment.

The enormity of the sum proposed for the ordnance service, (though since much increased) occasioned, however, much serious animadversion. The opposition said that it exceeded the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the ordnance in the year 1759, by no less than 140,000*l.* that glorious year which saw us at the zenith of our power and glory, when we had 250,000 men in arms, and that the thunder of our artillery by sea and land, was heard with terror and effect in every quarter of the globe; when we made war in Europe, Asia, Africa, the West Indies, and North America. Yet in the year for which this vast sum is demanded, we employ but 80,000 men, and these engaged

only in a petty contest with our own people. They asked if such glaring impositions on the public were fit to be endured; and in what manner the representatives could face their constituents after submitting to them.

On this subject they were particularly pressed by Mr. Burke, who for some time receiving no answer, and the speaker proceeding to put the question, declared he would not suffer the question to be put, until some explanation was given. He looked upon order as contemptible, when instead of forwarding, it stood in opposition to the substance of their duty. That here was a comparative expence, which, stated against the comparative service, was at first view utterly unaccountable. He called strongly on the gentlemen of the board of ordnance for an answer. At length, the gentlemen of that board who were present, said that they were not judges of the service. They had punctually executed the orders which they had received, and that the utmost œconomy prevailed in their several departments. One gentleman attributed much of the extraordinary expence to the extreme and peculiar hostility of the country in which the train was acting; which was so bitter, beyond the example of other wars, that supplying nothing whatever towards the service, the number of articles to be sent from hence became prodigious. Another said, that the charge was much increased, by the artillery acting in different bodies on distinct and remote services. He also said, that the foreign troops in British pay in the late war found their own ammunition, which



which being provided for in their respective contracts, lessened the official estimates of the ordnance expence prodigiously. This ground was accordingly taken by the minister, who contended, that though we employed 250,000 men in that year, the British forces, for whom the estimates were made, constituted only an inconsiderable part of that number. But as he was not prepared for the question, and had neither compared the estimates, nor provided the necessary documents, the matter of fact was left to be ascertained on another day, and the report of the committee of supply was agreed to without a division.

On the ensuing day, Colonel Barre having moved, That copies or extracts of all letters relating to reinforcements, of the ships, the mariners, or the land forces, received by the secretaries of state from General Gage, Lord Howe, General Howe, and General Carleton, from the 5th of July, 1775, should be laid before the house; the American minister objected to it, from his not being sufficiently aware of its consequences. He said it extended to a period before his introduction into office. It contained the intelligence of several years, and he confessed he was so unprepared, that he could not suddenly answer on the propriety of submitting them to the house. But he promised, that the purport of those papers should be laid before them on the day of general enquiry. After some considerable debate, the motion was rejected by the previous question without a division.

Mr. Hartley then made several motions, which he intended to be

passed as resolutions of the house, upon the following grounds, That the farther prosecution of the American war must be attended with an enormous expence:—That the expences of another campaign, added to those already incurred, would probably amount to between 30 and 40 millions sterling, which must create an alarming increase of the principal and interest of the national debt; and must require many additional heavy and burthensome taxes, land-taxes, as well as others, upon the British subjects to defray:—That the further prosecution of this war, must be destructive of the navigation, commerce, riches, and resources of this country, as well as of the lives of his Majesty's subjects; and that it will leave us in an exhausted state, with our land and sea forces at the distance of 3,000 miles, open to the insult or attack of any secret or insidious enemy;—and, that it is unbecoming the wisdom and prudence of parliament, to proceed any further in the support of this fruitless, expensive, and destructive war; more especially without any specific terms of accommodation being declared.

Mr. Hartley had prepared estimates to support the positions laid down in his motions, if the house would enter into the enquiry; and, if the resolutions were agreed to, he proposed to follow them with an address to his Majesty, being the same, or similar to, that which he had laid before the house in the preceding session, recommending an immediate cessation of hostilities, with such other measures as appeared to that gentleman, to be the most effectual towards bring-



ing about a final accommodation.

The minister made light of the matter. He said the motions were out of time and improper. They were only fitting for the cognizance of a committee, not of a house. Every body must acknowledge, and he himself among the foremost, the truth of the first resolution, that the prosecution of the war must be attended with enormous expence; but he thought it impossible for the house to decide on the second, before the day of general enquiry, when having all the matter in any degree relative to the subject before them, they would be able to determine upon it with propriety. As the opposition did not enter much into the business, the debate was languid; and soon wandered from the immediate question to conversations or bickerings upon different parts of the general subject. The motions were all separately rejected without a division.

Dec. 10th. On the last day of the sitting of parliament previous to the Christmas recess; Mr. Wilkes moved for a repeal of the declaratory law of the year 1766, as introductory to several other motions which he intended, if the first passed, for the repeal of all the laws obnoxious to the Americans which had been passed since the year 1763. He said that the repeal of these laws was required as a *sine qua non* by the Americans; and that in particular, they had reprobated that declaratory act as a fountain from whence every evil had flowed. The previous question was immediately moved by a noble lord on the Treasury Bench, and seconded

by the minister, who also entered into some considerable discussion of the subject of the motion. Although a debate of some length ensued, the opposition in general, were more taken up, with a defence of the ground and principle on which the declaratory law had been founded, against the attacks made upon it by the mover and a few others; and in stating the particular situation of affairs, which, they insisted, had at that time rendered it not only a wise, but an absolutely necessary measure, than in supporting the motion, although they would now readily give up that bill, or any bill, as an opening to conciliation. They said, that the great test of the goodness or badness of a law, namely, its good or ill effect, had decided on that act. That America had never complained of it until it was made an hostile use of, and in that case, the best acts might become a cause of offence. That things were now on a new bottom. Other things besides the repeal or the making of acts must be done. The previous question being put, was carried on a division by a majority of 160 to 12.

As the first object of government in all parliaments, namely, the obtaining of money, was now pretty well attained, near nine millions sterling having been already granted in supplies, during only about sixteen days actual sitting upon business, and that the ministers were by this time, as heartily sick of enquiry, as they were sufficiently sore with censure; it was determined to procure a sufficient breathing time, in order to answer the different purposes, of a recovery from past fatigue,  
a re-



a relief from present toil, and due preparation for the future hard service which was expected, by an early and long recess for the holidays. Another object of no small importance, which it is supposed the court had at that time in contemplation, and which would have been fully sufficient in itself for the adoption of this measure, will be explained in the next chapter.

As soon, accordingly, as Mr. Wilkes's motion was disposed of, the noble lord who had moved the previous question, moved also for an adjournment to the 20th of January, and supported his motion on the following grounds; that the supplies, at present necessary, were voted; the usual business before the Christmas recess was gone through, that nothing farther could be done until the event of the campaign in America was known; that if it were even otherwise, the house was never attended at that season; that no new events were likely to happen, which could render the advice or assistance of parliament necessary within that time; that however eager some persons were to expatiate on, or to enhance, the misfortune of the Canada expedition, nothing could be done in that business, until the arrival of information, and of the necessary documents from America; and, that as a general enquiry was appointed, it was equally fair and necessary to allow the servants of the crown time for preparation.

On the other side, the proposal for so early and long a recess was reprobated in the strongest terms. They said that an adjournment of six weeks in so critical and dan-

gerous a situation of public affairs, when all the collective powers and wisdom of parliament might be necessary for the immediate preservation of the nation, would be a most rash and hazardous proceeding. That, taken in all its circumstances, it was unprecedented in all the records of parliament. That, in a season of the greatest public danger we ever experienced; involved in the most lamentable species of all wars, a civil war; attended as that was, with circumstances of expence, loss, ruin, and disgrace, before unheard of; and at the eve of a rupture with the whole united house of Bourbon; for parliament to be assembled so late as the 20th of November, and to propose a long adjournment of more than six weeks on the 10th of December, was a measure of so extraordinary and dangerous a nature, that they could not refrain, they said, from being lost in astonishment, how any person that was honoured with the royal confidence, could dare to abuse it with such an advice. But daring and absurd as the measure was, it was attended with one circumstance, which, they said, must afford the greatest pleasure to every real friend to his country. It portended the falling of the curtain, and the exit of those weak, obstinate, and improvident ministers, who had driven us into our present distressful situation. They are no longer able, said they, to face their adversaries in parliament. They fly from public observation and enquiry, and brood over their approaching disgrace in a kind of political despair; they tremble too late for consequences, which



which they have neither the ability to provide against, nor the fortitude to meet.

The minister contended, that the arguments offered against the motion had proved nothing. The campaign was already terminated, and they could form no conclusions relative to it till they knew the event. France did not molest us, nor did he believe that either France or Spain had any intention of the sort; but whether they had or not, we were prepared for the worst that could happen; and should advance our preparation as much, or more, during the recess, than if the parliament were sitting. He therefore insisted, that Mr. Burke's proposed amendment to the motion, of substituting the words, "this day fennight," for the "20th of January," would only retard the business of the state, without answering any useful purpose. If, upon a full enquiry after the recess, measures of a consequential nature should become necessary, the committee for an enquiry into the state of the nation, which was not to meet until the 2d of February, would afford the proper, and the only proper time, to debate and deliberate on them. He hoped the campaign had produced events, which would enable us to prepare and enforce terms of conciliation with the colonies, on true constitutional grounds with respect to both. That it would be absurd to propose American plans, which must in the nature of things depend upon the state of America, when we could at best pretend to a very partial knowledge of it. The events of the campaign would be known at the time proposed for

their meeting: and then, when the whole of the military operations, and of the intended measures, could come fully and properly together before them, he would move the house to consider of the concessions which it might be proper for them to lay down as the basis of a treaty; and he yet trusted, that their endeavours would prove effectual in bringing about a permanent peace, and a lasting union between both countries.

The leaders of opposition, ridiculed the idea of the present ministers becoming negociators for peace and conciliation with the Americans, as the greatest of all possible absurdities. The colonies, they said, had been so often abused, deceived, and trifled with by them, and so thoroughly understood the principles which were the spring of all their actions, that they never would listen to any terms of peace, however flattering, which made their way to them through so obnoxious a channel. No negotiation could possibly succeed in their hands. Every body, said they, knows, that the Americans openly charge (whether truly or falsely was not the question) all the loss and calamity which has befallen both countries, to their incapacity, malignity, and obstinacy. Exclusive of the resentment arising from the misery which they have endured through their means, can any man in the cool possession of his reason suppose, that they will enter into any measures of friendship, or system of union with men whom they suspect, detest, and despise. They insisted, that the house of Bourbon were hostile; that they only waited



waited for the full consummation of that favourable crisis, by the expectation of which they had for a long time regulated all their conduct; that, in the wretched struggle with our own people, we had lost Portugal, alienated Holland, and had not a single ally left upon the face of the earth, excepting, that the petty mercenary states of Germany, who hired out the blood of their subjects, were by some depravation of language and ideas, to be considered as allies. What season then, said they, could be so fitting for enquiry and deliberation, or at what time could procrastination prove more pernicious than the present, when one army is annihilated, another, little less than besieged, and our hereditary and natural enemy negotiating a treaty with our colonies, by which, if once concluded, America will be irrecoverably lost to this country.

The question being at length put, about 10 at night, the motion of adjournment was carried upon a division by a majority of 155 to 68.

During these transactions in the house of commons, the business in that of the lords, abstracted from the supplies, was conducted upon the same ground, and in general with the same effect. The Duke of Richmond had moved for an enquiry into the state of the nation, on the same day that Mr. Fox had made his motion in the house of commons. The enquiry was also fixed to the same date in both; and the subsequent motions for papers and information made by his Grace, corresponded with those in the other house, and

were agreed to in the same manner.

On the 5th of December, the Earl of Chatham moved, that copies of all orders and instructions to General Burgoyne, relative to the northern expedition, should be laid before the house. The noble earl introduced his motion with a speech of considerable length, in which he dissected and reprobated several parts of that from the throne without reserve or ceremony; and taking a large sweep into public measures, he seemed to summon all the powers of his eloquence, and all his natural vehemence, to the direct censure of the ministers, and the most unequalled condemnation of their conduct. Among other causes, to which, in this course, he attributed the unhappy change which had taken place in our public affairs, he particularly reprobated, in terms of the greatest bitterness, a court system, which he said, had been introduced and persevered in for the last fifteen years, of loosening and breaking all connection; destroying all faith and confidence; and extinguishing all principle, in different orders of the community. A few men, he said, had got an ascendancy, where no man should have a personal ascendancy; by having the executive powers of the state at their command, they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions, and familiarizing treachery. Thus were obscure and unknown men; men totally unacquainted with public business; pliable, not capable men; and the dregs, or renegades of parties, brought into the highest and most responsible stations; and  
by



by such men was this once glorious empire reduced to its present state of danger and disgrace. Then rising into his usual force of expression : the spirit of delusion, he said, had gone forth.—The ministers had imposed on the people.—Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition. — False lights had been held out to the country gentlemen.—They had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war under the impression, that the land-tax would have been diminished by the means of an American revenue. But the visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes, that of deception, was now about to vanish.

The debate was long, animated, and well supported on both sides. The ministers, though plainly somewhat depressed, defended themselves with resolution. They said they knew nothing of the private influence that had been talked of. That it was a topic taken up or laid down by men as it suited their views. That they never had imposed on the people or on parliament; but communicated such information as was true, provided it was safe. That they had never laid any thing false before them; but be the event what it would, they never would repent the vigorous steps they had taken for asserting the rights of parliament, and the dignity of their country. The question being at length put, the motion was rejected on a division by a majority of 40 to 19.

The noble earl then immediately moved for an address, to lay before them copies of all the orders or treaties relative to the

employment of the savages, acting in conjunction with the British troops against the inhabitants of the British colonies in North America, with a copy of the instructions given by General Burgoyne to Colonel St. Leger.

As no measure had ever been marked with a greater severity of language, or had excited stronger appearances of disgust and horror, than that, to which the motion related, the ministers were accordingly very tender upon the subject, and could ill disguise the indignation and resentment which they felt, at its being so frequently and vexatiously brought within observation. And as the noble framer of the present motion, had been among the foremost in his censures on the subject, and that the bitterness of his late speech was not yet worn off; the matter was taken up with great warmth. The same arguments used to defend it in the house of commons were relied upon in the lords. The ministry strongly asserted the justice and the propriety of the measure, on principle and on example. As Lord Chatham had asserted that when he was minister, he had always declined to make use of so odious an instrument in the last war, though a foreign one, this assertion was flatly contradicted by the king's servants, who said they were able to lay before the house proof from the records of office, of his having given orders to treat with the savages for their assistance. Appeals were made to the noble lord, who then commanded in America, and had taken his instructions from Mr. Pitt, at that time secretary of state, whether he



he had not such in his army, and whether he was not authorised to use them. The lords of the minority contended, that the case of a foreign war, where the affections of the people are no object, made a difference; and that the French had made use of the same instrument to a much greater degree, which might justify retaliation. The debate was attended with an unusual degree of charge, denial, personality, and acrimony; in which course of painful altercation, a noble earl, who had lately possessed a principal government in America, both took and endured no inconsiderable share. The motion was at length thrown out by the previous question, about 11 o'clock at night, the majority being nearly the same as in the foregoing division.

Dec. 11th. The motion of adjournment, was scarcely less agitated in the house of lords, than in that of the commons. In the warmth of debate, a noble lord high in office having thrown out somewhat, which, though apparently spoken in general terms, was understood as more particularly directed to the Earl of Chatham, and was interpreted as an assertion, "that no advice or opinion from lords on that side would be received at the throne," this language was highly resented and severely reprehended by a noble duke and

earl in opposition, who declared it, besides being exceedingly presumptuous, to be no less unparliamentary and unconstitutional. The sovereign, they said, had an undoubted right to chuse his servants; but in this moderate and popular government, he was likewise bound to chuse with wisdom; to consult the interests of the public, and in many situations even their likings, with respect to those ministers, to whom he was entrusted to commit the direction and conduct of their dearest and most important concerns. And for any person, however high in office or situation, to venture to forerun the prerogative, to limit the royal discretion and right of action, by pretending to predict who should or should not be employed or consulted, and thus to proscribe wisdom, honesty, and ability from the public service, if they only happened to be exerted in opposition to ministerial measures, was equally indecent and injurious with respect to the crown, and dangerous to the rights of the people. In fact, it was no less, they said, than imputing sentiments to the sovereign unbecoming his station, and directly repugnant to the duties prescribed to him by the constitution. After long debates, the motion of adjournment was carried upon a division, by a majority of 47 to 17.



## C H A P. V.

*Subscription for the American prisoners. State of public affairs. Scheme for raising a body of troops to supply the loss at Saratoga. Difficulties attending that measure. Subscriptions for raising new levies. Manchester and Liverpoole raise regiments. Failure of the attempt in the corporations of London and Bristol. Large private subscriptions in both cities. Several regiments raised in Scotland, and independent companies in Wales. Great debates in both Houses on the measure of raising forces without the knowledge or consent of parliament; and on the question of legality with respect to private contributions or benevolences. Motion in the committee of supply for cloathing the new forces, after long debates, carried upon a division. Earl of Abingdon's motion for summoning the judges on the question, over-ruled. His other motions for passing a censure on the measure, after long debates rejected upon a division.*

**G**R E A T complaints were about this time circulated, that the American prisoners in this country, who amounted to several hundreds, were treated with a degree of rigour which fell little short of cruelty. These rumours extended even to France; and occasioned the American deputies in that country, after an unsuccessful attempt to establish a cartel with the British minister at Paris, to transmit a letter, couched in strong terms of complaint, to the first lord of the treasury upon the subject. This letter contained a particular charge, which, though we think not to be true in the manner stated, we are sorry not to have seen publicly refuted, viz. that a number of these unhappy people, were now in a state of bondage, on the coasts of Africa, and in the East Indies, who had been compelled to submit to that condition, under the menaces of an immediate and ignominious death. We have some reason to suppose that this charge related more particularly to some of those

prisoners who had been taken in Canada, and who being partly terrified by threats, and partly unable to withstand the miseries of their confinement, which were aggravated for the purpose, entered as soldiers into our service, merely as a means of facilitating their escape. Several of these being taken in the act of desertion, and being liable to death by our military laws, which could afford no provision for the force or terror under which they had acted, possibly might have obtained their forfeit lives, on condition of their being sent to garrison some of our forts on the coast of Africa, or of their entering for life into the service of the East India Company.

As to the prisoners who were kept in England, their penury and distress was undoubtedly great, and was much increased by the fraud and cruelty of those who were entrusted with the government and supply of their prisons. For these persons, who indeed never had any orders for ill treatment



ment of the prisoners, or countenance in it, having however, not been overlooked with the utmost vigilance, besides their peculiar prejudices and natural cruelty, considered their offices only as lucrative jobs, which were created merely for their emolument. Whether there was not some exaggeration, as usually there is, in these accounts, it is certain, that though the subsistence allowed them by government, would indeed have been sufficient, if honestly administered, to have sustained human nature, in respect to the mere article of food, yet the want of clothes, firing, and bedding, with all the other various articles, which custom or nature render conducive to health and comfort, became particularly insupportable in the extremity of the winter. In consequence of complaints made by the prisoners, the matter was very humanely taken up in the House of Peers by Lord Abingdon, who moved for accounts relative to their treatment; and soon after a liberal subscription was carried on in London and other parts with the enlarged spirit which distinguishes this nation, and with only a slight opposition in the beginning, as being officiously supposed a measure not pleasing to ministry. This subscription, co-operating with a stricter attention on the part of government, provided a sufficient remedy for the evil.

The loss of the northern army with respect to all future service in the American war, seemed a fatal check to that favourite system of conquest and unconditional submission, which had been so long and so steadfastly persevered in by

the court. Nor were other matters relative to the war much more favourable to the scheme of coercion. The successes on the side of Pennsylvania, though many and considerable, and what in other cases would have been followed by more decisive effects, by no means answered the hopes that were formed on that expedition; nor did the present state of affairs there, indicate any such future advantage, as might countervail the loss in the other. The resources in Germany were nearly exhausted. Men were not only procured with difficulty, but one of the great powers, actually refused a passage through a skirt of his dominions, to a body of those which were already in the British service. Although this difficulty was evaded at the expence of a long circuitous march, and much loss of time; it became however evident, from that and other circumstances, that the utmost which could be expected in future from that country, would be to recruit the German forces already in America.

Under these disagreeable circumstances with respect to America, the aspect of affairs was becoming every day more lowering and dangerous in Europe. Indeed the conduct of the House of Bourbon had been long so unequivocal, that nothing less than that sort of blindness, in which the mind is too liable to be involved by the eagerness of a favourite pursuit, could have permitted the possibility even of a doubt, as to their present views and ultimate designs. Yet notwithstanding all these difficulties, losses and dangers, the system of conquest, or of compelling



selling the Americans by force to a return of their duty, was so strongly supported, and so firmly adhered to, that it seems to have been still determined, in spite of loss and misfortune, to persevere in it to the last, and that even if it should be thought expedient to offer terms of peace, on which point there seemed to be some difference among the Ministers, yet all agreed, that whatever terms might be held out with the one hand, should be enforced with the sword by the other.

For the support of this determination, a measure of no small difficulty became, however, indispensably necessary. This was to establish such a body of new troops at home, as would not only supply the place of Burgoyne's army, but also help to fill up the wide chasms, which death, wounds, sickness and desertion had made in the remaining force in America, by sending out full and complete regiments to replace those who had suffered most in the war. For the sending any more of the old battalions from England or Ireland, without the leaving of some corps in their place, equal at least to them in point of number, was a measure which would have met with a violent opposition in both kingdoms. Nor can it possibly be supposed, that the Ministers, however they found it necessary to disguise or conceal their sentiments, could be free from apprehension, that the time was approaching, when our home force would be necessary for our home defence.

But although the necessity of raising a considerable body of new troops, was, on this ground of policy, sufficiently evident, the

means of accomplishing that purpose were by no means so obvious. The late misfortune, and the little apparent room for hope which now remained of bettering our condition by force, afforded no encouragement for an application to parliament on the subject. It was evident indeed, that the Ministers, by the hastiness and length of the prorogation, and by some feeling expressions which dropped from one of them, chose at that time as little parliamentary conversation about America as possible; nor did they wish to renew it, until they should be able to afford better prospects of their strength and means of prosecuting the war, than at that time appeared.

In these circumstances, it was thought fitting to hazard an experiment on the zeal of those persons and parties, who had all along shewn the greatest eagerness in the prosecution of the American war; an experiment which would afford them also an opportunity of testifying their particular attachment and loyalty to the crown beyond the measure of parliamentary supply. By this means it was hoped that such a body of troops might be raised, without any previous application to parliament, and with the flattering appearance of saving expence in the first instance to the public, as would answer the desired purpose.

These expectations were not altogether ill founded. But as the measure carried an unconstitutional appearance, and might be made liable to the charge of interfering with the rights of parliament; and of violating some of those restrictions;



frictions which it had been found necessary to lay on the prerogative; besides the motives just now assigned; some considerable management was necessary as to the time and manner of making the experiment. For if it had been attempted during the actual sitting of parliament, it would not only have the whole weight of opposition to encounter whilst it was yet in embryo, and whilst the uncertainty of success would prevent its being supported with any spirit; but it could not be foreseen, how far their example and arguments might, in a matter of a new and doubtful nature, have extended beyond their own pale. Upon these accounts it was supposed, that the Minister thought it prudent, not only to make the experiment during the recess, but to render that longer than usual, in order to afford time for discovering its operation and effect before it underwent any discussion; being well satisfied, that when a business was once accomplished, any objections that were then made to the propriety or principle of the measure would be of little avail.

Some men of rank and influence, who had either adopted the measure from a conviction of its expedience and propriety, or who, upon advice, had engaged in its support and furtherance, used means, in those places where their interest lay, both to sound the disposition of the people, and to give it that direction which was necessary for the purpose. The towns of Manchester and Liverpoole, whether of their own motion, or through application, were the leaders in this business, which they engaged in with the greatest fer-

vour, and immediately sent an offer to court to raise each a regiment of a thousand men. In other places, public meetings of towns, counties, and great corporate bodies, were encouraged, at which resolutions were proposed for the general levying of men for the service.

The setting of such an example by the city of London, would have been upon this occasion a matter of the greatest importance; not only from the ample support which that great body would have administered, if it had entered heartily into the measure; but from the countenance which it would have afforded to the Ministers, the approbation it would have implied of their past, and the sanction it would have given to their future measures, together with the general effect which its conduct would have had upon the nation at large. Nor did the distance, coolness, frequent bickerings, and variance, which had for several years taken place between the court and the city, by any means exclude this idea. Several of the popular leaders in that body had, from various causes, lost much of their former weight and influence. Patronage and influence had also shifted hands much in the city since the commencement of the troubles. The great commercial orders for the foreign markets, which used to render the inferior citizens in a great measure dependent upon the capital wholesale dealers, and long established mercantile houses, were either now no more, or they were come into the possession of the contractors for carrying on the war, a vast and lucrative commerce, or centered in the monopoly lately



set up under colour of licences. Thus all business being in the hands of people necessarily devoted to government, the elections went of course that way; and though the acclamations of the electors at all times, and the show of hands generally, announced a great majority in favour of the popular candidates, yet when it came to that serious point, where the elector's vote was to become a standing record, and to rise in judgment against him, if it went contrary to the will of his employer, it was not to be so much depended upon as in former times, when the employment of tradesmen was more at large.

To confirm and secure their power, a numerous society was formed under the influence of the leaders of the court party, who were by themselves denominated the Associated Livery, but were generally called the White Hart Association, from the tavern at which their principals held their great meetings, and which might be considered as the head quarters of the party. This party grew exceedingly numerous and powerful; and great numbers of those who had at first entered into the society merely for convenience, became at length partizans in the cause, through the vexation which they continually suffered, from the constant reproach of their former fellows in public conduct and opinion, who now stigmatized them as base deserters from the cause of liberty, and betrayers of those rights of the city which they were sworn to maintain, and of that independency which they were bound by every tie to defend to the utmost.

This association accordingly had for some time taken an avowed and active part in the city elections. For by advertising in the public papers those candidates whom they were determined to support, these notices became in effect mandates to that great part of the livery, who were in some degree within the reach or influence of their leaders, or who, from moderation of temper, prudence, or timidity, did not chuse to expose themselves to the enmity of so numerous and powerful a party; and such a compact collective body, acting under order, in strict union and concert, and enabled to bear any expence, by a large common stock purse, proved a ballance, and more than a ballance, to the popular societies, which, from their disunion and other causes, daily wasted away, and at length seem to have quite expired. The chief magistrate of the city belonged also to this society, and was closely connected in dealing with government.

Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, the business was conducted with caution and address. The chief magistrate was said to have received both instruction and encouragement, in a place and situation where they could not fail to have operated with uncommon efficacy. As a prelude to the opening of the business to the corporation, the Associators advertised for a public meeting on the subject, where they expected to a certainty, that the appearance would have been so numerous and respectable in support of the measure, and the assent so universal in its favour, that they should then carry it to the greatest extent



extent they wished, without difficulty, and perhaps without opposition, in the Common Council. To their astonishment, however, they found themselves deserted upon this occasion by the greater part of those who had hitherto regularly obeyed all their mandates with respect to election to city offices. Such was the effect of the original averseness from the American war, and such the disgust towards ministry on the late unfavourable events, that the meeting was not only badly attended, but many of those who appeared presented such captious faces, and the countenances in general were so little promising, that the leaders did not think it safe to hazard the name, and in that all the influence and power of the party, by the proposal of any question, and the assembly broke up as it met, without entering upon any business whatever.

This disappointment was not capable of restraining the industry or checking the zeal of the chief magistrate. He had newly refused to call a court, when he supposed the business would have been contrary to his own liking, and that of his party, although a requisition in writing, signed by the four representatives of London in parliament, as well as by several other of the most eminent citizens, had been presented for the purpose. And though he knew that this act had been productive of the most unqualified censure, as being at least an unusual stretch of his authority, yet superseding all appearance of inconsistency, by what he considered as the urgent exigency of the public, he suddenly called a court on this business.

The original intention was said to be, that the city of London should raise and maintain a body of 5,000 men, to serve for three years, or during the continuance of the war. But whether it was from the late failure at the Association, or whatever other cause, no specification of number Jan. 16th, was included in the motion now made for 1778. the purpose; it being only proposed, that a bounty should be granted by the city for the raising of men for the land and sea service.

A full loose was now given to those resentments which the popular party had for some time been hoarding; and the debates became exceedingly warm. It was contended in support of the motion, that in the present perilous situation in which we stood with respect to our natural enemies, it became an absolute and indispensable obligation on that great city to give the most public testimonial of its duty, affection, and loyalty; that the same motives equally concurred, with the additional spur of interest, joined to the desire of security, in their affording every assistance in their power, towards exterminating the seeds of rebellion on the other side of the Atlantic, and reducing our colonies to submission and order; that the late loss we had sustained could only be replaced by the most vigorous exertions; that every man should contribute to the public defence, in times of public danger; and that the city of London had ever stood forth as an example to the rest of the nation in perilous seasons, and had always been distinguished with honour for her



spirit and exertion in the most critical situations of danger.

On the other side it was answered, that it would be the greatest and most ridiculous of absurdities, for the city now to countenance and support coercive measures, after having so repeatedly, and even recently, reprobated this unhappy and destructive civil war in all its parts, and recommended conciliation in the strongest terms, in all those numerous addresses which they had presented to the throne on the subject. That the city had already suffered most essentially in her commercial concerns, by those fatal measures which had plunged us in our present unhappy situation; that it was evident to every unprejudiced person, that national ruin must be the inevitable consequence of their continuance. That undoubtedly London had ever been distinguished by her loyalty, her free support of government, and her magnanimous exertions in all cases of national emergency; but these instances were in cases wherein wise measures had involved us in just wars, for the maintenance of the national interest and honour; the same disposition and principles which operated on her conduct in those particulars, equally forbade her support of unjust, oppressive, and tyrannical measures; more especially when they terminated in a cruel civil war, the destruction of our own people, and tended directly to the ruin of this late flourishing empire. In conclusion, they summed up the arguments in such a manner, as to bring their principal force within two points of view, in each of which the condemnation of the motion was included; first, as a

measure tending to revive and inflame the embers of a war, unjust in itself, and ruinous to this country; and secondly, as being contradictory and absurd upon the face of their own former proceedings.

The motion was supported by a majority of eleven to nine in the court of Aldermen; but thrown out by so great a majority of the Common Council, that while the lowest calculation held it at three to one, it was estimated by the highest at 180 to 30. Upon this complete victory, a resolution was moved and passed, which condemned in strong terms the giving any countenance to, or being in any manner instrumental in the further continuance of the present ruinous and destructive war. Notice was at the same time given, that an address, petition, and remonstrance, should be moved for at the next court, praying, "that his Majesty would offer such terms to our American brethren, as would put a stop to the present calamitous war." During the agitation of the original question, the chief magistrate was handled with unprecedented severity, under the double charge, which was made in the most flat and unqualified terms, of his having been closeted for the exertion of his public interest and official authority in this business, and of his being also under the mean influence of self-interest, in the view of procuring a contract for the supply of the new forces with certain articles which were manufactured or prepared in his own calling. Nor was the general reprehension of the court less when the business was over, for the glaring partiality, as they said, of his conduct, the shortness of notice,



tice, and informality with which they were convened, and the dangerous attempt to carry a question of such importance by surprize. These matters were pushed so seriously, that a formal and public enquiry into the authority by which he had been guided, was not only mentioned, but the proposal with some difficulty evaded. Such was the ill success that attended this attempt in the city of London.

Upon this defeat, the disappointed party said, that the deficiency of loyalty in the corporation, should not damp its spirit in individuals; and that at a time when subscriptions were publicly opened and quickly filled for American rebels, it was surely the least that could be done by the well-affected and friends to royalty, to subscribe liberally to the support of King and government. A subscription was accordingly opened, and a committee appointed at the London Tavern to conduct the business; and as it took its rise among monied men, and that the leaders and principal proposers were necessarily liberal in their contributions, above 20,000 l. was soon subscribed. As the advertisements which they published in the papers upon this occasion, became a subject of much discussion and censure both within doors and without, we shall transcribe the passage which gave such particular offence; viz. “ At a meeting of  
 “ several merchants and others,  
 “ friends to their King and coun-  
 “ try, in order to support the con-  
 “ stitutional authority of Great  
 “ Britain over her rebellious colo-  
 “ nies in America; it was una-  
 “ nimously resolved and agreed,

“ that a voluntary subscription be  
 “ opened for the above purpose;  
 “ and that the money arising there-  
 “ from be applied, under the di-  
 “ rection of a committee of the  
 “ subscribers, in raising men for  
 “ his Majesty’s service, in such  
 “ manner as his Majesty in his  
 “ wisdom shall think fit.”

A similar attempt was made in Bristol, to induce the corporation to raise a body of men. The event was also similar. The design failed with respect to the corporate body; but a number of names to large sums of money appeared in a private subscription, which rivalled in the amount that at London. But whether it proceeded from the discussion which this manner of raising or granting money underwent in parliament, or from whatever cause, we do not find that either of these subscriptions were productive of any great effect. Neither did the intended measure succeed better in the counties. A strong government interest was foiled in Norfolk; and the attempt produced a petition of uncommon force and energy from the freeholders of the county to parliament against the American war. Nor was the attempt of a noble Lord in Warwickshire more successful. Subscriptions were indeed opened, in different places, by those who were, or who would be thought, particularly attached to government.

In Scotland it was thought proper to give encouragement to the raising of new regiments; a measure which was adopted there with the greatest avidity. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow subscribed liberally; raised a regiment of a thousand men each;



and were indulged, like Manchester and Liverpoole, with the nomination of officers. Several individuals undertook and performed the raising of regiments in the Highlands. The conditions were generally the same, and very advantageous both to the raisers and to the officers. Several independent companies, amounting to something about a regiment in point of number, were raised in Wales; but the battalions, excepting those of Manchester and Liverpoole, were all formed in Scotland.

The ministers had thoroughly shaken off their panic during the recess. The raising of the new forces not only enabled them again to support the American system, which scarcely before seemed tenable; but it afforded no contemptible testimony, and which in argument was easily advanced to a proof, that their conduct received the full approbation of the people, and that the general sense of the nation went with them in their measures. Thus they were enabled to meet parliament with confidence; and, under so efficacious a support as the public voice and approbation, to brave all enquiries into past conduct, as well as into the present state or condition of the nation.

Indeed the facility with which these enquiries were agreed to in the hour of tribulation and dismay, it is probable, was now sufficiently regretted. But it was hoped, that the spirit which was now raised, and the parliamentary modes of defeating the objects of all enquiry, would take away all effect of the advantage which they had

suffered the opposition to obtain over them.

Notwithstanding this smooth state of affairs at home, the ministers were far from being at ease. Majorities and acts of parliament, though possessing wonderful efficacy in their proper place, were neither capable of reclaiming our revolted colonies, nor of preventing the designs of our foreign enemies. It has since appeared from the most indubitable evidence, that administration had for some time been in possession of information from the British Minister at Paris, not only of the negotiation for a commercial treaty between that court and the Americans, but also of another private and confidential treaty, which was conducted with the most profound secrecy, and fraught with matter of the most dangerous nature to this country. How this knowledge is to be reconciled with the public measures then pursued, we have no business to examine.

The first business that was taken up by the opposition in both houses, was the measure of raising the new levies during the recess. Sir P. J. Clerke observed in the House of Commons, that he had Jan. 22d, 1778. promised several of his neighbours in the country to make an enquiry into the business. That the people had been told, that the American war was the war of parliament; and that they were therefore exceedingly alarmed, to hear that a large body of forces had been raised during the recess, not only without the knowledge or advice of parliament, but without the smallest intimation having been



been given by the Minister before the adjournment, that any such scheme was even in contemplation. That, on the contrary, they had heard the noble Lord had informed the House, that he should have a conciliatory proposition to lay before them at their next meeting, which he hoped would prove highly advantageous to this country. But that instead of a peace, he said, the noble Lord had produced an army; and what was still worse, an army raised under the auspices of persons who had never been noted for loyalty to their Sovereign, or attachment to the constitution. The grand object of his enquiry, he said, was to know in what hands the sword was entrusted; for however necessary it might be to raise troops for this or any other war, it was absolutely incumbent on the mto take care that the sword was placed in safe hands; and that it might not be turned against themselves.

He accordingly moved for an address, that an account of the number of troops ordered to be raised during the late adjournment, with a specification of the different corps, the names of the officers appointed to their command, and also the names of all the officers appointed to serve in each rank in the different corps, with the time of their former service and rank in the army, should be laid before them.

The motion being agreed to, the Minister took that opportunity of declaring the happiness he felt in being able to inform the House, that the original purposes of the adjournment had not only been answered by the active exertions which had been used in the several

departments of the public service, but that the voluntary unsolicited efforts of several loyal subjects had likewise contributed to that effect. That a subscription had lately been set on foot in several parts of the kingdom, which not only intimated the most valid indications of truly patriotic zeal, but which also afforded the most flattering testimony of the public satisfaction in the conduct of administration.—

That it was no small comfort and encouragement to persons entrusted with the management of public affairs, to find that the general opinion entertained of their conduct and measures, was not to be influenced by contingencies, nor to give way to those unexpected and unlucky accidents of fortune, which no sagacity could foresee, nor human wisdom provide against; and that it must afford a pleasure peculiarly grateful to every true Englishman, to see the spirit and fortitude of the people rise with their difficulties, and in the present state of public emergency, to shine out in so particularly conspicuous a manner.

This self-congratulation, and approbation of the measure by the Minister, drew out its absolute condemnation from the opposition, who charged it with being equally unconstitutional, illegal, extravagant, and dangerous. They asked why parliament was not informed of the design? Why so long a recess was made, at a time that so important and so dangerous a measure, as the raising of an army within the kingdom, was in contemplation? They said, that if the raising of one regiment, in so unconstitutional a manner, was to be maintained or justified, the same



arguments would reach to twenty, fifty, or to any given number. If this doctrine was admitted, what fence or protection could the laws or the constitution afford against arbitrary power? The friends and promoters of that system, in order to establish their favourite mode of government, would have nothing more to do, than, in the absence of parliament, under the colour of loyalty, or pretence of danger, to promote subscriptions for the raising of troops; and when these were once embodied and armed, would their arguments, their silent votes, or the resolutions, within their walls, or any act of theirs without, prevent, even for a moment, the subversion of the constitution? With respect to the purposes for the effecting of which those troops were raised, and the supposed necessity arising from the general state of public affairs, as well as from the unhappy war with our colonies, they said, that either parliament had no right at all to interfere in such matters, or they were the best and only proper judges, both of the purposes and the necessity. They concluded by warning the Ministers with great bitterness, that although the essence of the constitution was lost, it behoved them still to preserve at least the forms of it; and not to venture, under the subterfuge of a long adjournment, contrived by themselves for the purpose, to exercise the great constitutional, and indivisible power of parliament, that of granting money. For, they insisted, that the present measure was virtually no less; the Ministers had incurred the actual expenditure, and bound the faith of parliament in the first

instance, and then they call upon the Commons, as a matter of course, to provide for that expenditure.

The Minister defended the measure on several grounds; on that of necessity; on the impracticability of communicating, what was not known to the Ministers themselves at the time of adjournment; and lastly, he insisted, that the measure was in itself perfectly innocent, with respect both to constitution and law. The necessity, he presumed, would not be disputed; the arguments used, and the positions laid down every day on the other side, went to the establishment as an undoubted fact, that the present force in America was not adequate to its purpose. If then the colonies should obstinately persist in rejecting all reasonable terms of accommodation, the right policy, the œconomy, and the wisdom, of using the most vigorous exertions to bring the contest to a speedy conclusion, and to render the ensuing campaign decisive, was so obvious, that it must surely flash conviction on all parties and orders of men. He said, it was not in the power of administration before the recess, to bring the matter as a measure before parliament, because, in fact, except in a very few instances, they were totally ignorant of what afterwards happened. Offers, indeed, had been made; but how far the spirit would have extended; or in what instances it might have been thought proper to receive or reject such offers, were matters at that time unknown. And, as to the charges thrown out with so much vehemence and acrimony, of illegality, breach of the constitution, and contempt of parliament, he denied



denied that they were in any degree founded. The American war, he said, was a constitutional and a popular war; it was particularly a parliamentary war; what then could be more constitutional, than the offers made by the people, and accepted of by the crown? The right and authority of the supreme legislature was denied; arms had been taken up by our rebellious subjects in America, in maintenance of that denial; a numerous, and very loyal part of the people at home, had expressed their abhorrence of so unnatural a rebellion; and, in proof of the sincerity of their sentiments, offered their persons and their purses in support of the constitutional rights of their country. Was so laudable an action ever before marked with such reproach and condemnation?

The House being in a committee of supply on the 4th of February, a motion was made by the Secretary at War, that the sum of 286,632 l. 14 s. 6 d. should be granted for cloathing the new forces for the current year; this motion occasioned a renewal of the debate, which was supported with great vigour on both sides. We shall, however, without distinction of time or place, bring together in one point of view, the most material arguments which were offered at different times in either House upon a subject which was so much, and so warmly agitated in both.

We have already seen the ground taken by the Minister in defence of the measure. In the further prosecution of the question, the point of legality was principally supported on the ground of prece-

dent, drawn from the time of the rebellion in the year 1745, and the beginning of the late war. In the former of these æras, several of the nobility and gentry raised regiments at their own expence; and subscriptions were not only opened and received, but persons went about from house to house to collect money for the common defence; in which case, though no absolute force was used, it was well understood, that a refusal to contribute, however unwilling any individual might be, or however ill it might suit, with the real, though secret state of his circumstances, would subject him to be marked as disaffected, and render his future situation in that neighbourhood disagreeable and uneasy. In the latter instance, ten new regiments had been raised by the crown; and the city of London had subscribed a large sum of money (which example was followed by other corporations and public bodies) for the raising of men for the public service. The first of these measures, they said, having been cavilled at by the disaffected of that time, and also by others, who tho' well disposed to government, yet either doubted its being constitutional, or directly questioned its legality; the late Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, whose principles with respect to the constitution, and to the rights and security of the subject, can never be called in doubt, publicly undertook, with his usual ability, its support and defence, and, whilst he asserted its legality and propriety, reprehended the censure thrown upon it in strong and decisive terms. And with respect to the second, so far from its being then objected



objected to; Mr. Secretary Pitt wrote a most florid letter to the corporation of London, full of acknowledgments, in the King's name, for their zeal and immediate service, as well as for the laudable example which they had set to others.

A great law Lord, at the head of his profession, said, that although the Bill of Rights declared, that to keep a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, was contrary to law; yet that provision in the declaration of rights, could by no means apply to the present question, when we were not only in a state of war, but engaged in a war of a most important and eventful nature. One of the law officers in the House of Commons said, that the Bill of Rights law spoke for itself, and was conditional; and that the Mutiny Act, was regulating, not restrictive: that if it was not, it would be the most dangerous law that ever was enacted; for it must be construed so as entirely to tie up the King's hands, from using proper means for the defence or preservation of the kingdom; let the exigencies of the times, or the necessities of the state, be what they may. His second, in that House also contended, that contributions, really and purely voluntary, were legal in the strictest sense of the word. Some other gentlemen of the same profession in that House, and who were usually on the same side, considered the measure as illegal; but said, that as the rebellion ought to be quelled by any means whatever, the means in this instance must be justified by the necessity,

and they would therefore vote for the supply.

Another great law Lord, in the other House, said, that the King, by his prerogative, was empowered to levy men and raise an army. When men were raised, the new levies were reported to parliament; whose duty it then was, if they judged the measure right and necessary, to provide for their subsistence; or otherwise, if they disapproved of the measure, to pass their censure on it by giving a negative to the supply, which was in effect a resolution for disbanding the troops. With respect to the argument so much urged and insisted on, that parliament ought to be consulted as to the raising of men, previous to new levies of any kind; he said, that long experience had shewn the impolicy of such a custom, and therefore it was never practised. The King in raising an army, as in making a subsidiary treaty, never applied to parliament till after each was effected; and it had for ages been deemed a sufficient security to the constitution, that parliament had it in its power to disband the one, or to set aside the other, by passing its negative upon either.

The noble Lord said it was a fact well known, that every man might give the King money; it was equally well known, that every man might either leave or give the King land; it had been often done, and no person ever dreamed of its being illegal. That there could not be a greater misrepresentation than in comparing the present subscriptions to benevolences; the donations so nominated in antient times, though called free-



free-gifts, were notoriously the contrary; men were, when a commission for public benevolences to the crown was issued, compelled to contribute, and if they refused, or withheld their proportion, they lost their liberty, and were sent to prison. Let it be considered what the purpose was of the present subscriptions; it was generously and laudably to assist the King with levy money; a matter often practised, and always essentially serviceable to the state. The nation could not possibly be injured. The public subscriptions went to furnish additional levy money, to make the bounties larger than government usually gave, and by that means to quicken and render more easy the filling of the old corps, and the completing of the army. Supposing even that more men were raised than the number allotted by parliament what would the consequence be? Nothing more, than that the crown must apply to them for subsistence money to maintain those extra troops. It would then be in the power of either House to negative the new levies, by refusing the supply, who must of course be disbanded. In this final upshot of things, the new recruits would have to return home, with the money in their pockets which they had received from the bounty of the subscribers; and these latter, who could be the only losers, would sacrifice so much money as a testimony of their loyalty and zeal. But what mischief or loss could the nation thereby suffer? Or what injury could the liberties of the subject, or the privileges of parliament sustain, by any part of the transaction?

It was said, that the unqualified censure and reproach, which was thrown upon the places and countries where the levies were made, and upon the men of whom they were composed, were equally unjust and ungenerous. What happy spot of our island could be shewn, which, in the long course of our dissensions and civil wars, had not undergone the censure, or suffered under the taint of rebellion? Was it then equitable or reasonable to stigmatize every district or country, which had ever produced a rebel, or a band of rebels? Were the sins of the fathers to rain down for ever upon the heads of their descendants through all generations? Or what was still, if possible, more absurd and unjust, were those whose ancestors had been entirely innocent, or even perhaps meritorious, to undergo the same common curse and punishment, only because they had the misfortune of being born in the same country, and breathing the same air? A part of the people in question had by their eminent services in the last war, sufficiently atoned for any faults or crimes imputable to their ancestors, and freely washed out with their blood, any stigma which the conduct of the latter could be supposed to leave on their country.

On the other side it was said, that those precedents which had been quoted, did not in any degree come up to the question, or in any manner justify the present measure. In times of great public danger, and circumstances of uncommon exigency, what at other periods would not only be imprudent but illegal, might become warrantable. The tyrant's plea,  
state



state necessity, had occasionally given a sanction to many measures which were not strictly justifiable with regard to the constitution. On this ground, and on no other, the raising of regiments, and other acts in the service of government, during the immediate danger of the last rebellion, either were, or could be excused. In the year 1745, besides being involved in a dangerous foreign war, a most inveterate rebellion was raised within the kingdom, which went to the direct subversion of the constitution, and the total overthrow of all our civil and religious rights. Rebellion then stalked with giant strides towards the capital; and was approaching fast to the gates of the palace. In such a moment of imminent danger, when all law, government, property, and personal security were at stake, every other consideration and matter must necessarily give way to self-preservation and immediate defence. The situation, which threw us back into a temporary state of nature, superseded all other considerations. It was then undoubtedly right to provide for the public safety, by the best means which the nature of the case would admit; and when both the laws and the constitution were at stake, it would be ridiculous to hesitate at a temporary violation of them for their defence.—But how, said they, did that case resemble this of America, where the time did not press; where the enemy was three thousand miles off; and where we had still a vast fleet and army, both victorious? This is not a measure taken from necessity, to be referred to a parliament not then sitting—but a parliament actually sitting

is prorogued for the purpose of carrying the measure into execution.

The latter instances, they said, were still more remote in all their parts from the present question. The new regiments which were raised in the beginning of the late war, had the virtual sanction of parliament. A standing act, called an act of credit, had been passed in favour of his late Majesty, by which the sanction of parliament was granted in certain predicaments, to all the operations of the crown. (This position was, however, controverted; and the act of credit was said to be of a later date, than the raising of the forces). But without any such sanction, the addresses of both Houses, upon the subject of the war, and of the national defence, or even the vicinity, and alarming preparation of the enemy, would have sufficiently justified the measure.

As to the subscriptions raised by the city of London and other public bodies during the late war, they were said to have been disposed of in the most constitutional manner; they were not applied to raise or maintain an army independent of parliament, but to further the public service, by granting premiums to recruits for the filling up of the old regiments, and to seamen, or able landmen, for manning the navy. But in the present instance, 15,000 men are raised, or appointed to be raised, during the sitting, and without the consent or knowledge of parliament; whilst a self-created body of men at the London Tavern, venture to propose themselves as a substitute for parliament, and to assume



assume its most essential property, and inalienable right and authority, that of granting money, which is to be disposed of without its controul, either to the maintenance of this new army, or to any other purpose which the wisdom of the crown, or in reality its Ministers, might deem fitting.

A great law Lord who had some years ago filled the first civil office under the crown with high and universal applause, reprobated the measure in all its parts, as well as much of the doctrine which was now advanced by his professional opponents in its support. He pronounced the measure of raising troops, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, to be absolutely illegal, unconstitutional, and a high violation of the fundamental privileges of parliament. That, to judge of the necessities of the state, in point of measures offensive or defensive, and to make provision accordingly, was of the very essence of parliament; and that to take any measure therefore, while the parliament was in being, and of course in an active, and not passive state, without previous information, consultation, and advice, was an act little short of superseding its authority, and stripping it of its rights. And that the committees at the London Tavern and at Bristol, had acted a daringly illegal, and truly alarming part; they had assumed a legislative power, and had acted in that capacity, in which, according to the spirit of the constitution, and the express meaning of the Bill of Rights, parliament only were empowered to act. He concluded by declaring, that both the

measure, and the arguments which were brought in support of it by the two learned Lords in high office, tended to no less in their consequences, than the utter subversion of the constitution.

A lawyer of the first eminence in his profession, and who had also been, some years before, one of the first law officers of the crown in the other House, entered more deeply into the question of legality, with respect to the raising of men; after a most curious and learned investigation of the law, commencing with it as it stood before the custom of raising or keeping mercenary soldiers in time of peace had been practised, and brought down to the introduction of the mutiny act, he drew from thence a positive deduction, that there was not the colour [of support, afforded either by the common or statute law, nor even by the acts of usurped prerogative, to the doctrine of making levies without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament.

Others quoted the standing preamble to the annual Mutiny Act, which expressly declares, that the King shall not raise an army within the kingdom in time of peace. They asked, if the offensive measures carried on by government at its own discretion, in endeavouring to quell a rebellion at 3000 miles distance, could be considered as endangering the internal security of this country in such a degree, as could warrant so flagrant a violation of the constitution and laws? They observed that standing armies had been the constant engines of tyranny, by which the civil rights and liberties of the people had been destroyed in every state



state in Europe. And that the principal arguments used on the other side, namely, "that there could be no danger in the raising of an army by the crown, as parliament must be applied to for its payment," was not only overthrown by the very act which it was brought to defend, but that that position shewed the enormity and danger of the act in the strongest colours; for the army is not only raised, but the example is set, and reduced to practice, how money may be provided for the support of that army, without the concurrence or controul of parliament.

Nor did the question of benevolences and free gifts, undergo less discussion, nor their being again brought into practice, incur less censure, than the doctrine of raising forces without the participation of parliament. They were declared to have been illegal at all times, and in all the stages of the constitution. Benevolences, they said, were first introduced in the turbulent, distracted, and bloody times of Edward the fourth. They were among the numberless deplorable consequences of our unhappy civil wars of that period; and had been constantly and uniformly condemned by all our great legal and constitutional authorities. They had been suppressed by two acts of parliament. And even in the arbitrary reign of James the first, when he attempted to procure benevolences in a manner exactly similar to the present, by sending his confidential servants to different parts of the kingdom to raise spontaneous and voluntary subscriptions; although the measure was unaccompanied with any circumstance of force whatever, yet Mr.

St. John, who was esteemed the best constitutional lawyer in the kingdom, and who became afterwards Lord Chief Justice, opposed those subscriptions with the greatest vehemence, and declared, (along with other still stronger expressions) that the attempt to get money for the King's use in that way, was a breach of his Majesty's coronation oath; and that it was no less than an abetting of perjury, in all those who subscribed. And although Mr. St. John was prosecuted in the Star Chamber he was acquitted; and the most arbitrary and tyrannous court that ever existed, has thereby left a judgment on record, that resistance to such subscriptions, by any means, or in any language, is not reprehensible.

They said, that every gift to the crown for public purposes, was an aid, and had been early and wisely marked out, as a breach of the privileges of parliament. The evident spirit of the constitution at all times, and independent of any particular laws, which were only passed to cure some immediate violation of it, was, that the crown should receive no supplies whatever, but through the medium of parliament; for that would be to make the crown independent of parliament, and of course to render parliament an useless burthen to the nation. Money is power; money produces armies; and the liberties of all countries must fall before armies.

The Bill of Rights declares, "That the levying of money for, or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative without grant of parliament, or for a longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted,



is illegal." If it cannot be denied, that to levy money is to raise it, it must be equally acknowledged, that the measure under consideration, has consisted in the raising of money to the use of the crown, without grant of parliament; and that for the worst and most dangerous of all possible purposes, the raising of an armed force independent of parliament.

To shew that they had not introduced novel doctrines upon the subject, and as an instance, that the concurrence of parliament had at all times been deemed necessary to render even voluntary benevolences legal, they quoted the statute of the 13th of Charles the Second, by which, they said, it appeared, that notwithstanding the madness of joy with which a great part of the nation was seized at the restoration, and the consequent disposition to make almost any concessions to the crown, together with the inevitable distresses which that Prince laboured under, in consequence of his long banishment and penury; yet the parliament of that time, although too tender to lay any additional burthens upon the people, would not suffer the precedent to be established, of his pressing wants being supplied, by any aid or benevolence from the wealthy and well-disposed part of his subjects, without the authority of an express and positive law for the purpose. They accordingly passed the law in question, by which the term for the receiving of benevolences, to be purely voluntary, was not only limited to a moderate period; but the folly, prodigality, and vanity of individuals, was guarded against, by a strict limitation of the sums of

money which they were allowed to bestow upon the crown; no Commoner being permitted to exceed 200l. nor Peer to exceed 400l. in his benevolence.

They observed, that the present measure overthrew the only colourable argument which had ever been brought, to justify the conduct of parliament in endeavouring to tax the colonies, and thereby bringing on the present nefarious war, with all the fatal consequences which are still to attend or succeed their final loss. It had been held out, "That if the colonies, now that they were grown powerful and opulent, gave free grants to the crown, as they had hitherto customarily done upon requisition, the crown might become independent on parliament for supplies." This, they said, became the constant cry of Ministers to amuse and to deceive the people; and the cloak to hide their worst designs. The unparalleled self-denial, and patriotism of the crown, in thus rejecting a proffered tyranny, became also, under their immediate direction or influence, not only the constant theme of praise with the whole tribe of ministerial writers; but the standing doctrine, and the unceasing source of flattery in the pulpit, with all those prudent and numerous labourers in the vineyard, who did not wish to sow their seed in a barren or ungrateful soil. And the terrifying apprehension of danger arising from the foregoing ministerial position, was continually held out as a scarecrow to parliament, until they were at length driven into those toils of absurdity in which they resolved, That the American legal assemblies



blies should not give and grant their own money, lest they should render the crown independent of parliament, but that they themselves would give and grant the American money, without its real owners having any share at all in its disposition. And shall we now, said they, suffer the same measure to be adopted and carried into execution at home, and under our noses, by private persons, the prevention of which in legislative bodies, was the pretext for involving us in that unnatural and savage war by which we have lost America.

In the House of Commons, the manner of raising the new forces, was no less condemned in point of political œconomy, with respect to expence; inefficacy in point of purpose; and injustice to the old standing corps of the army; than in what related to the laws and the constitution. They insisted, that upon every principle of œconomy, and every idea of military judgment; the augmentation, if at all necessary, should have been effected, by filling up the old regiments to their full war complement, which was the method practised, in the last, as well as in others of our former wars. By that means, an equally numerous, and a much more effectual addition in point of service, would have been made to the army.—Every military man, said they, will acknowledge the extreme difficulty in the act, as well as the great length of time that is necessary, to the forming of a body of men, who are all entirely raw, and all equally unacquainted with arms, to military habits, discipline, and a necessary adroitness in their evo-

lutions and mechanical exercises. Whereas if a third, or even an equal number of the same men, are incorporated with the steady veterans of an old regiment, they become soldiers insensibly; and the discipline of the one, being supported by the bodily strength and vigour of the other, they will form a joint body nearly invincible.

They proceeded to examine what real benefit the public would derive from the so much boasted generosity of the subscribers and raisers of regiments. They estimated the expence of raising a thousand new levies, at about 5000*l.* and for so much money, supposing the subscriptions to be real and voluntary gifts, and that those men were applied to the filling up of old battalions, they allowed that the public would be obliged to, and really benefited by, the generosity or patriotism of the subscribers. But instead of this œconomical, wise, and established practice, on the side of the public, and this disinterested generosity on that of the individual, what is the real state of the case? The public receives with one hand from a contractor, under the name of a free-gift for the raising of men, a very small portion of what it is giving to him with the other in a contract; and to complete this curious bubble, the thousand men are formed into a new regiment for the benefit of the raisers; who, if they chuse to sell the commissions, will receive three or four times as much ready money for them, as the amount of the whole expence in raising the men; and for this imaginary present of 5000*l.* the public must pay at least 30,000*l.* which is the lowest estimates at which



which the full and half-pay of the officers can be rated. Thus, if the 16 regiments, now raising, or in contemplation, can be completed, the whole extent of the supposed gratuities to the public will amount to 80,000*l.* for which the nation is to pay, at the lowest computation, no less than 480,000*l.* Such, said they, are the disinterested benefits offered to the nation by contractors, addressers, and schemers; such the political wisdom, and prudent œconomy of our Ministers; and such the attention they pay to alleviate those distresses, which they have themselves brought upon a ruined and unhappy people.

Nor was the injury and injustice offered by this measure to the army, and the prejudice to the service in general, less, they said, than the imposition upon the public, and the danger which it held out to the constitution. Rank and promotion were given in a new and unprecedented manner. New and unknown men, or only known by their having obtained commissions in those new regiments, which were suddenly raised, and as suddenly broken at the tail of the late war, were now brought forwards from their obscurity, to jump at once over the heads, and to take the lead of those brave officers, who had served with the most distinguished reputation in both wars, and who were at this instant shedding their blood, or sacrificing their constitutions, in the desert forests, or under the burning funs, of America. Gentlemen had been appointed to the command of regiments, who were never in the service before, to the great injury and discouragement of all the officers of the army. If it was ne-

cessary or determined, they said, to raise new regiments, they should in justice have been offered to the oldest Lieutenant Colonels in the service; who would not only have gladly embraced the offer upon the present terms, but who would individually, if such a bargain had been fitting for government, have advanced considerable sums of money for the purchase of the opportunity. And, as to the recruiting service for the old regiments in the usual manner, it was not only entirely annihilated by this measure, but the extraordinary premiums now given, must necessarily cause an extraordinary desertion from the established corps.

They said, that persecution was as opposite to their principles as injustice. They did not wish to visit the crimes of the fathers upon the children. They had given the clearest proofs of the contrary disposition; and persons in the minority, had not only been consenting, but even been forward and active in the restoration of deserving men, who had by their good service expiated the crime of former rebellions. As little could they be suspected of meaning to proscribe particular countries for being fertile in rebellion. But it was impossible to avoid suspecting the motives to the subscriptions, or the purposes for which the new levies were raised, when it was seen that the contributors to the former were chiefly contractors, would-be contractors, jobbers, and other such like vermin of the state, who gave a penny to the public purse with a view of robbing it of a pound, and that the latter, with a marked and singular care and predilection, were entirely the offspring of places,



which had at all times been notorious for their Jacobite principles, and which had produced many of those who were deeply and principally concerned in the last rebellion. That such sudden and unaccountable professions or appearances of loyalty from such persons, could not fail of exciting doubt and jealousy in any case; and afforded great room for believing in the present, that they had rather changed their object, and abandoned in a fit of despair, that man in whose cause they had formerly been so active, than that they had by any means relinquished those high, prerogative, and arbitrary principles, which had so peculiarly attached them to him and his family. But when it was also considered that these very men, were the principal addressers for enslaving three millions of their fellow-subjects in America, are still the advocates for continuing all the calamities and horrors of the present cruel and unnatural war, and are now the first to take up arms in this country, and the only persons entrusted with them, common sense will tell us, that there is something more than loyalty or attachment to the House of Hanover in this conduct on their side; and that upon the whole, it is full time for every person who loves his country, and reveres its constitution as established at the revolution, to be seriously alarmed for both.

Some few in both Houses, carried the charge of partiality in the court, and the danger of placing the sword in improper hands, which was coupled along with it, to a still greater length. They said, that although they had no

prejudices with respect to persons being born on one or the other side of a hill or a river, yet when so manifest a predilection was shewn to certain particular districts, as to confine the raising of a whole army (and in so extraordinary a manner) entirely within them, to the utter exclusion of the rest of the nation; and when it was also considered, that those people, so favoured and selected, were themselves tainted with the most incorrigible prejudices, and the most violent animosity, to the country, the constitution, or to both, it was impossible not to be alarmed at the consequences. They said, that there were many gentlemen of the best and noblest families in England, who had dedicated their lives with the most distinguished zeal and spirit to the military service of their country; and who having fought our foreign battles, with great glory to themselves, and advantage to the nation, and being also deeply interested in the preservation of the state, were not only the proper persons to be entrusted with its defence, but were also entitled to such rewards as attended that distinction. It was upon this ground, that a noble Earl who had moved for the opinion of the judges on the question of the new levies in the House of Lords, declared in his place, that if the legality of the measure was established, he also would raise a regiment, not for the purpose of its going to America, but that of remaining in England, to assist in protecting our liberties.

The expedient of redeeming public credit by an application to private benevolence, and of supporting the boasted dignity and authority



rity of government, by sending about a begging box for the benefit of the treasury, were thrown into various shades of ridicule, in which the produce of the subscriptions to the regiments, and the state of subscriptions to the loans and rates of the publick funds were set in opposition, and the incompetency of the one to the support of the other exposed in many ludicrous points of view.

The question being at length put in the committee of supply, upon the Secretary at War's motion, that 286,632 l. 14 s. 6 d. should be granted for cloathing the new forces, it was carried upon a division, by a majority of 223 to 130. The having any division upon a question of supply, and its being opposed by so considerable a minority, were two unusual circumstances which attended this motion. The debate was warmly renewed on the next day, being the 5th of February, upon receiving the report from the committee, but the question was again carried. We do not remember any business which created so much heat in parliament.

This business was introduced in the House of Lords by the Earl of Abingdon, who having given previous notice soon after the recess, moved, on the 27th of January, "That a day be fixed for summoning the judges to attend this House, in order to take their opinions upon the present mode of raising troops, without the authority of parliament." The attendance of the judges, was, however, overruled by the majority, and the motion withdrawn by the noble Earl. It was principally contend-

ed on one side, that the judges were only called upon to attend, when they were to give their opinions on matters of mere law, relative to questions previously framed, and arising from facts already proved to the satisfaction of the House; that the motion of any single Peer for their attendance was nugatory; and that a convention of the judges in their judicial capacity, could only be obtained by an order of the House at large.

In answer to this doctrine, it was urged in vain by the Lords in opposition, That during the sitting of parliament, the judges were, as appeared by their journals, daily attendants upon that House; that there were writs always issued previous to every new parliament, requiring their attendance; that their proper place was on the Wool Sacks; that they formed in some measure a part of the House; and that according to its rules and orders they were always supposed to be present. They contended farther, that although, on account of their other important avocations, the constant attendance of the judges was excused, and their presence was only expected when they were specially summoned; yet, they insisted, that a motion for their attendance, by any noble Lord in his place, was a motion granted as a matter of course, comprized within the standing order of the House; and that it was contrary to parliamentary customs to refuse it. This was insisted upon so positively by the Duke of Richmond, that he called upon the Lords on the other side, to produce a single precedent of such a refusal. It was however thought



more eligible to establish a precedent, than to put the judges to the task of a legal decision on the measure in question.

The consideration of the question on which it had been proposed to have taken the opinion of the judges, having been laid over to the 4th of February, the business was on that day resumed by the Earl of Abingdon, who made the two following motions, "Resolved, that it be the opinion of this House, that the giving or granting of money, as private aids, or benevolences, without the sanction of parliament, for the purpose of raising armies for his Majesty's service, is against the spirit of the constitution, and the letter of the law." And, "Resolved, that it be the opinion of this House, that the obtaining of money by subscription, and under the direction of a committee of the subscribers, to be applied in raising of men for his Majesty's service, in such manner as his Majesty shall think fit, is not only unconstitutional and illegal, but a direct infringement of the rights, and an absolute breach of the privileges of parliament."

The debates were long and warm, and exceedingly interesting, from the great display of legal and

constitutional knowledge which was exhibited: an amendment was moved early in the debate, by a noble Lord who was then high in office, but who is since dead, and which went not only to the total overthrow of the original resolutions, but to the establishment of the very principle which they were intended to condemn. The intended amendment was, that after the words, "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this House," the following should immediately succeed, "that voluntary subscriptions of money, to be applied towards completing the troops which his Majesty has ordered at this time to be levied for the public service, are contributions for legal purposes, made in a warrantable manner, and highly meritorious."

This amendment being productive of much animadversion, and condemned as unfair and unusual by the other side, and not seeming to be approved of by some Lords on the same, was withdrawn; and the question being at length put, the original resolutions were rejected by a majority of just three to one, the numbers being 90 to 30 who supported the motion upon a division.



## C H A P. VI.

*Various motions preparatory to the enquiry into the state of the nation. Duke of Grafton's motion for papers rejected. Mr. Fox and Colonel Barre's motions also rejected. Complaints on the refusal of papers, and of the defectiveness of those which were presented. Avowed motives of the opposition in the enquiry. Mr. Fox opens the enquiry in the grand committee of the Commons. Resolution moved and rejected. Mr. Burke's motions relative to the employment of the savages, rejected after long debates. Mr. Fox's motions in the committee, relative to the state of the forces in America from the commencement of the war, and the losses sustained on that service, rejected, after much debate. Debate on the appointment of a Chairman, on opening the committee of the Lords. Lord Scarfsdale voted to the chair on a division. Debates on the Duke of Richmond's motion against sending any part of the old established home military force on distant service. Motion rejected. Merchants give evidence at the bar, of the great losses sustained by commerce in the course of the war. Counter evidence, intended to shew the national advantages derived from the war. Several resolutions moved by the Duke of Richmond, founded on the facts stated in the evidence of the Merchants. Resolutions set aside, after much debate, by the previous question.*

THE critical situation of affairs, both foreign and domestic, naturally directed the public attention to the opening of the committee on the state of the nation; whilst hope and anxiety were kept equally awake to the result of that enquiry. As the time approached, frequent motions were made by the leaders of opposition in both Houses, for the various species of information which they deemed necessary, towards elucidating the different subjects which they proposed as objects of future discussion, and the support of those points which they wished to establish.

In some instances these motions were complied with, and in others rejected. We have already touched upon the circumstances which tended to a change of disposition in

the Ministers upon this subject. A motion made by the Duke of Grafton on the 27th of January, fell within the latter predicament. This motion was for "a copy of the answer sent to the Commissioners for restoring peace to his Majesty's colonies in America, in consequence of their letter to Lord George Germaine, dated the 30th of November 1776, excepting such part of said answer as might affect the safety of any individual." It was opposed by the ministers on the same general grounds which were taken by those in the House of Commons previous to the recess, for the refusal of all papers that might tend to the disclosure of any negotiation between the Commissioners and the Americans, pending the supposed existence of such negotiation. An uncertain



limitation of time, but capable of including the duration of the powers granted to the Commissioners.

On the other side a new ground of argument was afforded, from the letter which produced the answer in question being already before the House; so that the one seemed a necessary appendage to the other. It also appeared by the letter in hand, that the Commissioners were not only doubtful as to the extent of their own powers; but that they were in a still greater state of uncertainty, with respect to the propriety of exercising those which they knew they possessed; and that upon these accounts they had stated their difficulties, and written to administration for instructions.

Upon this ground the opposition contended, that the conduct of the Ministers in the instructions which they then gave, must have consequently determined the event of the subsequent measures pursued by the Commissioners. If that conduct, said they, was wise, prudent, and expedient, as we suppose it was, they can have no reasonable objections to submit it, any more than the motives upon which they acted, to the consideration of the House; but if this is refused, it will then certainly be equally fair in argument, and consonant with reason to presume, that being conscious of their own misconduct, and afraid of its being exposed, they avail themselves of their present influence to screen it from the knowledge of the public.

To this, and much more, which was advanced on that side, the inexpediency of disclosure, was the conclusive reply, and afforded an

inexpugnable line of defence on the other. The Lords in office, however, at the same time, totally disclaiming all desire or intention of with-holding any information which could with propriety be communicated; and asserting, that the paper in question, if it had been produced, would not have answered any of the purposes for which it was so eagerly demanded. Indeed the noble Lords seemed, to be strangers in so extraordinary a degree to the paper now demanded, and to vary so much in their ideas of its nature and contents, that this singular circumstance afforded an opportunity for a charge which was strongly urged on the other side, that no such paper either did now or ever exist; that no answer or instructions had been sent to the Commissioners; but that in this, as in other cases of the greatest national importance, the public business had been totally neglected. After considerable debates, the motion was rejected without a division.

A motion made on the same day in the other House by Mr. Fox, met with a similar fate, being disposed of by the previous question without a division. That motion was in part, upon the same ground with one made in the other House, by the Earl of Chatham, before the recess, being a requisition of copies of the instructions given to General Burgoyne, together with such parts of Sir William Howe's instructions, as tended to any co-operation with the northern army. It was opposed upon the ground of impropriety and unfairness with respect to the absent General, who should in justice be present to explain and defend his conduct, when



whenever any such enquiry was instituted. The Ministers had no objection, they said, to any scrutiny that related merely to themselves; but in this business, besides the justice due to the absent, they were themselves particularly affected in point of delicacy; for they found that many gentlemen understood a passage in the General's letter, as acknowledging in some degree, fault or error on one side or other, and as seeming to bring the matter to an issue, whether it lay with himself or with the Ministers; so that in these peculiar circumstances, it was impossible for them to agree to any enquiry into the subject, until he was present.

On the other side, the opposition distinguished between general enquiry, and particular charge or accusation; the motion, they said, neither led to or supposed any charge or accusation, either against the General, or against the Ministers; it only required the knowledge of instructions, which the House must at some time be in possession of, and which was at present particularly necessary for the directing of its judgment, in the forming a true estimate of the progress and state of the American war, and being thereby enabled to determine upon the most prudent and feasible measures for the restoration of the public tranquillity. And that the inspection of these instructions could no more preclude a future enquiry into the conduct, than it could establish the justification of any of the parties concerned. However these matters might be, the motion was thought ill-timed; and the refusal of Mi-

nistry to lay these papers before the House was generally justified.

This motion being disposed of in the manner we have mentioned; Colonel Barre moved, that "copies of all letters and extracts of letters, which had passed between General Gage, Lord Howe, Sir William Howe, and General Carleton, from the 1st of July 1775, to the 27th of January 1778," should be laid before the House. Colonel Barre made also two other motions on the 29th of January, requiring accounts of the state of the artillery, &c. in store in America, at the commencement of the year 1774, and of the quantity since shipped for that continent. The two first of these motions were supported on the certainty, that transactions so long passed could have no effect on any present operations. The last was particularly grounded on the vast charge of the artillery beyond the example of any former war. The first and last were both however overruled on the same principle, the dread of giving information to the enemy.

The complaints made in both Houses by the opposition for the rejection of papers were not greater than those which they continually repeated, of the failure of delivery with respect to those already ordered, and the exceeding defectiveness, erroneousness, and unsatisfactoriness of those which were presented; and which they stated, as being totally incompetent to the purposes for which they had been ordered; and, as shewing rather a mockery of the authority of parliament, than a due compliance with its resolutions.



The Ministers replied, that when gentlemen moved for papers, they frequently did not see or consider the extent to which their motions went. That contracts for cloathing, victualling, and supplying the troops with rum, porter, and the various other articles necessary for the service, together with the treasury minutes relative to all such contracts for four entire years, had been demanded. That these were so exceedingly voluminous, that it required more time than the Ministers themselves could have apprehended to obey the order of parliament. That they did not wish to evade the enquiry (it was their sincere desire to comply, as strictly as possible, with the orders of parliament. But that they neither did, nor should, consider themselves responsible for any incorrectness that might appear in the accounts. They denied that any information was designedly withheld. No doubt could be entertained, but that the different offices presented such materials as they were possessed of, so far as they had been included in the orders which they received. It might happen in some cases, that the accounts which were demanded had not been received. In others, perhaps, the original motions had not been directed to the proper offices. But these were not matters that lay with them.

The complaints on the other side, however, continued to the last; nor did they acknowledge that the cause was ever entirely remedied. Some accounts they said were deficient, others imperfect, and some totally omitted. Responsibility was shifted one mo-

ment, and official knowledge the next. Those, who under the immediate authority of parliament, endeavoured to procure information for its guidance, in matters of the greatest national importance, were wearied and baffled by chicane and evasion. It was not this, or it was not that person's business to give information; or the papers did not belong to this or to that office, was the satisfaction they received; and thus they were left to grope their way through a chaos of uncertainty and error. It was the business of Ministers, they said, and would have been their practice, if they had relied on the rectitude of their conduct, or the wisdom of their measures, to have procured, without giving any trouble to the other side, every species of information that could be wanted, in order to their own exculpation, and thereby to establish a perpetual record of their innocence and ability.

Before we enter into any detail of the subject, it may not be entirely unnecessary to take a short view of the avowed motives of the opposition in this enquiry; including also, the objects which they wished to establish thereby, and the conclusions to draw therefrom. The grand motive of the whole enquiry was the establishment as an incontrovertible fact, of, not only the expediency, but the absolute necessity of bringing the American war to the speediest possible conclusion.—Of restoring harmony upon a broad, and consequently equitable bottom between the mother country and her colonies.—And the establishment of a permanent union at any rate, but still  
upon



upon the best terms which the present unhappy situation of affairs would admit of between them.

To obtain this end it was necessary, they said, to combat and overthrow those doctrines which had been so long held out by the Ministers, so constantly supported and adopted by those vast majorities which were seen in two parliaments, and to an invincible perseverance in which, the contest, war, and all their consequences to both countries were attributed by the opposition. But as these doctrines had hitherto been impregnable to all arguments founded on probability, the natural reason of things, historical evidence, or analogy, and unshaken by all speculations into future evils or dangers; it was now thought necessary to try them by the strong tests of established facts and recent experience, founded on, and immediately rising from their own principles.

Upon this ground of proceeding it was necessary in the first instance, in order to obviate delay and trouble in the progress, to establish certain leading facts as simple and incontrovertible positions; such as, that the war had lasted for a certain specified time; that a certain force by sea and land had been employed in its prosecution; that it was attended with a certain stated expence of money and of lives, and that our utmost efforts in a three years war, had not produced any material advantage. From a few established facts of this nature, and all founded upon the documents before them, various deductions and conclusions were to be drawn, and various questions of political consideration arising

from the whole, were to be stated, examined, and to become objects of parliamentary enquiry, deliberation, and decision.

Thus, if our utmost efforts in a three years war had produced no material change of circumstances in our favour, it became an object of the utmost moment to weigh the consequences on all hands, which might probably attend our further perseverance in the contest. On this point, several questions of the greatest magnitude and importance, would naturally and necessarily arise. The first would be whether our resources, in any probability or hope of success, were equal to the longer continuance of so great an exhausture of blood and treasure? If this appeared in the affirmative, the next consideration would be, whether the object was equivalent to the expence, loss, and risque of the pursuit? The question of practicability must form another object of consideration; and if it appeared, that our utmost exertion of force had already failed of effect, when the enemy was much weaker, and more incapable in every respect than at present; it would remain to be shewn, upon what ground of reason or probability our hope of future success was founded.

These matters being discussed, the probability of a foreign war afforded the next great question; and on this part of the subject the opposition contended, that the danger of our becoming victims to the malice and ambition of our natural enemies, in the state of debility and exhausture brought on by our civil contest, when our principal military force was at a distance of three thousand miles,



and such measures perhaps taken by the enemy, as would render its return to our defence exceedingly doubtful, if not impracticable, presented a state and situation of public affairs, the most tremendous that this country, in its greatest perils, had ever encountered. This great branch of the subject led naturally to an enquiry into the state of our military home defence, both by land and by sea, including with these kingdoms, that also of our Mediterranean garrisons; and the defectiveness which appeared upon this enquiry, afforded room for the subsequent resolutions which were moved for, to prevent the farther lessening of our domestic force, by sending any more of the old troops to America.

Feb. 2d. Mr. Fox opened the enquiry in the grand committee of the House of Commons, with his usual ability, energy, and perspicuity, in a speech which continued for about two hours. Although, in the ample explanation which he gave of the motives and proposed ends of the enquiry, he took a comprehensive retrospective view of the conduct of American affairs, from the adoption of those measures which he supposed led directly to the ensuing troubles, to the actual commencement of hostilities, and the prosecution and events of the war; yet he observed, that the particular matter which he should refer on that day to their decision, would only compose a small part of the business, which, he hoped, would thoroughly engage the further consideration of the committee. He requested of the House, not to mix the matter in hand with any thing that had passed before, but to go

plainly and directly to the business; to consider, with the attention and temper which the great importance of the subject required, the actual state of their country, and in what manner Great-Britain might be extricated from the critical situation in which she then stood. He wished, in considering the subject, that all gentlemen would at least agree so far with him, as to divest themselves of all former opinions, of all favourite ideas, and of all those prejudices which might have been contracted in the course of past debate, and strengthened by the warmth of altercation; that they would take up their opinions anew, as they arose naturally from the subject of enquiry, or were founded on fair deductions from the information before them; neither considering themselves as friends or enemies to America, nor regarding that country as an object either of love or hatred; but considering it merely as a part, and a very considerable part of the British empire.

The method he should lay-down, he said, as the most likely to bring men to a right understanding in respect to the present state of the nation, and to point out the conduct which it would be our interest in future to pursue, would be simple, concise, and, he hoped, equally clear and conclusive; he would state certain incontrovertible facts from the papers before them, and draw the fair, if not inevitable conclusions arising from those facts. Thus, with respect to the army, he would state, that in the four years, commencing with 1774, and ending with 1777, an army, consisting in each year of a certain number of thousands of  
men.



men, had been employed in America, and that certain military operations had been performed by that army; he would shew that army to have been much stronger and more numerous within that period, and the enemy to have been much weaker and more incapable of war, than both are at present; he should in the next place state the impossibility of increasing that army. The hopelessness of success with an inferior force, after the repeated and continued failure with one much greater; and then he would shew the enormous expence which had been already incurred, its rapid increase, and the inability of the nation to its support.

The resources in men and money thus failing, it was a natural conclusion, and could not in fairness to the ministers but be supposed, that there must be some sort of negociation in hand towards an endeavour of accommodating matters; and in this part of the business, he said, it could not be too much lamented, that his motion for the papers relative to that subject had been rejected, for as the committee would thereby have discovered, and become competent judges of the nature of those impediments that had hitherto prevented such negociations from producing their proper effect, they would of course be enabled to provide such adequate remedies, as would effectually remove every obstruction to the restoration of the public tranquillity.

As prefatory to the retrospective view which he took of those measures that led to the present state of affairs, he laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, That it was

impossible for any country to fall within so few years from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without some radical error in its government. After stating the agreement with the East-India company as the immediate source of all the subsequent troubles, he observed that the ministers upon that occasion fell into a most capital error; by looking through the wrong end of the perspective, they mistook a great object for a little one: they took thirteen colonies for one; and the whole continent of America for the single province of Massachusetts's Bay. They forgot that a southern colony, Virginia, was no less jealous of its rights, nor warm in their assertion, than Massachusetts's; and they forgot that common danger would unite them all. Through this fatal error, of not being aware of the weight of that opposition which they were to encounter, their means were totally disproportionate to the end which they proposed; and it will not be questioned as an undoubted maxim in politics, that every attempt to establish power, or to crush insurrection, with means inadequate to the end, will only serve to increase opposition in the one case, and to establish, instead of suppressing rebellion in the other.

Yet, totally blind to these consequences, the measures which the ministers pursued against the town of Boston, and colony of Massachusetts's, were of such a nature as necessarily compelled the other twelve colonies to become hostile in their own defence, and to enter into a common band of union with that town and colony. He insisted that parliament would not have



have passed the irritating and hostile laws of the year 1774, if it had not been for the defective and partial information laid before them by the ministers; but that, on the contrary, if they had been acquainted with the real nature, with the true state and extent of the opposition in America, they would have adopted the most healing and conciliating, instead of the most irritating and violent measures. In treating of the causes which led to the final determined opposition and strict union of the colonies, he particularly reprobated the bill for the bringing of Americans for trial to England, and the Quebec Act. The former, he said, without entering into the question of its justice or injustice, should, since it had been adopted as a measure of policy, have been supported upon the same ground, by a force equal to the terrors which it announced, and to the alarm which it inevitably excited. But as the act excited indignation at our injustice as well as terror, so the insufficiency of the army, by which it was to be enforced, only excited the derision of the Americans without lessening their resentment. It taught them to condemn the power of this country, as much as they abhorred its injustice.

The Quebec Act, he said, united all parties in America. The most moderate, or those who were supposed the best affected to the British government, could scarcely after that say a word in favour of the intentions of the legislature. They saw a form of government established, which the violent held out as the model of that which was to be extended over the whole continent. It afforded

an unanswerable argument, that the intentions of Great-Britain were hostile and vindictive in the extreme; and that they had no resource left but in self-defence. The moderate party, if any such were still left, were struck dumb. Thus, the framers of the Quebec Act, he said, whoever they were, became in fact the great and effective friends of the violent party in America. If they had not thus seasonably interposed, there would have been a chance of America's being divided; or at least the degrees of resistance would have been different in the colonies. But this made them all not only more firmly united, but equally zealous and animated; equally determined to go all lengths rather than submit.

He then stated the impolicy of rejecting the very dutiful and affectionate petition from New York, and the unhappy consequences that resulted from that rejection. Yet notwithstanding all these acts and circumstances of irritation, violence, and malignity; notwithstanding the bitterness and animosity arising from the blood first drawn at Lexington, and afterwards more profusely shed at Bunker's Hill; America, he said, still seemed unwilling to have recourse to those fatal extremities, which to the loss and ruin of this country she has since unhappily adopted. She once more applied, but it was for the last time, to the equity and wisdom of government, for peace, security, and a renewal of amity. The petition which the Congress presented through Mr. Penn to the throne, was, all circumstances considered, couched in terms of uncommon moderation,



as well as of the greatest respect; and, besides disclaiming every idea of that independency with which they had been charged in the preceding session, contained the strongest professions of duty, as well as the warmest of affection. Every body knows the fate of that petition, and that it was not even deemed worthy of an answer. The consequences of that rejection will probably be too long felt and remembered.

He then combated the position laid down by the ministers, and upon which they justified the rejection of that petition, namely, that the Americans were not sincere in their professions or proposals; and that they only held them out to gain time for preparation, and to deceive their own people, whilst the scheme of independence was already fixed and determined upon by them. In reviewing the operations of the war, the principal conclusion he wished to draw was, that from the inefficacy of the great force already employed, and the little advantage that had been derived from the very considerable successes which had upon several occasions attended our arms, it was now evident to a demonstration, that from some inherent and insuperable obstacles, the scheme of coercion was absolutely impracticable; and that negotiation now afforded the only hope of bringing the contest to any termination, that would not prove ruinous, if not fatal to this country.

Having established (as he conceived) this position, Mr. Fox proceeded to clear the way for his immediate motion, by an enquiry into the state of our home defence; in which he made it appear from

the papers before them, that at this time, when we were in immediate danger of encountering the whole force of the house of Bourbon united with that of America, the army in England and Ireland, including the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, had been so exceedingly reduced and weakened by the continual drain for the war, as to fall several thousand men short of that peace establishment, which had been deemed necessary for our protection in seasons of the greatest tranquillity.

Upon this ground, and upon the idea which he stated and supported, that no force which we were now capable of sending to America, could render the army there so powerful as it had been at the commencement of the preceding campaign, which however produced no effect, that could in any degree justify the hope or expectation of complete conquest, he moved, as a resolution of the committee, for an address to his Majesty, that no part of the old established national forces in these kingdoms, or in the garrisons of Gibraltar or Minorca, should be sent to America.

To the infinite surprize of every body without doors, who had seen so full a house drawn down to attend the result of an enquiry of so much expectation, no debate whatever ensued, nor was the smallest reply made to the speech or the motion. In this singular situation, the question being called for, the motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 259, to 165 by whom it was supported. So large a minority appearing in support of the question, seemed to indicate that more discussion ought to



to have been employed. By that appearance also, occasion was given to the sanguine on one side to hope, that it presaged some considerable change in the disposition and conduct of parliament. Such was the event of the first day's enquiry into the state of the nation in the house of commons.

Feb. 6th. In a few days after Mr. Burke moved for an address to lay before the house, copies of all papers that had passed between any of his Majesty's ministers and the Generals of his armies in America, or any persons acting for government in Indian affairs, relative to the military employment of the Indians of America, in the present civil war, from the first of March, 1774, to the first day of January, 1778.

He supported the motion with his usual ability, in a speech of great length, (near three hours and a half) which excited so much applause, that many gave it a preference to any other he had ever spoken. Indeed this applause was carried to such a pitch, that while one gentleman, in his place, wished it to be printed, and affixed to all the church-doors which contained the proclamation for a general fast, a member of great distinction and in high office congratulated the ministers upon admitting no strangers on that day into the gallery, as the indignation of the people might have been excited against them to a degree that would have endangered their safety. No very particular account of this speech has appeared. The abstract in the public prints was nearly the following:

Mr. Burke observed, that one of the grand objects of the enquiry into the state of the nation, was

the condition and quality of the troops employed in America. That an account of the king's *regular* forces, and those of his *European* allies, were already before them. That hitherto no account had appeared of his *irregular* forces, particularly those of his *Savage* allies; although great dependance had been placed upon them, and they had been obtained at a very great expence. That it was necessary to examine into this point: because an extension of their mode of making war had lately been strenuously recommended. The prevailing idea was, that, in the next campaign, the plans hitherto pursued were to be abandoned; and a war of distress and intimidation was to take place of a war of conquest, which was now found to be impracticable.

He said that this mode of war had already been tried upon a large scale, and that the success which had hitherto attended it would afford the best evidence how far it might be proper to extend it to all our troops, and to all our operations. That if it did not promise to be very decisive as a plan merely military, it could be attended with no collateral advantages, whether considered with respect to our reputation as a civilized people, or to our policy, in regard to the means of reconciling the minds of the colonies to his Majesty's government.

He then stated what the nature of a war, in which Indians were the actors against a civilized people, was; and observed, that the fault of employing them did not consist in their being of one colour or another; in their using one kind of weapon or another; but in their way of making



making war; which was so horrible, that it not only shocked the manners of all civilized nations, but far exceeded the ferocity of any other barbarians that have been recorded either by ancient or modern history. He observed, that the Indians in North America had but two principal objects in their wars; the one was the indulgence of their native cruelty, by the destruction, or, if possible, the extermination of their enemies; the other, which always depended on the former, was the glory of acquiring the greatest number of human scalps, which were hung up and preserved with the greatest care in their huts, as perpetual trophies of victory, conquest, and personal prowess. As they had neither pecuniary emoluments, nor those honorary titles or distinctions, which are so flattering in civilized nations, to bestow, the rewards of danger and warfare consisted in human scalps, in human flesh, and the gratifications arising from torturing, mangling, roasting alive by slow fires, and frequently even devouring their captives. Such were the rewards of Indian warriors, and such the horrors of an Indian war.

He then proceeded to shew, that the employment of the Savages in the wars between the French and the English, did not in any degree come up to the measure in question, nor did it stand on the same principles. When those nations first made settlements in North America, the Indian tribes were, comparatively, numerous and powerful states; the new settlers were accordingly under an inevitable necessity, not only of cultivating their friendship, and forming alliances with them, but of admitting

them as parties in their contests and wars with each other; the affairs of both nations were so inextricably entangled with those of the people who had sold or given them lands, and admitted them to a share of their country, that they could not be separated; their contracts on both sides created a mutual interest; and while the Savages retained any degree of their original power, they could not be indifferent to the disputes that arose among their new neighbours.

But the case was now totally altered. The English colonies were the only Europeans in North America; and the Savages were so entirely reduced in number and power, that there was no occasion for holding any political connection with them as nations. They were now only formidable from their cruelty; and to employ them was merely to be cruel ourselves in their persons: and thus, without even the lure of any essential service, to become chargeable with all the odious and impotent barbarities which they would inevitably commit, whenever they were called into action.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to examine the arguments or apologies that had been used by the ministers in either house, in defence or alleviation of the measure. These he arranged under three heads, the first and principal of which was contained in the assertion, "That if his Majesty had not employed them the rebels would." To this he answered, that no proof whatever had been given of the Americans having attempted an offensive alliance with any one tribe of savage Indians. Whereas the imperfect papers al-

ready



ready before the house demonstrated, that the King's ministers had negociated and obtained such alliances from one end of the continent of America to the other. That the Americans had actually made a treaty on the footing of neutrality with the famous Five Nations, which the ministers had bribed them to violate, and to act offensively against the colonies. That no attempt had been made in a single instance on the part of the King's ministers to procure a neutrality; and, that if the fact had been (what he denied it to be) that the Americans had actually employed those Savages, yet the difference of employing them against armed and trained soldiers, embodied and encamped, and employing them against the unarmed and defenceless men, women and children, of a country, widely dispersed in their habitations, was manifest; and left those who attempted so inhuman and unequal a retaliation without a possibility of excuse.

The other heads of defence were, "That great care had been taken to prevent that indiscriminate murder of men, women, and children, which was customary with the savages;" and "that they were always accompanied by disciplined troops to prevent their irregularities." On these he observed, that if the fact had been true, the service of the Savages would have been a jest; their employment could have answered no purpose; their only effective use consisted in that cruelty which was to be restrained; but he shewed, that it was so utterly impossible for any care or humanity to prevent

or even restrain their enormities, that the very attempt was ridiculous: in proof of which, both the present and former wars afforded numerous instances; and it particularly appeared both in General Burgoyne's and Col. St. Leger's expeditions, that although no pains were neglected to check their barbarity, they indiscriminately murdered men, women, and children; friends and foes, without distinction; and that even the slaughter fell mostly upon those who were best affected to the King's government, and who, upon that account, had been lately disarmed by the Provincials. The murder of Miss M'Rea on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the King's troops, and the massacre in cold blood of the prisoners who had been taken in the engagement with Gen. Harkemer, only needed to be mentioned to excite horror, and at the same time to shew the impracticability of restraining the barbarities of the Savages.

With respect to the latter of the foregoing positions, (that the Savages had always been accompanied with regular troops) Mr. Burke gave it a direct contradiction. He shewed that whole nations of Savages had been bribed to take up the hatchet, without a single regular officer or soldier amongst them. This had been particularly the case of the Cherokees, who were bribed and betrayed into war under the promise of being assisted by a large regular force; they had accordingly invaded Carolina in their usual manner, but for want of the promised support, were nearly exterminated; and the remains



mains of that people now lived in a state of servitude to the Carolinians.

He stated the monstrous expence, as well as the inefficacy, of that kind of ally; and the unfortunate consequences that had attended their employment. That one Indian soldier cost as much as five of the best regular or irregular European troops. That the expence of these Indians had not been less than 150,000 l. and yet there never had been more than seven or eight hundred of them in the field, and that only for a very short time. So that it appeared as if our ministers thought, that inhumanity and murder could not be purchased at too dear a rate. He shewed that this ally was not less faithless, than inefficacious and cruel. That on the least appearance of ill success, they not only abandoned their friends, but frequently turned their arms upon them. And he attributed the fatal catastrophe at Saratoga to the cruelties exercised by these barbarians, which obliged all mankind, without regard to party, or to political principles, and in despite of military indisposition, to become soldiers, and to unite as one man in the common defence. Thus was the spectacle exhibited of a resistless army springing up in the woods and deserts.

He also passed some severe strictures on the endeavours in two of the southern colonies, to excite an insurrection of the negro slaves against their masters. He insisted that the proclamation for that purpose was directly contrary to the common and statute law of this country, as well as to the general law of nations. He stated in strong

colours the nature of an insurrection of negroes: the horrible consequences that might ensue from constituting 100,000 fierce barbarian slaves, to be both the judges and executioners of their masters; and appealed to all those who were acquainted either with the West India Islands or the Southern Colonies, as to the murders, rapes, and horrid enormities of every kind, which had ever been acknowledged to be the principal objects in the contemplation, of all negroes who had meditated an insurrection. The vigour and care of the white inhabitants in Virginia and Maryland, had providentially kept down the insurrection of the negroes. But if they had succeeded, he asked what means were proposed for governing those negroes, when they had reduced the province to their obedience, and made themselves masters of the houses, goods, wives, and daughters of their murdered lords? Another war must be made with them, and another massacre ensue; adding confusion to confusion, and destruction to destruction.

The result of his speech was, that our national honour had been deeply wounded, and our character as a people debased in the estimation of foreigners, by those shameful, savage, and servile alliances, and their barbarous consequences. That instead of any military effect of value, they had only led to defeat, ruin, and disgrace; serving to embitter the minds of all men, and to unite and arm all the Colonies against us. That the ineffective attempt upon the negroes, was the grand cause of that greater aversion and resentment, which appeared in the Southern, than in



many of the Central and Northern Colonies; of their being the first to abjure the King; and of the declaration made by Virginia, that if the rest should submit, they would notwithstanding hold out singly to the last extremity: for what security could they receive, that if they admitted an English governor, he would not raise their negroes on them, whenever he thought it good to construe any occasional disturbances into a rebellion, and to adopt martial law as a system of government?

He concluded, that the only remedy for the alienation of affections, and the distrust and terror of our government, which had been brought on by these inhuman measures, was for parliament to enquire seriously and strictly into them; and by the most marked and public disapprobation, to convince the world that they had no share in practices, which were not more disgraceful to a great and civilized nation, than they were contrary to all true policy, and repugnant to all the feelings of humanity. For that it was not in human nature for any people to place a confidence in those, to whom they attributed such unparalleled sufferings and miseries; and the colonies would never be brought to believe, that those who were capable of carrying on a war in so cruel and dishonourable a manner, could not be depended on for a sound, equitable, and cordial peace; much less that they could be safely entrusted with power and dominion.

The ministers could scarcely have any new ground to take in this debate, and accordingly applied their force principally to

support those assertions or arguments, which had been stated and combated, by Mr. Burke. They insisted, that every thing that had been advanced relative to a neutrality on the side of the Indians, was delusive, and utterly impracticable in fact. That the disposition of the Indians, and the applications made to them by the Colonies, afforded a clear and indisputable proposition, that no other alternative was left, but that of either employing them ourselves, or submitting to the consequences of their enmity. That the operations of a war in America must necessarily be combined with the nature of the country, still more than half a wilderness, as well as with the nature and disposition of the native inhabitants of that wilderness; insomuch, that no war ever was, nor still can be carried on in that country, in which the Indians will not inevitably mix. And that supposing their assistance had been rejected on both sides, they would notwithstanding have become a destructive party in the war, by scalping and murdering each indiscriminately, wherever they found themselves superior in force. Thus, they contended that the employment of the Indians was a matter of absolute necessity, and by no means a measure of choice or inclination.

They said, that no proposals of neutrality had ever been made to the Indians by any of the contending parties in America, whether French, English, or Americans, excepting only when the proposing party had failed in its endeavours to procure their assistance, and would thereby prevent their operation on the opposite side.

That



That this had been particularly the case of the Congress with respect to that neutrality which had been so much boasted as an instance of moderation and humanity. That the Indians had at all times been a principal object of American policy, with every European nation that held possessions on that continent. That Indian treaties had been entered into the last war, and those people employed successfully against our French and Christian neighbours, without the measure exciting any part of that outcry and complaint which is now so industriously raised. That those treaties had been renewed, confirmed, and continued, down to the present time; that it was well known that superintendants were constantly employed at a great expence by government, to create and preserve alliances with the Indian nations; and that parliament gave every session the fullest sanction to this policy, in approving of and recognizing those alliances and treaties, by granting specific sums of money to the disposal of those superintendants, for the purpose of being laid out in presents, and distributed among the leading warriors and chiefs of the Indian nations.

The minister remarked on the observation that had been made, of danger arising from strangers being admitted to hear the debate; he said, that he also was very glad of that circumstance of an empty gallery, but that it proceeded from a very different cause; for he would have been apprehensive that if the public had been acquainted with the unfounded charges and aspersions brought by gentlemen on the other side to traduce the

honour and character of their country, it might, indeed, have raised their indignation and resentment to a very dangerous degree. He also entered into some defence of the measure of emancipating the negroes in Virginia, and encouraging them to join the royal army. He said the proclamation did not call on them to murder their masters, as had been stated in the debate; it only called upon them to take up arms in defence of their sovereign. He acknowledged the employment of the savages to be a bad, but stated it as an unavoidable measure; and combated the charges of cruelty by re-criminating upon the Americans, who, he said, hung up their own people by dozens, for no other crime than their supplying our camp with provisions.

After a warm debate of seven hours, Mr. Burke's motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 223, to 137 who supported the question. That gentleman, notwithstanding, followed his first motion by several others.—For copies of all treaties and conventions with the Indians of North America, and all messages, speeches, and symbols, sent by any persons acting in his Majesty's service, or under their orders, from the first of March, 1774.—For an account of all money, arms, ammunition, stores, and the quantity, kind, and value of goods given to any of the said Indians, or consigned to any person for them, on account of his Majesty, or any person employed in his or the public service. For an account of the numbers, nations, and names of chiefs, of the American Indians, who have been in arms against the colonies of



North America, since the 1st of March, 1774: as also of those who have acted in his Majesty's armies, with their state and numbers, as by the last returns, and where employed.—For an account of the number of negroes of Virginia who have repaired to his Majesty's standard, from the 1st of March, 1774, and the corps which they formed or were embodied in, together with the names of the officers commanding the said corps, and serving therein: as also their number and condition, as by the last return.—And lastly, For copies of all orders given, and information received, relating to the raising negroes for his Majesty's service, in North and South Carolina. All these motions were separately negatived.

Feb. 11th. In a few days after, the House being in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Fox stated a number of facts relative to the war in America, which were founded on conclusions drawn from the papers before them. As the accounts given in relative to the armies in America, were extremely deficient, in those heads of information, from whence any knowledge could be derived of the specific loss of men sustained in the war, and that those in particular which related to the state of the foreign troops, presented little more than a blank in that respect, the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Fox, who conducted the enquiry in both houses, adopted the same simple method for remedying that defect, and thereby establishing the point of fact. For this purpose, having established from the documents before them, the exact number of effective men which

were in America, in the year 1774, and previous to the commencement of hostilities, which they shewed to be 6,864, they added to that amount the number of reinforcements and recruits, whether native or foreign, which had been sent from Great-Britain, Ireland, or Germany, during the intermediate time; and these aggregates being cast into one round sum, and compared with the number of effective men, which from the last returns appeared to be still left on that continent, the difference, amounting to something about twenty thousand, was stated as the exact loss of men sustained in the war to the latest date, whether by desertion, slain in battle, dead through disease, or otherwise incapacitated for service, by wounds, captivity, or sickness.

Mr. Fox having opened the ground which he was to take, with his usual perspicuity, explained the nature of a succession of twelve motions which he intended to make, and of the points which they went to establish. He would shew, to the satisfaction of the committee, that we had lost 20,000 men by the war, and that the expence of treasure had already amounted to full twenty-five millions. He would then appeal to the judgment of the committee, considering that we had gained nothing by this fatal contest hitherto, and that instead of the undisciplined rabble we were first engaged with, we were now to contend with a powerful, numerous, and well-disciplined enemy, whether it was not full time for them to reflect in the most serious manner, on the very critical and alarming situation of public affairs. To consider, whether  
our



our resources of men and money were equal to the difficult and hazardous task of conquest; or if that should appear, on due examination to be totally impracticable, whether it was not incumbent on parliament, immediately to devise some means for putting an end to our public calamities, and to endeavour to avert those imminent dangers with which we are on every side threatened. That in every consideration of this mad, improvident, and destructive war, they should bear constantly in mind, that besides our having suffered such disgraces in its progress as this country never before experienced, all those thousands of lives and millions of money, had not only been thrown away to no manner of purpose, but that on the contrary, that vast expence of blood and treasure had rendered conciliation infinitely more difficult, and consequently our situation as a nation infinitely worse, than if the sword had never been drawn, a shilling spent, or a life lost.

He then proposed his leading motion as a foundation for the succeeding, and as an incontrovertible fact arising from the evidence before them, viz. "Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that in the year 1774, the whole of the land forces serving in North America, did not amount to more than 6,864 effective men, officers included."

The Secretary of war said, that however they might have been founded in point of fact, he could not have avoided disapproving of the resolutions, as being highly improper and ill-timed: but that when he also knew, that some of the principal of them were totally

unfounded in fact, he could have no difficulty in giving them a direct negative. The honourable mover had stated as a fact, that 20,000 men had been already lost in this war; this, he contended, to be a gross error, for he could demonstrate by returns which he had in his hands, that the whole number slain in three years war did not exceed 1200. He did not mean to include in that number those who died natural deaths, who deserted, were made prisoners, or who had been rendered unfit for service by wounds or sickness; but only such as had been slain in battle. And that if this erroneous statement of the loss of men was to go out into the world under the sanction of parliament, it would not only establish false, but very pernicious ideas, with respect to the state, nature, conduct, and consequences of the war.

The minister declared the propositions to be reprehensible and impolitic in the highest degree; and was amazed, that while our affairs were represented to be in the most critical and alarming situation, how the author of that assertion could, with any colour of reason, propose that the state of our armies should be exposed to our enemies, during the actual state and existence of a war, which, according to the language held on that side, was every day expected to be extended in a still more dangerous degree; but that if he had even approved of the purport of the motion, it was impossible he could agree to it, until the prodigious difference in calculation, which appeared to be no less than sixteen to one, between the honourable mover, and the noble lord at the



head of the war office, from whom also the whole information upon the subject was derived, could be in some manner settled. That he would therefore recommend to Mr. Fox to withdraw his motion, until this great difference in point of calculation was settled, when it would be time enough to consider the merits of the question; but that if this was not agreed to, he must be under a necessity of endeavouring to set it by, by moving to report some progress.

To this it was replied, that the mover had not supposed or stated, that 20,000 men had been actually slain outright in battle; he had only shewn and stated from the documents before them, that the deficiency of the force sent to America, exclusive of what was raised in the country, amounted at the date of the latest returns to that number. That however some parts of the question might be interesting to humanity, it availed but little to the public, and nothing at all to the service, what proportions of that twenty thousand had been killed upon the spot in action, died of their wounds, perished by disease or fatigue, deserted to the enemy, or who lived to present a maimed and mutilated spectacle of human nature at home, condemned to drag out a life of misery, and to exist a dead burden and constant expence to their country.

That it was not the fault of opposition if false or imperfect accounts had been laid before parliament; they had taken great pains to prevent or to remedy those defects. But that if the noble Lord sent in papers of a different complexion, from those which he relied on for his own private use and

information, it was no wonder that there should be mistakes in the calculations, and that those mistakes should also be exactly such as the noble Lord pleased. But they insisted that there could be no mistake to affect the question in its principal and material point. The state of the effective force sent out, and of that which still remained, could not be controverted; and the difference was the undoubted loss sustained in the war. The noble Lord's calculation of the number actually slain, they said, might be easily overthrown, but it was no part of the present business.

In answer to the noble Lord at the head of the treasury, they observed, that an enquiry into the state of the war, and consequently of the army, was the principal object of the committee. That it would be a farce to talk of enquiring into the state of the nation, and to omit those great objects, which in fact included every thing that could be worth their enquiry. That if enquiry was not made during the war, it could never be made to any purpose; it would be too late when the die was cast, the contest concluded, and our fate, perhaps for ever, decided; and that at any rate, if the men who now opposed it succeeded, and still continued in office, they could easily evade all enquiry into their conduct when the subject was no longer interesting. That the establishment of such a doctrine would amount to no less in effect, than a public remission of all crimes and treasons committed by men in office against the state during the continuance of a war; for that iniquitous Ministers would have nothing more to do for their security in



in the utmost state of turpitude, than to prolong a war, to the detriment and ruin of their country, until the indignation of the people was exhausted, and that their crimes were at length obliterated from the public memory. They concluded by asserting, that the Minister's pretence or argument, for opposing the motion, on the danger of exposing the state of our forces to the enemy, was not more frivolous in point of argument, than it was repugnant to practice, and unsupported by precedent; and that their journals abounded with instances, of parliamentary enquiries into the state of our fleets and armies, the conduct of commanders, and the causes of miscarriage, public loss, or disgrace, being instituted in the midst of the heat, violence, and danger, of our most arduous wars.

The debate was well supported; most of the principal members of the opposition having taken a considerable share in the question. As the Minister had announced to the House previous to the speaker's quitting the chair, that he should on the following Tuesday, the 17th, lay before them a plan of conciliation with America; this notice occasioned much conversation, and some animadversion, distinct from the main subject. The opposition declared, that if the noble Lord's intended plan of conciliation, was fair and open, founded in justice, good faith, and right policy, and warranted by the principles of the constitution, it should meet with the most hearty and unreserved concurrence on their side of the House. But they had too much cause for fearing that it would not answer that descrip-

tion; for they could scarcely be persuaded, (unless the ideas of cruelty and meanness were inseparable,) that the same men who had rejected the most humble petitions and dutiful remonstrances with haughtiness and contempt, could ever consent to hold out any plan that was fairly meant to secure those rights, which they had so long endeavoured to annihilate by the sword.

A young gentleman of great fortune, and of still greater expectations, whose father had first laid or adopted the scheme of American taxation, and who had himself hitherto given some support to the war, upon the same principle, and in the common hope which operated upon so many, of obtaining an effective revenue from the colonies, after explaining the motives for his present conduct in voting with the opposition, which were not founded upon any departure from his former principles and opinions, but entirely owing to the unhappy measures pursued by government, which had now reduced those to be merely matters of speculation; he then reprobated with an extraordinary degree of severity the whole conduct of administration, whether with respect to the American business in general, or to the war in particular.

In the course of a very able speech, he deplored the disgrace brought, not upon our arms, but on our counsels, by the ill-fated, rash, and undigested expedition from Canada. He lamented the want of protection to our commerce, the consequent weight of insurance on our merchants, and the declining state of public credit. He hoped a day of retribu-



tion would come, when Ministers would be called to a severe account for the disgrace and infamy which they had brought upon their country, by involving it in a war which they were incapable of conducting, and deceiving the nation into an immense expence and great loss, by holding out promises of a revenue which their inability had obliged them to abandon. He sincerely wished that the noble Lord's plan of conciliation might succeed; but he had every reason in the world, he said, to apprehend it would not. A previous confidence between the parties, was the very life and basis of all negotiation and treaty. The noble Lord himself would not venture to say, that any such source of accommodation subsisted between Ministers and the ruling powers in America. Nobody was ignorant, he said, that every possible occasion had been given by the present administration, to fix in the breasts of the people of America and their leaders, the most rooted hatred and inveterate rancour. Under such singular circumstances of disappointment and disgrace on one side, and such provocations on the other, he would appeal to the candour of those whose dispositions might lead them to the highest point of expectation, whether there was the most distant prospect of any success from a treaty which was to be conducted on the part of Great Britain, by men who were universally execrated from one end of the continent of North America to the other.—Men, he said, whose best and sincerest intentions would be only interpreted as lures to ensnare and betray. Under the full

influence of these persuasions, he could not but fear, that whatever the noble Lord's intentions might be, his plan would be rejected by America, which would only furnish Ministers with an apology for trying the experiment of one more fatal and disgraceful campaign: after which he would venture to predict, that all further attempts to subdue, or hopes to treat with America would be at an end, and that country irretrievably lost forever to this.

The Minister refrained from taking any notice of the asperities that had dropped from this gentleman; and only gave a general answer to his opinions, along with those which had been thrown out by others, relative to his proposed scheme of conciliation. He said, that as he never meant to negotiate away the rights of this country, to procure himself any temporary convenience; so he never wished to encroach on those of America. His own private opinion never varied: but if his proposition should not meet with the approbation of the majority in that House, or that it should undergo any alteration, in either event he would gladly acquiesce. As to the particular favourable disposition of America towards individuals or parties in that or the other House, he said, that by every thing that had yet appeared, all men and all parties seemed equally obnoxious to them; and whenever propositions came to be made, he was inclined to believe, that the object of the colonies would not be by whom they were made, but whether they were such as answered their expectations. For his own part, he was ready and willing to resign the disagreeable



agreeable task to whoever was thought better qualified, and was contented to accept of it. He wished as sincerely for pacification as any one person in either House; and so the end was obtained, it was a matter of no consequence to him by whom, or in what manner it was accomplished.

Mr. Fox had thrown out in his speech, that he had been informed it was intended to send out other Generals, and that upon that ground, great expectations were formed on the success of the ensuing campaign. For himself, he said he expected, that whoever should succeed to the present gentleman in command, would meet with the exact fate of their predecessors; they would be one day charged with indolence, inactivity, and want of spirit; with a designed procrastination of the war, from motives of lucre and private interest; and on the next, with quixotism, knight errantry, and disobedience to instructions. He then gave ample testimony to the bravery and good conduct of the Generals; contended, that they did not miscarry through want of skill in their profession, or from any neglect of their duty, but merely from their being employed on a service, in which it was impossible for them to succeed; and that if Ministers shewed any trace of wisdom throughout their whole conduct, it was in their choice of officers; although they now basely insinuated, that it was only in the choice of Generals that they had been deceived; and that it was to their fault alone, that all the miscarriages in the prosecution of the American measures were to be im-

puted. No reply was made to these observations.

Mr. Fox's first motion was at length set aside about 11 at night, by another, for the Chairman's leaving the chair, and reporting some progress, which was carried upon a division by a majority of 263 to 149. He then, notwithstanding the advice of the ministers, as in the first instance, to withdraw his other propositions, determined to take the sense of the House upon each singly, and they all accordingly received a separate negative without a division.

During this warfare in the House of Commons upon various parts of the general enquiry into the state of the nation, that great and important subject was not less agitated in the House of Lords, where it was conducted with unusual temper and ability, together with a perseverance scarcely to be paralleled, by the Duke of Richmond; who was also exceedingly well supported by nearly all the principal characters of opposition among the Lords. Nor was there less address shewn in one house than the other, in the manner of frustrating the principal objects of enquiry.

A debate on the choice of a chairman, upon the opening of the general committee on the 2d of February, being a matter in itself of little or no consequence, afforded an early indication of the temper which was likely to prevail with the majority in the course of the business. The noble Duke who moved for the committee, had nominated the Duke of Portland as Chairman, which was immediately opposed on the other side by the nomination of Lord Scar-

dale.



dale. It was said in support of the latter, that it was a rule of that house for one person always to take the chair in such cases; that the noble Lord in question had frequently presided in it with the greatest propriety and dignity; and that it would imply a tacit disapprobation of his conduct, to appoint a new Chairman while the former was present. It was further said, that as the business of the committee was likely to be arduous, it would require all the known industry and experience of the noble Lord to be conducted with propriety.

The Duke of Richmond replied, that he had no particular reason for naming the noble Duke, but that his character and abilities entitled him to every mark of honour and attention which they could bestow; that it had been always usual for the person who moved for a committee of the whole House, to be complimented with the nomination of a Chairman, as a matter of course; and that although it was otherwise a matter of no consequence, he wished his nomination in this instance to be adhered to, as it would appear some sort of insult to the noble Duke if it were set aside. He concluded with observing, that it appeared an ill omen with respect to the important business before them, that they should not enter upon it with that cordiality and amicable union of sentiment, with which he had hoped to find them inspired; declared that no solid objection had been offered to the noble Duke's taking the chair; and lamented so early a manifestation of party spirit.

It was farther contended on the same side, that there was no order or resolution of the House which entitled one Lord to be Chairman more than another; but that, in strict duty, each of them ought to discharge the office in his turn; so that if any one Lord had taken more than his share of the duty, it should be an argument why he should be relieved from it both then and in future; and that it was a jest to talk that any particular degree of experience or knowledge of business was necessary to its discharge, as there was not a member of either House who was not fully competent to the duty.

On the other side it was still insisted, that the Chairman who had been once appointed in a committee of the whole House, was after, when present, considered as perpetual Chairman; and that such being the uniform rule, those who attempted to depart from it, and not those who adhered to it, were to be charged with manifesting a spirit of party. The matter being put to the question, the Duke of Richmond's nomination was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 58 to 33, and Lord Scarisdale accordingly took the chair.

Although the Duke of Richmond took a wide range through the extensive subjects of their deliberation, he confined the immediate business of the day to the state of our home military defence, and having with great pains and labour drawn clear calculations from a multitude of perplexed and undigested accounts, he endeavoured to convince the committee of its great deficiency, considered merely as a *Peace Establishment*. He then stated



stated the great and immediate probability of a foreign war, which was also acknowledged and confirmed by the speech from the throne; and from thence drew the impolicy and danger of rendering our home defence, deficient as it already was, still weaker, by any further drains for foreign service.

Upon this ground he made the following motion as the foundation of an address: "Resolved, " that this committee, taking into " consideration the continuance " of the armaments in the ports " of France and Spain, of which " his Majesty was pleased to in- " form parliament in a speech " from the throne at the opening " of this session; and also taking " into consideration that a very " great part of our naval and " land forces are on the other side " of the atlantic ocean, and there- " fore not applicable to the de- " fence of this kingdom upon any " emergency; and that the forces " in Great Britain, Ireland, Gib- " raltar and Minorca, are at this " time less in number by 5673 " men, than the establishment has " been in times of tranquillity and " peace; is of opinion, that no " part of the old corps, which are " left in Great Britain, Ireland, " Gibraltar or Minorca, can be " spared for any distant service, " without leaving this kingdom " and its immediate dependencies " in a most perilous, weak, and " defenceless condition, thereby " inviting a foreign war, and ex- " posing the nation to insult and " calamity."

The motion was principally op- posed by the Lords in administra- tion upon the following grounds.

The impolicy of exposing to rival powers the weakness of our home defence. The impropriety of par- liament interfering in any manner to restrain the crown in the exer- cise of its inherent prerogative, that of raising, directing, and em- ploying of the military force of the kingdom; and that to restrain or regulate that exercise, would be in fact to suspend it. That the defence of this kingdom did not depend on its army. The navy was our great and sure bulwark of defence. Our fleets had ever been irresistible; and our navy was ne- ver in a more respectable condition than at present. It was, in its pre- sent state of preparation, the great pledge for our internal security, and for the pacific conduct of our neighbours. The passage in the King's speech had been totally wrested from its purpose; and the inference drawn from it was un- founded and unjustifiable. The nature and extent of the de- pendance which should be placed on the disposition or professions of foreign courts, varied with circum- stances; and it would be highly unwise in the course of political events to rely solely on assurances. That predictions of the same na- ture with the present, relative to the conduct and designs of foreign powers, had been frequently re- peated for some years, but were not yet in any instance justified by experience. But that in any case, supposing the worst that could pos- sibly happen, and that all that was held out on the other side should be realized; surely it would be exceedingly imprudent to invite a war, by acquainting our foreign rivals in power and greatness, that we were either unprepared or un- able



able to meet an enemy. They concluded, that the resolution would amount to a public acknowledgment of our inability to reduce the Americans; and consequently to the renunciation of all our rights, and to the establishment of their independence.

The Lords in opposition ridiculed the ideas of secrecy affected on the other side; which they also represented as an insult on the understanding of that House. Could they themselves imagine, that any person in or out of it, with the most common share of understanding and information, could swallow such an absurdity, as that our foreign enemies were ignorant of the state of our land forces, and of our home defence. The detail of the names and numbers of the several corps, and the places of their distribution, is constantly in print. The estimates are annually and publicly laid before parliament. The accounts from which the resolution is drawn are now before parliament. Not a single solid objection, they said, had been made to the noble Duke's motion; his facts were unanswered, and thereby established; no man had ventured to contradict or controvert them. All they have advanced, exclusive of the shameful pretence of deceiving our enemies, by concealing our weakness in one instance, and making a false display of our strength in another, amounts to no more, said they, than that we should now, in the instant of greatest danger which this country ever experienced, repose a thorough confidence in the vigilance and ability of those ministers for our secure preservation, who by a long series of error and miscon-

duct, and a failure, through inability, of all their measures, have at length brought our affairs to the present perilous crisis. In the course of the debate, a war with France was repeatedly declared to be inevitable; a noble Duke predicted with confidence that it would take place before three months were elapsed; he said, that to prevent a junction between France, Spain, and America, we should make peace with the latter at all events; and exclaimed with eagerness, "Peace with America, and war with all the world."

The question being at length put, the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 93 to 31.

The committee on the state of the nation being resumed on the 6th, several eminent merchants, were brought by the Duke of Richmond to be examined at the bar, whose evidence went to establish the great losses which our commerce has sustained by the war. The examinations were long and interesting; no pains were omitted by the Lords on either side of the House in their enquiries; nor were those on the ministerial side deficient in point of stricture and cross examination. Upon the whole, the evidence was unusually clear and accurate.

To lessen or weaken the effects which might be produced by this enquiry into the state of our commercial losses by the war, the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty thought it fitting in three days after to bring counter-evidence before the committee, in order to shew the advantages which it had afforded. His Lordship observed, that as the noble Duke had brought

witnesses



witnesses to prove the losses sustained by the commerce of this country, it was necessary, as well for their information, as to prevent an *ex parte* evidence from going abroad into the world, to shew how far the losses sustained by Great Britain had been compensated for, whether by the prizes taken from our rebellious colonies, or by the opening of new branches of commerce. He then moved, that the witnesses whom he had brought for the purposes should be examined at the bar.

This was objected to by the Duke of Richmond as informal. He said, he could not easily discern for what purpose this evidence was to be produced. For to form a just estimate of the effect of this war on our commerce, the trade lost must be set against the captures made; and though they should prove equal, (which he believed would not be seriously asserted) all the captures made from our trade by the Americans would be so much clear loss. But whatever it might turn out, he said, he would by no means endeavour to preclude his Lordship from bringing what evidences he pleased relative to this enquiry at a proper time; that his own lay open to his cross examination, and he had it in his power to controvert every thing they advanced; but that to take up another matter before the former was disposed of, was unparliamentary; and was besides, not dealing with that candour and openness which might be expected. He then appealed to their Lordships, whether in every stage of the enquiry, he had not previously acquainted them with the substance of his intended motions; only wishing and hoping

that every noble Lord would have been influenced by the same motives which actuated himself, namely, an earnest desire to come at every degree of information, which might open any way for attempting to relieve or alleviate the present very great distresses of this country.

To this it was answered by a great law Lord, that the subjects on which the committee was to hear evidence were blended; losses had been proved, and estimates made to the disadvantage of Great Britain; and as the evidences now to be examined intended to prove, that those estimates were not so considerable as they had been stated, it was certainly quite regular to proceed on that examination. This opinion was, however, controverted; and after a considerable debate, the motion for examining the witnesses was carried upon a division, by a majority of 66 to 25.

The noble Earl's witnesses amounted only to three; the first of whom, being a proctor belonging to the court of Admiralty, was brought forward to testify the number of American prizes which had been condemned in his court. The second, was a considerable adventurer in a whale fishery, which had been discovered and prosecuted with great advantage in the southern American seas, as well as on the coasts of Africa, by the British colonies, before the commencement of the troubles; but which had only of late been attempted from this country, on its dropping out of the hands of the Americans, and in consequence of the scarcity and high price of oil, through the general failure in our fisheries.

The



The third, was an old Captain in the Newfoundland cod and whale fisheries.

It appeared from the evidence of the second, that the southern fisheries were capable in time, and under the blessings of tranquillity, (more especially if they could be retained as a monopoly) of becoming exceedingly profitable. The sperma ceti whale, which abounds in those seas, is represented as being by far the most valuable of his species. He stated that fifteen vessels of about 170 tons each, had been employed in that fishery the preceding year; but it was drawn out upon his cross-examination, that the returns in product that year, (which was however deemed very successful) run upon an average only between forty and fifty tons to each vessel. It was at the same time known, although we believe not directly specified by this witness, that the very oil which was the product of this fishery, as well as those of all others, were now risen to about double their usual price. He also acknowledged, that they were under a necessity of employing four American harpooners in each vessel, as the British seamen were not yet capable of executing that capital part of the business.

It did not seem that the third witness established any thing very material. He only stated what was evident to every body, that as we had now a monopoly of the Newfoundland fishery by the exclusion of the Americans, so, if we were capable of prosecuting it to the utmost extent, the whole profits, which they formerly shared with us, would, in that case, center entirely in our own hands. But

he was obliged to acknowledge, that the present scarcity of seamen prevented, in a very great degree, our profiting of that circumstance; and upon being closely pressed, he seemed uncertain, whether, laying by all consideration of the European markets, we should even be able to supply our West-India islands from that fishery, if the pressing of seamen was continued in its present rigour by the Admiralty. He acknowledged that we were obliged to employ American harpooners in the Newfoundland whale fishery.

On the 11th of February, the committee being resumed, the Duke of Richmond recapitulated the evidences which he had brought before them, preparatory to a set of motions which he had to make, being, he said, only resolutions of plain matters of fact, arising from the evidence before them, and which would be grounds for their lordships further deliberation.

His Grace accordingly stated his resolutions to the following effect: That in the course of trade, a very considerable balance was always due from the merchants in North America to the merchants of Great Britain, towards the discharge of which remittances were made in goods to a great amount, since the commencement of the present troubles, and whilst the trade between this kingdom and the colonies was suffered to remain open.—That since the passing of the several acts for prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies in North America, their mutual intercourse with each other, all trade and commerce between them and this kingdom, and for making prize of their ships,



ships, and distributing their value, as if they were the effects of our enemies, amongst the seamen of his Majesty's navy, the number of vessels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland, taken by ships of war and privateers belonging to the said colonies, amount to 733.—That, of that number, it appears that 47 have been released, and 127 retaken; but that the loss on the latter, for salvage, interest on the value of the cargo, and loss of a market, must have been very considerable.—That the loss of the remaining 559 vessels, which have been carried into port, appears, from the examination of merchants, to amount at least to 2,600,000 l.—That of 200 ships annually employed in the African trade, before the commencement of the present civil war, whose value, upon an average, was about 9,000 l. each, there are not now forty ships employed in that trade, whereby there is a diminution in this branch of commerce of 160 ships, which at 9,000 l. each, amount to a loss of 1,440,000 l. per annum.—That the price of insurance to the West-Indies and North America, is increased from two, and two and a half, to five per cent. with convoy; but without convoy, and unarmed, the said insurance has been made at fifteen per cent. But generally ships in such circumstances cannot be insured at all.—That the price of seamen's wages is raised from one pound ten shillings, to three pounds five shillings per month.—That the price of pot-ash is increased from eight shillings, to three pounds ten shillings per hundred weight.—That the price of sperma-ceti oil has increased from thirty-five pounds to

seventy pounds per ton.—That the price of tar is raised from seven and eight shillings, to thirty shillings per barrel.—That the price of sugars, and all commodities from the West Indies, and divers sorts of naval stores from North America, is greatly enhanced.—That it appears to this committee, that the present diminution of the African trade, the interruption of the American trade to the West Indies, and the captures made of the West-India ships, have greatly distressed the British colonies in the West Indies.—That the numbers of American privateers, of which authentic accounts have been received, amount to 173; and that they carried 2556 guns, and at least 13,840 seamen, reckoning 80 men in each ship.—And that, of the above privateers, 34 have been taken, which carried 3,217 men, which is more than 94 men to each vessel.

The noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty declared, that every day's experience served to confirm him in his original opinion, that the enquiry into the state of the nation was pregnant with the most ruinous consequences, and could not be productive of the smallest benefit. That it only went to publish to the world those things which in prudence and policy should be concealed. That no war could be conducted without difficulty, embarrassment, and loss; but that it was a new system of policy to let enemies into the secret of national difficulty or imbecility. But he also contended that the American commerce had suffered more than ours by the war; that upon the whole, we had in that respect been gainers in the contest;



contest; and that upon a fair examination a considerable ballance would be found in our favour.

In support of this position, he controverted the evidence given by the merchants; said that their estimates in point of value were rated too high; and their lists of ships taken by the enemy erroneous. That if some branches of commerce failed, (which ever was and will be the case with all nations, whether in peace or in war) others of greater value were established. Upon this ground, he estimated the benefits to be derived from the southern fishery, and even its present value, at a very high rate; and the American share of the Newfoundland fishery, which was calculated in its duplicate state of a prize to us, and a loss to them, was appreciated in the same manner. The noble Lord stated the number of American prizes which, had been taken at 904, which estimated, he said, at the very moderate valuation of 2,000*l.* each ship and cargo upon an average, would amount to 1,808,000*l.* to which, if the value of the fisheries was added, it would appear that this country was not benefited less already by the war than 2,200,000*l.* besides that every shilling of that money was a total loss to our rebellious colonies. He concluded, that these facts totally overthrew the Duke's resolutions in point of establishing an estimate of national loss; and that although nobody wished more for an end to the war than he did, yet its continuance was in many respects advantageous to this country, and would be still more so.

On the other side the Lords were earnestly called upon to con-

sider, that the questions which they were to decide upon, were facts already established before them, and to which, without a total violence to reason and propriety, they could not refuse their assent. That so far the ground was cleared for their further deliberations, and opened a view in one great national department, how far the further prosecution of the war would be consistent with sound policy, and with the public welfare. And the supposed danger of affording information to our enemies, relative to facts which were already of public notoriety, met with that degree of ridicule with which the subject had of late been not unfrequently treated.

The noble Duke who was the proposer of the motions observed, that as they did not mix with any other matter, the noble Earl's detail did not in any degree interfere with them, and could not with any colour of propriety or reason be brought to set them aside. He observed with exceeding severity, that the dangers with which we were surrounded, and the calamities in which this country was overwhelmed, could no longer excite surprize or wonder, when a minister at the head of the marine, that most capital department of the state, and upon which its power and preservation entirely depended, should betray such shameful and total ignorance of trade and commerce, as to lay down as an incontrovertible position, that, because the great number of ships we had lost in the war might be balanced by another number of vessels taken from the Americans, the nation, upon the whole, consequently sustained no loss. He asked,



ed, whether any other Lord present could be persuaded, that the commerce of this country was not affected by the loss of 773 vessels, estimated in value at considerably above two millions of money, which had been taken from our merchants, because an equal value in prizes (supposing the fact to be true, which was, however, by no means admitted) had been taken from the Americans, and distributed among the seamen of the royal navy. The case was still the more deplorable, he said, as the value of all those cargoes, if we had not been at war with the Americans, would, in the circuitous course of trade, have centered in Great Britain.

Some difficulty arose as to the mode of disposing of the question. For the nature of the facts stated in the resolutions scarcely admitted of a direct negative, and the putting of the previous question is not customarily practised in committees. To solve this difficulty a noble Lord high in office moved, that the chairman should quit the chair, on which the committee divided, when the motion was carried by a majority of 80 to 32 Lords. The House being thus resumed, the Duke of Richmond moved his string of resolutions, when the previous question was put upon each separately, and carried.

## C H A P. VII.

*Petition from the county of Norfolk. Lord North's conciliatory propositions. Two bills brought in thereon. Effect of the Minister's speech. Conduct of the minority with respect to his conciliatory scheme. Mr. Fox states his information of the conclusion of a treaty between France and the American deputies; calls upon the Minister for an explanation on that subject. Progress of the bills. Mr. Serjeant Adair's motion for the appointment of commissioners, after much debate, rejected. Mr. Powys's motion to admit a clause for the repeal of the Massachusetts Charter Act, rejected on a division. Motion by Mr. Powys for the repeal of the American Tea Act, and by Mr. Burke for extending the provisions of the Declaratory Bill to the West Indies; both agreed to. Conciliatory bills pass the Commons. New house-tax. Mr. Gilbert moves for a tax of one fourth upon salaries, annuities, pensions, fees, and perquisites of offices under the crown. Motion carried upon a division; but rejected the following day, on receiving the report from the Committee, by a small majority. Mr. Fox's motion in the Committee of Enquiry, relative to the state of the royal navy, after much debate, set aside by the previous question. Mr. J. Luttrell's motion for an instruction enabling the American commissioners to promise the removal of any minister or ministers, who they should discover to be so obnoxious to the colonies, as thereby to prevent the restoration of tranquillity, rejected upon a division. Letter from General Gates to the Earl of Thanet read by the Marquis of Rockingham. Motion by the Duke of Richmond, that the letter should lie on the table, after some debate, rejected. Duke of Richmond's motion, relative to the state of the forces in America, after much*



*debate, set aside by the previous question. State and amount of the expences incurred by the war in America, set forth by the Duke of Richmond; who proposes a number of resolutions founded thereon, which are all set aside as before. Motion for the attendance of the Surveyor of the navy, made by the Duke of Bolton, and rejected upon a division. Several subsequent motions made by the same nobleman, and tending to an enquiry into the state of the navy, after considerable debates rejected. American conciliatory bills passed by the Lords. Enquiry into the conduct of the transport service by the Earl of Effingham, whose resolutions thereon are rejected.*

**A** Petition of uncommon energy, signed by 5,400 inhabitants of the county of Norfolk, including the city of Norwich, was presented and read to the Commons on the morning of the day that the Minister was to lay open his conciliatory plan with America. In this piece, a comprehensive view was taken of the conduct of public affairs, and the effect of public measures, both at home and abroad. Among others, the measure of raising men and money by free gifts and contributions for the service of the crown, a purpose for which, they say, they were called upon themselves, in a manner equally alarming, by persons of great power and rank in his Majesty's service, receives the most explicit marks of their disapprobation. The piece abounds with strong expressions.—“ A misrepresentation of our unhappy  
“ situation would be a mockery of  
“ our distress. An empire is lost.  
“ A great continent in arms is to  
“ be conquered or abandoned.” After a melancholy representation of public affairs, they trust, that  
“ the House of Commons, whose  
“ duty calls, and whose competence and constitution enables  
“ them to come to the bottom of  
“ those evils, will seriously enquire into the causes of our present calamitous situation, for

“ we greatly fear that we, with  
“ the rest of your constituents,  
“ have been hitherto greatly deceived and deluded, with regard to the nature, the cause, and the importance of the American troubles, as well as concerning the means of quieting them, both legal and coercive; else, we should not have the misfortune of seeing acts of parliament made, only to be sent back to be repealed; armies sent out to enforce them, only to be returned to us as prisoners under capitulation; and, to speak with the filial confidence of free subjects, we plainly declare ourselves unwilling to commit any more of our national glory to attainment, and the persons of more of our countrymen to foreign hardships and perils, without any common human security, that they shall not, by the same errors, be exposed to the same calamities and disgraces, which many of those have fallen into, who have already been sent forth. Without wise councils at home, we cannot have empire or reputation abroad.”

The noble Lord at the head of affairs, however little satisfied he might be with the censures passed or implied in this petition upon public conduct and measures, could find



find nothing in it to militate with any propositions that tended to a conciliation with America. Feb. 17th. He introduced his conciliatory propositions with a recital of his creed in all American matters. In that he asserted, that peace had at all times been his governing principle. That with that object in view, his conduct had been uniform, and his measures consistent; but that events had been in general exceedingly untoward. That he had always known, that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue; that there were many sorts of taxes which could not at all be laid on that country; and of those that could, few would prove worth the charge of collection. That although the Stamp Act was the most judicious that could be chosen for that purpose; yet, notwithstanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly estimated, he had not believed its produce would have been a very considerable object.

That he, accordingly, had never proposed any tax on the Americans; he found them already taxed when he unfortunately came into administration. That as his principle of policy was to have as little discussion on these subjects as possible, and to keep the affairs of America out of parliament; so, as he had not laid, he did not think it adviseable for him to repeal the tea tax; nor did he look out for any particular means of enforcing it. That the measure of enabling the East India Company to send teas on their own account to America, with a drawback of the whole duty here, was a regulation of such a nature, being a relief instead of

an oppression, that it was impossible he should suppose it could have excited a single complaint amongst the Americans, much less to be productive of the consequences that followed. These he attributed in part to the disaffected, and in part to those who were concerned in a contraband trade, who represented it to the populace as a monopoly; so that the people were excited to tumult upon a principle totally distinct from every idea of taxation.

With respect to the coercive acts, he said, they were called forth by, and appeared necessary in, the distemper of the time; but that in the event they had produced effects which he never intended, nor could possibly have expected. That immediately upon the discovery of that failure, he proposed, before the sword was drawn, a conciliatory proposition. His Lordship said, he thought at the time, and still continued to think, the terms of that proposition would form the happiest, most equitable, and most lasting bond of union between Great Britain and her colonies. But, that by a variety of discussions, a proposition that was originally clear and simple in itself, was made to appear so obscure, as to go damned to America: so that the Congress conceived, or took occasion to represent it as a scheme for sowing divisions and introducing taxation among them in a worse mode than the former, and they accordingly rejected it.

He complained that the events of war in America had turned out very differently from his expectations, and from what he had a right to expect; and that the great and well appointed force sent out,



and amply provided for by government, had produced a very disproportioned effect hitherto. That he could not but confess himself exceedingly disappointed at this failure of effect in our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even to call into question, the conduct of any of our commanders, but he had been disappointed. That Sir William Howe had been in the late actions, and in the whole course of the campaign not only in the goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but in point of numbers too, much superior to the American army which opposed him in the field. That General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, had been in numbers, until the affair at Bennington, near twice as strong as the army under General Gates. Considering all these things, the events had been very contrary to his expectation. But to these events, and not to those expectations, he must make his plan conform.

As the foundation of his conciliatory scheme, he proposed the bringing in two bills under the following heads: "A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America." And, "A bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America."

The noble Lord observed, that it was intended to appoint five

commissioners, and to endow them with very extensive powers. They should be enabled to treat with the Congress by name, as if it were a legal body, and so far to give it authenticity, as to suppose its acts and concessions binding on all America. To treat with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, and with any individuals in their present civil capacities or military commands, with General Washington, or any other officer. That they should have a power to order a suspension of arms. To suspend the operation of all laws. And to grant all sorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they should have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of its ancient constitution, as it stood before the troubles; and in any of those where the King nominated the governors, council, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion, until his further pleasure was known.

That as the deficiency of powers in the former commissioners had been objected to, so the Congress had raised a difficulty, on pretence of the non-admission of their title to be independent states. To remove that difficulty, should the Americans now claim their independence on the outset, he would not insist on their renouncing it, until the treaty had received its final ratification by the King and parliament of Great Britain. That the commissioners should be instructed to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when re-united; but to take away all pretence for not ter-



minating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty; but that if the Americans should refuse so reasonable and equitable a proposition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they were not to look for support from that part of the empire to whose expence they had refused to contribute.

He observed it might be asked, if his sentiments had been always such with respect to taxation and peace as he had now stated them to be, why he had not made this proposition at an earlier period? To this he answered, his opinion had ever been, that the moment of victory was the proper season for offering terms of concession. And with an eye to several reflections which had of late been thrown upon him by the tory party, and hoping perhaps to obviate some part of that greater weight of censure which he now apprehended from that quarter, he declared, that for his part, he never had made a promise which he did not perform, or receive any information which he did not communicate. That he only kept back the names of those who had given him information, and which it would have been unfaithful and inhuman to divulge. That, he promised a great army should be sent out, and a great army had accordingly been sent out, to the amount of 60,000 men and upwards; that he had promised a great fleet should be employed, and a great fleet had been employed, and is still employed; he promised that they should be provided with every kind of supply, and they had been so most amply and liberally, and

might continue to be so for years to come. And, that the house had all along been in full possession of the whole subject, so that if they were deceived, they had deceived themselves.

The minister concluded a long, able, and eloquent speech, which kept him full two hours up, by saying, that on the whole his concessions were from reason and propriety, not from necessity; and that we were in a condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raise many more men, and had many more men ready to send; the navy was never in greater strength, the revenue but little sunk, and a few days would shew that he should raise the funds for the current year at a moderate rate. But he submitted the whole, with regard to the propriety of his past and present conduct to the judgment of the house.

A dull melancholy silence for some time succeeded to this speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation to any part, from any description of men, or any particular man in the house. Astonishment, dejection, and fear, over-clouded the whole assembly. Although the minister had declared, that the sentiments he expressed that day, had been those which he always entertained; it is certain, that few or none had understood him in that manner; and he had been represented to the nation, at large, as the person in it the most tenacious of those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and the most remote from the submissions which he now proposed to make. It was generally therefore concluded, that



something more extraordinary and alarming had happened than yet appeared, which was of force to produce such an apparent change in measures, principles and arguments.

It was thought by many at that time, that if the opposition had then pressed him, and joined with the warm party which had hitherto supported the minister, but which was now disgusted and mortified in the highest degree, the bills would have been lost. But, in fact, they took such a hearty part with the minister, only endeavouring to make such alterations in, or additions to the bills, as might increase their eligibility, or extend their effect, that no appearance of party remained; and some of his complaining friends vexatiously congratulated him on his new allies. These new allies, however, though they supported his measures, shewed no mercy to his conduct.

Mr. Fox complimented the minister on his conversion, and congratulated his own party on the acquisition of so potent an auxiliary. He was glad to find that his propositions did not materially differ from those which had been laid before them by his friend Mr. Burke three years before; and reminded the house, that although they were then rejected by the minister, three years war had convinced him of their utility. He observed that the noble lord was so perfect a proselyte, that the very same arguments which had at that time been so ineffectually used by the minority, and in nearly the same words, were now adopted by his lordship. He ironically applauded his resolution in relinquishing the right of taxation, from the high satisfaction which it must

afford to several country gentlemen, who had placed so firm a reliance on his former declarations. Nor was he less pleased with the power to be given to the commissioners for restoring the charter of Massachusetts, as that was a proof of his lordship's wisdom in framing the act by which it was destroyed. For, to do, and to undo, to destroy and to restore, were not only the singular prerogative, and high felicity of power, but they were also the most exalted acts of wisdom.

He wished that this concession had been made more early, and upon principles more respectful to parliament. To tell them, that if they were deceived, they had deceived themselves, was neither kind nor civil to an assembly, which, for so many years, had relied upon him with the most unre-served confidence. That all public bodies, like the house of commons, must give a large confidence to persons in office; and their only method of preventing the abuse of that confidence, was to punish those who misinformed them concerning the state of their affairs, or who had conducted them with negligence, ignorance, or incapacity.

The noble lord's defence of measures, if he could have established a real defence, would have done the highest honour to his logical abilities, as it would have been no less than a justification of the most unjustifiable measures that had ever disgraced any minister, or ruined any country. But his whole arguments might be collected into one point, and all his excuses into one apology, when the whole would be comprised, and fully expressed, in the simple word



word ignorance ! a palpable and total ignorance of every part of the subject.—He hoped, and he was disappointed.—He expected a great deal, and found little to answer his expectations.—He thought America would have submitted to his laws, and they resisted them.—He thought they would have submitted to his armies, and they beat them with inferior numbers.—He made conciliatory propositions, and he thought they would succeed, but they were rejected.—He appointed commissioners to make peace, and he thought they had powers, but he found they could not make peace, and nobody believed they had any powers.

He, however, said, that as the present propositions were much more clear and satisfactory than the former, for necessity had at length compelled the noble lord to speak plain, they should accordingly receive his support, and he supposed that of all his friends on the same side of the house. Undoubtedly, said he, they would have given full satisfaction, and have prevented all the loss, ruin, and calamity, which England and America have since experienced, if they had been offered in time. But if the concession should be found ample enough, and then found to come too late, what punishment will be sufficient for those ministers who adjourned parliament, in order to make a proposition of concession, and then neglected to do it, until France had concluded a treaty with the Independent States of America, acknowledging them as such ? He did not speak from surmise, he said ; he had it from authority which he could not question, that the treaty he mentioned had been

signed in Paris ten days before, counting from that instant. He therefore wished the ministry would give the house satisfaction on that very interesting point ; for he feared that it would be found, that their present apparently pacific and equitable disposition, with that proposition which seemed the result of it, owed their existence to the previous knowledge of the conclusion of a treaty, which must, from its nature, render that proposition as useless to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Great Britain.

Others of the opposition said, that they would vote for the proposition, as they would for any thing that looked even towards, or that could in any possible event tend to a reconciliation ; but they declared at the same time, that they had not the smallest hope of its producing any good effect. For they did not think it to be in nature, and consequently not possible, that the Americans, after having been driven to the final extremity and last refuge of mankind against oppression, should now, when they had successfully established their independency by arms, again commit those rights and immunities, which they have just redeemed at so dear a price, to the custody of those very men, who have convulsed the empire in all its parts, through the unnatural violence of the efforts which they used for their destruction ; nor that any art could induce them to receive the olive branch from those hands, which were so deeply polluted and still reeking with the blood of their country.

Some of the country gentlemen, who had all along supported the ministry in general, and who were



supposed particularly attached to this minister, being much piqued at that expression of his, that "they had not been misled or deceived," rose in great warmth and asserted, they said, with indignation, that they had been grossly deceived and misled by the uniform language of government for three years past; and one gentleman went so far as to say, that he should feel for the humiliating blush of his sovereign, when he gave his assent to the proposed bills. On the declaration of a great law officer, that a security for the congress debts, and a re-establishment of the credit of their paper currency, would be one of the objects of the commission, and one of the principal inducements held out to that body to return to its allegiance, another gentleman, zealously attached to the court declared, that he would much more readily consent to give currency to forged India bonds, and counterfeit bank notes, than to paper which had been fabricated to carry on rebellion against the king and parliament of Great Britain. In general that party declared, that as the point of taxation, which could be the only rational ground of the war, was now given up, peace should be procured by any means, and in the speediest manner. Nor did the minister escape being asked, as taxation had not at any time been his object, what were the real motives of the war? and whether he had sported away thirty thousand lives, with thirty millions of money, and in that amusement put not only the unity, but the existence of the empire to the hazard, merely to try the mettle of the Americans, and to discover what spirit they would shew in the

defence of every thing that was dear to them.

Such things must be borne in such situations. The minister being closely pressed on different hands for some explanation relative to the treaty said to have been concluded between France and America, at length declared, that he had no authority upon which to pronounce absolutely with respect to that event; that a report had for some time prevailed, that such a treaty was in agitation; that its conclusion was not only possible, but perhaps too probable;—that, however, as it had not yet been authenticated by the ambassador, the presumption lay that it had not taken place. This brought out an exclamation from a gentleman in opposition, that when the nation was at a very large expence, in supporting diplomatique establishments, and representatives of majesty, in the different courts of Europe, it was in the highest degree shameful, and not a little alarming, that in a matter of such momentous concern, the intelligence of a private gentleman should be more early or more authentic, than that of the minister of Great Britain.

In the progress of Feb. 23d. the bills Mr. Serjeant Adair moved, that it be an instruction to the committee of the bill for appointing commissioners, that they have power to make provision for nominating the commissioners by the bill. He said, that this was no infringement on the prerogative of the crown; it was no matter that lay within its ordinary federal capacity; it was a commission appointed by parliament, in order to treat about the rights



rights of parliament itself, the suspending its laws, and the surrender of its rights, or of what it had always considered or claimed as such; that for the house to give blindly such a power out of its hands, to be exercised at the mere pleasure of the crown, and by persons to them utterly unknown, was in effect a complete surrender of the whole constitution of this country into the hands of the king. That he, therefore, thought himself bound to resist this most unconstitutional measure by every means in his power; that as to any difficulties which might be supposed in the execution of this mode of appointment, they had been all completely got over in the East India bill, where, with such sufficient facility, parliament had nominated commissioners for a matter of mere executive government, and one in which no parliamentary rights or powers were at all concerned. That he hoped, as himself and the other gentlemen of the late minority had given, and would continue to give, so clear a support to the conciliatory measures of the minister, late as they were adopted, he also hoped the minister, on his part, would likewise act a fair and candid part with them, and not take them in for a dangerous extension of prerogative, whilst they were joining him in an attempt to restore peace to the country.

The learned gentlemen on the other side contended, that a compliance with the motion would be taking the executive power out of the hands of the crown. That to hold out to the world at this time, that parliament entertained any jealousy of the crown, would tend greatly to counteract, instead of in

any degree promoting the good effects, that were intended by the bill; and might also, in the present critical juncture of affairs, be attended with very pernicious consequences otherwise. That it would be a violent act, after having empowered and directed the crown to carry on the war, and after having authorized the crown to make peace, if it could have been effected by the submission of America, for the legislature on a sudden to hold their hand and say, the crown shall not negotiate for peace. That there was no instance of parliament taking such an appointment into their own hands, excepting once in the reign of Richard the Second, and that act was repealed a few years after with reproach, as an usurpation of the rights of the crown. That the progress of such a business in the house would be attended with the grossest inconveniences; the consequent discussion of names and of individuals would be odious in the highest degree; and as it was impossible that 550 persons should ever agree in such a nomination, the history of their dissensions would accompany the commission to America. But if it were true, as it was every day said on the other side to be, that the ministers could command a majority, then the nomination would of course lie in the crown without its avowal; and parliament would thereby be precluded from its natural controul upon ministers, of calling them to account for misadvising the crown in the appointment, however future circumstances might render such an interference necessary.

They further said, that the powers intended to be given by the commission,



mission, could not be safely executed by any other persons than those appointed by the crown.— That the crown had been entrusted with the appointment of commissioners to treat upon the union of the two kingdoms, who had power to suspend the acts of parliament which prevented a free trading intercourse between both, during the progress of the treaty; and that they had been ordered to keep the whole transactions secret, which order they had inviolably observed. They concluded, that nothing could give a proper weight and support to the present commission, but the perfect confidence which parliament shewed that they reposed in government.

The motion was, notwithstanding, supported with great spirit by some of the principal speakers in the opposition. They said, that the present was a question merely of men. That the measure was already decided upon, which was to give a full power to dispose of all the legislative acts, and all the legislative powers of parliament, so far as they concerned America. That there never had been such a trust delegated to men, and that therefore nothing was ever more important than the proper choice of them. That if ministers had hitherto shewn, in any one instance, that they had formed a right judgment on men, they would admit that they ought to be entrusted with the nomination of men upon this occasion. Exclusive of honesty, which, they said, they would enter into no discussion of with the ministers, the ground of confidence in men was founded on two things; namely, that they were incapable of deceiving others, and

were alike incapable of being deceived themselves. That the ministers had been repeatedly and publicly charged in that house, by those who had all along supported their measures, with having deceived them; and that their only justification had been, that they were themselves deceived in every particular relating to America. Now, take it, said they, which way you please, whether they were deceivers, as their friends assert, or deceived, as themselves alledge, they are not fit on either ground to be trusted. They, who had judged so ill of the men they had credited, in all their information concerning America, would not judge better in the choice of those whom they nominated to get rid of the fatal consequences of that ill information. They said, that the constant defence made by the ministers, with regard to the ill success of their army in America, was the incapacity, error, or neglect, of the generals they had themselves appointed; that although they did not believe that to have been the real cause, yet on their own confession, they had made a wrong judgment of the persons they had employed; and if they were so unhappy in the choice of generals, what reason was there to suppose they would prove more fortunate in the choice of negociators?

They further contended, that nothing could so effectually defeat the purpose of the commission, as the least thought that parliament reposed any confidence in the present servants of the crown. That this would be a perpetual source of distrust, jealousy and animosity to the Americans. That nobody could pretend, nor could



could they themselves venture to assert that this ministry, or any persons of their appointment, could have any title to the confidence of America. The ministers were all the declared and established enemies of America, and were only brought to a late and abject submission, by a failure of their utmost efforts to oppress them by force. If these have the appointment of commissioners, they will necessarily be men of their own stamp, character, and complexion: persons who would be much more solicitous to screen their employers than to serve their country; and who from nature, education, and habits, are much better qualified to irritate than to appease America. An high officer of the state, said they, who has been the author of all the violent and coercive measures against the colonies, will, in virtue of his office, have the nomination of the commissioners. Suppose, said they, the Americans should lay down as an indispensable preliminary to an accommodation, the removal or punishment of this minister, would any body pretend that the persons nominated by him could be considered as impartial commissioners, or fitting persons to discharge the great trust reposed in them by the state and parliament of Great Britain? But they were astonished, they said, at the insolence of ministers, who, when they should be wrapped in sackcloth and ashes, for the desolation and ruin which they had brought upon their country, were presumptuously making demand of unlimited confidence, and calling to have the few remaining powers which had been left to parliament, surrendered into their hands.

They concluded with laying it down as an axiom, that no good could proceed from any negotiation whatever, in which the present ministers had any share or concern. They observed, that the present momentous affair was not too little to be undertaken by parliament itself; that if parliamentary rights must be negotiated upon, it was fitting to be done by a committee of the two houses of parliament. That in order to settle India affairs, a committee of the house had sat in Leadenhall-street; they might as well sit in America; if the distance was greater, so was the magnitude and importance of the object. But they said, the scheme and drift of the whole was evident. The ministers intended to pay their court, and to obliterate their crimes, by increasing the prerogative in the same proportion that they lessened the empire. And thus the present war, which was pretended to be made for the double purpose of preventing the crown from obtaining a revenue from America independent of parliament, and asserting the power of the house of commons to tax all the British dominions, would at length terminate in a surrender of the right of taxation, and of all other parliamentary rights, whether of advice or controul, which interfered in any degree with the power of the crown.

The motion was rejected without any division being demanded by the opposition. The ministers took no share in the debate, and the opposition seemed unwilling to throw any impediment in the way of the bills, when the only hope, small as it was, which they placed on their success, depended on the dispatch with which they were expedited



expedited through parliament, and afterwards forwarded to America.

Upon the disposal of this motion, another was made by Mr. Powys, That it should be an instruction to the committee on the conciliatory bills, to receive a clause for the repeal of the Massachusetts charter act. This motion drew out much mixed conversation upon American affairs; official men seemed not now to be so much pinned to opinion as usual; and some other gentlemen, who had not generally made any great display of their sentiments, were now rather more communicative upon the subject. Upon the whole, it would have appeared at this moment that a great majority of the house had at all times execrated the American war; but that many had been led individually in the crowd from one step to another, without looking much farther before them, and still expecting the last to be conclusive, until the American declaration of independence astonished them with a new, awful, and unexpected situation of public affairs. This alarming appearance of things seemed to leave no other alternative, than the sitting down supinely with the loss of the colonies, or the greatest national union, and the most vigorous exertions for their reduction. The failure in arms exhibited another scene equally novel and unexpected, and seemed at this time pretty generally to excite a kind of melancholy wish, that many of those extremities had been avoided, which it was not now in the power either of fortune or wisdom entirely to remedy.

Several of the minister's friends, however, strongly condemned his present conciliatory measures; and

indeed the only rub the bills met with in their passage was from his own side. Some of these insisted upon the exercise as well as the right of taxation in their utmost extent; and even went so far as to assert, that it was a right so inherent in parliament, and so essentially woven into the constitution, that no resignation of it could be valid. Others, who were more numerous, lamented the degradation which the bills would bring upon the government, the counsels, and the dignity of this country. They insisted, that our resources were not only great, but inexhaustible; and that nothing but a spirited and vigorous exertion of our powers was wanting for the accomplishment of much greater matters than the subjugation of America. They bitterly lamented that pusillanimity in our counsels, which, after so great an expence of blood and treasure, could submit not only to give up all the objects of the contest, but meanly enter into a public treaty with armed rebels, and thereby virtually acknowledge and establish that independence which they claimed. They said, that while it would serve greatly to excite the courage of the rebels, and increase their insolence in the highest degree, it would on the other hand greatly dispirit our own troops, totally dissolve all that confidence and hope, which the loyal or well-disposed Americans had reposed in our faith or our power, and would besides render us contemptible in the eyes of all European states. To crown this climax of ill consequences, they predicted that the bills would not produce the end proposed.

To



To this the opposition said, that although they totally differed with those gentlemen in all their other positions, they very nearly agreed with them in their prediction.— They had great apprehensions, that from the lateness of adopting the measure, it would not produce that happy effect, which they themselves so much wished, and which they were certain a great majority of the nation, deriving conviction from feelings which were much more forcible than any logical deductions, began now most ardently to pant after. They acknowledged, that the chances in point of calculation were infinitely against the success of the measure; but still there was a chance; and the object of a peace with America was of so tempting a nature, including not only the happiness but the preservation of this country, that the smallest chance against whatever superiority of odds, was not to be given up at any price. It was upon this account, they said, that they overlooked many things which they disapproved of in the bills, as they would not in any manner impede or delay the business, where such a prize was at stake.

Mr. Powys's motion occasioned a long mixture of conversation and debate, which was continued till half past twelve at night. Some gentlemen, even in office, wished to extend it to the total repeal of all the American obnoxious laws. Indeed it was agreed on all sides, that upon the principle of conciliation, this must be a measure of necessity; and the minister himself, in opening his propositions, had declared his willingness to give up all the obnoxious American laws,

from the 10th of February, 1763. The only difference of opinion now upon the subject was the time of carrying the measure into execution; that is, whether it should be preliminary to, or a consequence of the treaty. Although the minister gave no specific opinion upon the subject, and indeed mixed but little in the debates since the introduction of the business, yet as those confidential persons, who are at all times supposed to be in the secret of affairs, took the latter part of the alternative, and that, notwithstanding the present conciliatory temper of the house, the motion was at length rejected by a majority of 181 to 108; no doubt can be entertained that his sentiments were on the same side of the question.

The bills underwent great alterations in their progress both through the house and the committee. Whether it proceeded from a change of opinion, or from whatever other cause, the powers to be entrusted with the commissioners were much narrowed from what had been at first held out by the minister. The opposition complained that parliament had divested itself effectually of those powers; but instead of their being communicated to those persons who were to negotiate a treaty at so great a distance, where immediate conclusions might be absolutely necessary, a circumstance which alone afforded the ostensible motive for their being demanded or granted, they were reserved at home in the hands of the ministers, to be hereafter detailed as they thought proper. This was easily accomplished by the means of the crown lawyers, under the colour of making those powers



powers agree with instructions, whose nature and purpose were totally unknown to all persons excepting themselves and the ministers. Some of the opposition complained greatly of this conduct, which they said was totally subversive of the great principle of the bill, viz. That commissioners upon the spot would be better able to determine what was immediately fitting to be done, than parliament or any other body could, at the distance of three thousand miles; but the expunging from the bill of those discretionary powers which were intended for the commissioners, rendered it, they said, with respect to its avowed purpose, little more than a piece of waste paper: so that as it then stood, its real effect could be only to vest in the ministers a suspending power out of parliament, under the form and colour of instructions to commissioners, instead of the open and usual mode of carrying it by bill through both houses. The danger of the precedent, in this view of the business, and the competence of those who were to be entrusted with such a power, afforded sufficient ground for animadversion; but the eager hope of attaining the great point in view, subdued all other considerations, and prevented any great degree of opposition.

Some members of the opposition were the means of considerably extending the effect of the bills with respect to their original purpose.

25th. Mr. Powys having moved, That it be an instruction to the committee, to receive a clause for the repeal of the American tea-act, passed in the year 1767, it was agreed to. And Mr. Burke, having

on the same day moved, that the provisions of the bill should be extended to the West Indies, his motion was likewise agreed to.

The title of the bill relative to taxation was also totally altered from its original state. It was foreseen, that the words “for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes,” would be exceedingly offensive to the Americans, as being declaratory of the right, and merely a suspension of the exercise. The new title, under which it was passed, being in more general terms, it was hoped would have given satisfaction, and was as follows: “For removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the parliament of Great Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces and plantations in North America and the West Indies, and for repealing so much of an act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, as imposes a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or relates thereto.”

Although the third reading of the bills brought out a considerable share of mixed debate and conversation, yet they were both passed without a division. March 2d.

The minister found it necessary to lay a new tax on houses, and another upon wines, in order to secure the interest of six millions which he was obliged to borrow for the services of the ensuing year. This occasioned some debate in the committee of supply, 9th. the house-tax being considered, by the gentlemen in opposition, as being



being not only a land-tax in effect, but as being also exceedingly disproportionate and oppressive, and falling particularly heavy upon the inhabitants of London and Westminster, who already paid so vast a proportion to the land-tax, and whose burdens, including with that, poor-rates, window-tax, watch, lights, pavement, and other imposts, amounted in several parishes to more than eight shillings in the pound. Whilst, to render it still more grievous, it frequently happened that those who were the least able to bear them, bore the heaviest burthens.

The questions being however agreed to, Mr. Gilbert, having some days before given notice to the house of his intention, after lamenting the negligence and prodigality with which the national business was conducted, and stating the necessity of appointing a committee to enquire into the expenditure of the public money, more particularly into the exorbitancy of contracts, and the abuses of office, then moved, That the better to enable his Majesty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown and dominions, in the present exigency of affairs, there be granted one-fourth part of the nett annual income upon the salaries, fees, and perquisites of all offices under the crown, excepting only those held by the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Chancellor, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, Ministers to foreign parts, Commissioners, Officers in the Army and Navy, and all those which do not produce a clear yearly income of two hundred pounds to their possessors; the tax also extending to all annuities,

pensions, stipends, or other yearly pensions issuing out of the Exchequer, or any branch of the revenues; and was to commence from the 25th of March, 1778, and to continue for one year, and during the continuance of the American war.

Such was the temper which at that immediate time happened to be prevalent, or rather, such was the effect arising from the general dissatisfaction excited by the untoward appearance of public affairs, that this motion, which was made by a gentleman in office, and closely connected with one branch of ministry, to the astonishment of every body, and to the exceeding alarm of administration, was carried by a majority of 100 to 82 in the committee. And although the ministers summoned all their forces from all quarters within reach on the ensuing day, in order to oppose the motion on receiving the report from the committee, yet with all their strength, it was rejected only by a majority of six, the numbers upon a division being 147, to 141 who supported the question. Nor would it have been lost if the opposition had been at all unanimous in its support. For some of their principals considered it as a measure which would have been exceedingly distressing to individuals, without any adequate public advantage. For men in office frequently had no other support but their income, and had been long used to live up to its full extent; and those who had interest with government would be repaid from the public purse (frequently with advantage) what they had seemed to contribute towards it; and the only real contribution would arise from those, who being



destitute of interest, were the least capable of bearing the tax.

11th. On the following day, the committee into the state of the nation being resumed, the state of the navy was the subject introduced by Mr. Fox, who after clearing and laying out his ground with his usual ability, and several introductory motions, proposed the following as the result of the whole, "Resolved, that the present state of the royal navy, for the defence of Great-Britain and Ireland, is inadequate to the very dangerous crisis of public affairs."

Mr. T. Luttrell took a principal share in this debate, and apologised for the length of time which his course of investigation must necessarily take up, from the double consideration, that most of the naval papers which had, after so much trouble, been at length laid before them, were ordered by the House in consequence of motions made by himself, and that he was bound, now that the means were in his hands, of maintaining and making good those reiterated charges, which, in the two preceding, as well as the present session, he had brought against the Ministers of the Admiralty department. In this course of investigation and calculation, which took up about three hours, he particularly stated, that the public had paid about double the sum for the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the navy during the last eight years, which the estimates of the same services had amounted to in the eight years which commenced with the year 1755, and ended with 1762, a period which included the whole of the late war.

The motion was well supported, all the principal speakers of the opposition taking an active share in the debate. A great naval commander, in whom the nation reposed the greatest hope and confidence in case of foreign danger, took the same side, although he was then under appointment to the command of the grand fleet which was intended for our home defence. On the other side, the question, in point of debate, was only opposed by the admiralty and treasury benches. It was at length got rid of by the previous question, without a division.

On the following day the Ministers were not a little surprised at an unexpected motion made by Mr. James Luttrell, for an address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to instruct the Commissioners, whom he might name, for the purposes of carrying into execution the present American bills, that in case they should find, that the continuance in office of any public Minister or Ministers of the crown of Great-Britain should be found to impress such jealousies or mistrust in one or more of the revolted colonies, as might tend materially to obstruct the happy work of peace and sincere reconciliation between Great-Britain and her colonies; that the said Commissioners might be enabled to promise, in his Majesty's name, the earliest removal of such Minister or Ministers from his councils.

This motion was highly resented by the Ministers, and not less warmly supported by a great part of the opposition. Others, however, on that side differed in opinion,



nion, and although they acknowledged, that there was but little room to hope for conciliation or peace with America under the auspices of the present Ministers, yet they considered the proposed measure as too humiliating and degrading to this country; and thought, that if it should be found necessary (as they conceived it was) to change Ministers, it ought to be done previously, and not to be the consequence of a treaty with the Americans. The motion was at length rejected upon a division by a majority of 150 to 55.

Whilst various matters were thus continually agitated by the Commons, the Lords did not seem to be much more at ease in their House. For what with the enquiry into the state of the nation, the occasional objects of discussion of which the present times were so productive, and the usual stationary business, few days passed without affording something interesting. A singular letter had been written by General Gates, soon after the convention of Saratoga, to the Earl of Thanet, with whom it appears that General had formerly lived in habits of great intimacy and friendship. This letter, which was forwarded to the noble Earl through the medium of General Burgoyne, was, excepting a short observation on the severity of General Lee's confinement, and a shorter remembrance to two common friends, entirely upon public business.

The conquering General, after a short view of the fate of the northern British army, hastens to declare, that "born and educated in England; he cannot help feeling for the misfortunes brought

upon his native country, by the wickedness of that administration, who began, and had continued this most unjust, impolitic, cruel, and unnatural war." He states, that the dismemberment of the empire, the loss of commerce, of power and consequence amongst the nations, with the downfall of public credit, are but the beginning of those evils, which must inevitably be followed by a thousand more, unless timely prevented by some lenient hand, some great state physician, with the firmness, integrity, and abilities of a Chatham, joined to the wisdom, virtue, and justice of a Camden. Such a man, he says, aided and supported by persons as independent in their fortunes as unsullied in their honour, and who never bowed their heads to Baal, might yet save the sinking state.

But that great object he contended could only be obtained by a confirmation of that independency, which the people of that continent were determined only to part with along with their lives. Such a minister, he said, would do as all other wise statesmen had done before him. He would be true to the welfare and interest of his country; "and, by rescinding the resolutions passed to support that system which no power on earth can establish, he will endeavour to preserve so much of the empire in prosperity and honour, as the circumstances of the times, and the mal-administration of those who ruled before him, have left to his government."

"The united states of America," he said, are willing to be the friends, but never will submit to be

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the slaves of the parent country. They are by consanguinity, by commerce, by language, and by the affection which naturally springs from these, more attached to England than any other country under the sun. Therefore, spurn not the blessing which yet remains. Instantly withdraw your fleets and armies; cultivate the friendship and commerce of America. Thus, and thus only, can England hope to be great and happy. Seek that in a commercial alliance; seek it ere it be too late, for there only you must expect to find it."

He concluded with the following declaration: "these, my Lord, are the undisguised sentiments of a man that rejoices not in the blood shed in this fatal contest; of a man who glories in the name of an Englishman, and wishes to see peace and friendship between Great Britain and America, fixed upon the firmest foundation,"

The noble Earl who had received the letter was so much indisposed with a cold; that, on the 16th of February, when he introduced it, he was only able barely to inform the House who it came from, its purport, and to desire it might be read by the clerk. This was opposed by the court Lords, who held that it would be exceedingly improper for that House to enter into any correspondence with a rebel officer or General, or to frame any resolution upon his information; and that the letter might also contain matter which it would be highly unfitting for their Lordships to hear. As it could not however be controverted, that the noble Earl would have had a right to read the letter as a part of his speech, if

he had been in health so to do, the objections were accordingly removed by the Marquis of Rockingham's undertaking that office for him.

The Duke of Richmond then moved that the letter should lie on the table, which brought on a very considerable debate; it being contended on one side, that the authority which it came from, a rebel General in arms against his Sovereign, would have been in itself a sufficient ground for the rejection of the motion. But that it was besides only a private letter from one gentleman to another, and containing merely the opinions of an individual. Were the Congress bound to abide by any propositions held out by General Gates, or to ratify his conclusions? It was beneath their own dignity to make a private correspondence, if it had not been even encumbered with those particular circumstances which rendered it totally inadmissible, in any degree the subject of their deliberations. But what in fact did this letter hold out? The very terms vaguely mentioned in it, were such as their Lordships had repeatedly reprobated, when proposed to them by some of their own body, and placed in a much more agreeable dress and form. It contained an insinuation, that America was determined to preserve her independency. Was General Gates's word a sufficient authority to the King's servants for acceding to that position? Were they to withdraw the army and the fleet, and to throw the nation at the feet of America, merely upon his advice or assertion? That part of it which consisted in an invective against the present administration,



ministration, they supposed would rather draw the contempt than the attention of the House. Those who were fond of invectives against Ministers might frequently have an opportunity of hearing them much more forcibly and elegantly expressed, by noble Lords within these walls than by Mr. Gates.

On the other side it was contended, that General Gates, from his situation, rendered exceedingly conspicuous by his late success, was a person of great weight and importance in America; that the only means of obtaining the sense of the people in that country, was by hearing the sentiments of such men, that the circumstance of his being an Englishman, and the consideration of that affection, which, if he had not even declared it, every body must judge from his own feelings, that he still inevitably retained for his native country, ought to afford the greater weight to his opinions; that it would have been happy indeed if such information had been hitherto properly regarded, instead of the delusive and fatal representation of things, which had been transmitted by prejudiced or interested Governors, and other official persons, by which Ministers had repeatedly acknowledged themselves to have been misled, and through whose means, the nation had been evidently deluded into that ruinous war, which has brought on all our present calamities. That the motion was attended with a peculiar propriety at present, from the notice given by the Minister in the other House, of his intention to lay a plan of pacification with America speedily before parliament; a measure which must render every species of

information necessary; and why not read Mr. Gates's letter here, when Commissioners were to be sent with powers to treat with him personally in America? They said that the springs of government had been hitherto polluted, because the channels of intelligence had been stopped; that Ministers had not only shut their own eyes constantly to the light of truth, but had uniformly endeavoured to render it equally invisible to parliament; and, that to reject the motion, would be to shew a determination of still pursuing that ruinous system, which had already produced such fatal effects, of shutting their ears to information, and continuing wilfully and perversely in error.

The motion being rejected without a division, the committee of enquiry into the state of the nation was resumed, when the Duke of Richmond opened the business of the day by observing that he had several resolutions to propose, which were intended to establish the state of the army, and the number of effective men serving in America, in the different years of 1774, 1775, 1776, and 1777, with the services and events of each campaign, as they appeared from the papers which were referred to the consideration of the committee. Having then stated the necessity of the committee's coming to some result upon matters that appeared before them, as the name or pretence of an enquiry would otherwise become an absolute mockery; he moved his first resolution, viz. "that it appears to this committee, so far as they are informed from the returns referred to them, that the greatest number of regular land



land forces serving in North America, in 1774, did not exceed 6884 men, including officers."

The Lords in Administration opposed the motion upon the ground of impropriety and inexpedience. It would be needless, they said, to repeat the arguments which they had used in a late debate, as they applied in every instance to the present occasion. The circumstances corresponded so exactly in both cases, that there could be no doubt, that the same motives which then induced their Lordships to reject those resolutions which originated in the same quarter, would operate equally with respect to the present. If the noble Duke persisted in his motion, they would be under a necessity therefore of moving that the Chairman should quit the chair, in order to make way for the previous question.

This concise method of preventing the establishment of facts, and frustrating the ends of the enquiry, was reprehended with great warmth and vehemence by some of the Lords on the other side. They said, that if Ministers were thus enabled and determined, to get rid of every proposition founded on undeniable facts which appeared in the enquiry, merely by a brief rejection, and without any reasons assigned, it would be better at once to put an end to an investigation, from which so much good had been augured, and by which the nation had been so long amused. That it would be acting a much more manly part, for the Ministers to avow their sentiments openly, and to break up the committee, than thus insidiously to deceive the public, by holding out an opinion that they countenanced the enquiry, and

at the same time using such underhand measures as effectually checked its progress, and rendered it totally useless and nugatory. And that the only idea which they had hitherto held out, for the committee's not coming to resolutions of fact, "lest it should afford a knowledge of our real condition to our enemies," was so replete with absurdity, that it would appear a libel upon any body of men, who were only furnished with the most moderate share of common intelligence, to suppose it could have the smallest influence upon their conduct. But that even that argument, wretched as it was, could not apply in the present instance; for resolutions of facts, by being merely proposed, exposed all that could be known to the world, as effectually under the previous question, or a negative, as under an affirmative vote. The effect therefore of their refusing to concur, would not be the preventing of truth from being known; but making it known, that they had a dislike to declaring the truth.

A great law Lord, who has been long out of office, declared, that it had been at all times the usage of parliament to form resolutions on matters of fact, which resolutions were considered as the data from which the conclusions were to be drawn; and finally to be the ground of the measures meant to be proposed, in consequence of such information. He said, he was free to declare, that the present mode of putting a negative on every resolution proposed, was in fact pretending to give information, but refusing the use of that information. For when every fact was established, the whole enquiry



at an end, and the grand conclusions relative to future measures came to be made, where were the facts to be found on which the House was to proceed? They were indeed to be found in the Journals, but under the infliction of a negative by the previous question, which in 'so many words imported, that as it had not been necessary or proper to resolve the facts, it must of course be unnecessary and improper to agree to the conclusions. This argument, he said, was obvious and incontrovertible. It would in fact amount to a premature dissolution of the committee; and if administration were determined to adhere in the future progress of the enquiry to that conduct they had hitherto observed, he thought it much better to dissolve it at once; much more candid to stop its mouth, than by a mere outside shew of an enquiry, to amuse the people without doors with high expectations, when it was finally resolved, by those who led majorities within, that no one benefit or advantage whatever should be derived from it. He concluded, that from the conduct of the Ministers, he had long apprehended with concern that this would have been the fate of the committee: but that as soon as he was informed that the Minister in the other House had proposed introducing a plan for peace, (which was the sole object of the committee) pending the enquiry, his doubts were changed to a certainty, and he saw at once through the whole scheme of the manœuvre. He saw that a substitute was adopted in the place of the enquiry, to prevent a clamour without doors; and that under the cover of this contrivance, the committee would

meet with a violent and immature death from the hands of the Minister and his mutes.

The severity of manner as well as of language, with which these and other strictures were passed, could not fail to draw out some explanation from the other side. The Lords in administration declared, that they could not see the utility or the necessity of the committee's coming to any resolution at present; nor did they think, in fact, that it was their business so to do; that they were to proceed regularly with the enquiry, and after having gone through it progressively, and adverted to every distinct object of it, were to form some general conclusion deduced from, and grounded upon the result of the whole investigation. A great law Lord, in the first office of the state, agreed, that it was always customary for committees to agree to resolutions of fact: but he endeavoured to weaken the force of that concession by asserting, that the conclusions intended to be deduced from those facts ought to be opened to the committee, previous to their entering into any resolution upon the subject; and, that as the noble Duke's intentions, in that respect, were, as yet, altogether a secret to the committee, although, so far as he could guess, they were probably of the same nature with some inadmissible propositions, that had been lately heard of in favour of America, he would accordingly vote for the Chairman's leaving the chair.

The question being at length put, for Lord Scarisdale to leave the chair, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty; the numbers being 65 to 26. The committee being thus dissolved for



the present, the Duke of Richmond made his original motion, which he followed with eleven others upon the ground we have already stated, all of which were separately rejected by the previous question without a division.

The committee being again resumed on the 19th of February, the Duke of Richmond proposed their entering into an investigation of the expences which the American war had cost the nation; and in order to obviate that dread and aversion which he knew was prevalent, with respect to the intricate and tiresome nature of accounts, he had already himself, with exceeding labour and perseverance, gone through all the operose work of calculation. Thus, infinite quantities of matter, detail, and calculation, being compressed under their respective heads, and comprized in a comparatively small compass of space, became, without any great degree of trouble or fatigue, manageable subjects of comment and enquiry.

The noble Duke having stated the causes which rendered their being well informed on this part of the subject of the war particularly necessary, proceeded to state the extraordinary expences arising from the war, of each of the four last years separately, and the whole being ascertained, as nearly as it could yet be possibly done, amounted to the gross sum of 23,894,792*l*. He then shewed, from the example of the last war, as well as by various calculations, that if the great work of peace was to be now accomplished in the speediest possible manner, there would remain behind a farther tail of expence, which, at the most moderate com-

putation, would amount to at least nine millions. So that the public expence attending the American contest, however speedily and happily it might now be brought to a conclusion, and independent of all other contingent losses, would, at the lowest calculation, amount to near thirty-three millions sterling.

To establish these facts, he framed a string of resolutions, founded upon the accounts before them, declaring the several heads of service, and the amount of the total extra expence in each year. He hoped, that as the resolutions of fact which he was about to propose, would essentially further the project for peace, which they knew was speedily to come within their Lordships consideration, and as they would also serve to open the eyes of the public, and convince the people at large of the necessity of putting an immediate end to the war, that they would meet with no opposition; much less that they should not experience the fate of the several others which he had moved in the course of the enquiry. He then concluded by moving his leading or preliminary resolution.

The Lords in administration did not attempt to controvert the calculations, but concisely declared, that the resolutions were highly inexpedient, unparliamentary, and incapable of answering any useful purpose. That they could by no means agree to the doctrine, that the mere matter of resolutions being founded in fact, could be any sufficient cause for their being agreed to. There were many truths that might be easily ascertained, which it would be exceedingly improper



proper to declare, or to give a parliamentary sanction to. That it was equally inexpedient and foolish to expose the national weakness and infirmities. And, that instead of promoting the purpose held out by the noble Duke, the publishing of facts declarative of weakness, would produce a directly contrary effect, and render any plan of peace that could be proposed, infinitely more hazardous and difficult. That if they had foreseen the purposes to which it had been intended to direct the committee, they would have opposed its formation originally in the most open and direct manner. They threw out some hints towards its dissolution, and concluded with moving that the Chairman should leave the chair.

The Duke of Richmond replied, that our weakness was already perfectly known to every body but ourselves, and had been so long before the commencement of the committee; but if any doubt could remain on that head, the resolutions themselves recorded upon the Journals, and from thence communicated to the public, under full information that their authenticity as facts could not be questioned, even by the persons who had given them a negative, annihilated all pretence of concealing our present dangerous and defenceless state, either from our enemies, or from the people of this country. It would therefore, he said, be much more consonant with that haughty and explicit tone affected by Ministers, to declare, that the motive which induced them to put a negative upon such matters of undoubted fact was, that those facts contained the most full and unequivocal proofs of their misconduct;

that they informed the nation, that its present alarming and ruinous situation was brought upon it by a set of Ministers, who had wantonly plunged it into an unjust and unnatural war; who had spilt its best blood, and already wasted twenty-four millions of its treasure; and who at length, after persisting in those weak and wicked measures for more than three years, and after refusing so much as to hear of any terms, but such as would have reduced the colonies to absolute slavery, were now preparing to sue for peace, and to make the most humiliating concessions.

The question being put upon the motion for quitting the chair, it was carried upon a division by a majority of 66 to 28. The Duke of Richmond then moved his several resolutions, which were all separately set aside by the previous question.

Previous to the division, that nobleman had taken notice, that he had gone through as many heads of the public enquiry, as came properly within his knowledge, habits of life, or mode of application; that he hoped some other Lords would take up the business where he ended; and that particularly, those papers on the table, relative to the navy, would be taken into due consideration, by those Lords who were properly masters of the subject. In this he evidently pointed to a noble Duke and Earl, who being themselves high in the naval service, had for some time, by the solicitude of their enquiries into its state and condition, given no small occasion to call forth the ability of the noble Lord who presided in that department. This part of the enquiry



was accordingly taken up and pursued by the Duke of Bolton, who was particularly and professionally seconded by the Earl of Bristol.

On the 25th of February, the Duke of Bolton moved that the Surveyor of the navy should attend the House. This was personally opposed by the noble Lord at the head of the navy, who insisted that the giving any further information on the subject, was both unnecessary and inexpedient. He had ever held but one opinion, he said, in that respect, which was, that it would be highly imprudent, even in its present very flourishing state, to divulge its condition. On the other side it was contended, that the motion was in direct conformity with the order of the House, which had long since directed an enquiry into the state of the navy, and that all information relative to the subject should be communicated to the committee; without which, indeed, the name or pretence of an enquiry, would appear too ridiculous for the place and subject.

The debate of course brought out much animadversion with respect to that great and flourishing state of the navy, which had been so triumphantly held out, and so frequently repeated, since the opening of the session. Nor was this unmingled with declarations of apprehension and concern, at now discovering (as they expressed it) in this season of danger, that those representations were totally unfounded, and the flattering hopes raised upon them of course illusive. The noble Lord at the head of that department, still, however, supported, with unabated firmness, the va-

lidity of his former position, and insisted, that the navy was never in a greater or more flourishing state than at present; but something having, seemingly, slipped from him, probably owing to the warmth of altercation, as if it were a maxim of policy with all states, not only to keep their naval affairs a profound secret, but to give exaggerated representations of their maritime force, and to state ships upon paper which were not actually fit for service; these expressions, or something tantamount to them, did not by any means serve to lessen the severity of observation on the other side.

Two precedents were also brought by a noble Lord, one from the Journals of the Lords, and the other from the Commons, shewing, that in the year 1707, a similar enquiry to the present having been then instituted, notwithstanding the dangerous and widely extended war in which we were involved, and notwithstanding that Prince George of Denmark was then at the head of the admiralty, yet without any regard to those considerations, or to that necessity of secrecy now dwelt upon, an account was laid before both Houses, of the quantity and value of the naval stores in all the yards, and many other matters of equal importance and delicacy to the full, as the objects of the present enquiry, were then fully and publicly discussed. This brought out an observation, that if the present motion was rejected, it would be a proof that they treated the present first Lord of the admiralty with greater respect, than their ancestors had done the husband of the Queen of England



land upon a similar occasion. The motion was however rejected by a majority of 23 to 11 Lords.

The committee being again resumed on the 2d of March, the Duke of Bolton opened the business with a speech, tending to point out from the papers before them, much mismanagement in the conduct of naval affairs. He dwelt particularly upon the great mercantile losses we had sustained; which he attributed principally, to the refusal, or misemployment of convoys, and to the want of judgment in stationing our ships and frigates of war.

He entered into the neglects and errors with relation to a proper defence of the West Indies. He then took a wide range through the whole circuit of naval affairs, in which he displayed much professional skill and ability, and concluded a long speech with several motions for resolutions, tending principally to shew the state of our fleet serving in America under Lord Howe, with respect both to ships of war and frigates; their original complement of men, with the loss they had sustained in the war; with the state, number, and condition of the line of battle ships for home defence, and of the frigates for home service.

The noble Earl, whose conduct had been the subject of censure in this speech, after correcting some errors in point of fact or calculation, which, he said, the noble mover had fallen into, entered into a discourse of no small length in order to do justice to the merits of his own administration of naval affairs. In this detail, he repeated some assertions, which had long before been the subject of much

animadversion, relative to the deplorable and most ruinous state in which he had found the navy at his coming into office. In the conclusion, he entered into a defence or justification of his conduct relative to the losses sustained by commerce. He acknowledged that trade had suffered; but said it was an inconvenience which could not have been prevented. It was a consequence of the mode of carrying on the war in America. Frigates were absolutely necessary for that service; and if we had possessed a sufficient number of them, to have also supplied the stations which the noble Duke had alluded to, there could not be a doubt that our commerce would have been better protected. To weaken, however, the idea of the damage sustained by commerce, he denied that the rapid decline of the African trade had proceeded from the war. That branch of commerce, he said, had been overdone; the trade had been on the decrease for several years before the troubles with America commenced, and must have been by this time nearly on its present state if they had never taken place. Other matters of charge or censure he excused, by saying the best had been done, that the particular circumstances would admit. But if it had been otherwise, and the facts were just as the noble Duke had stated them, still he could not be liable to any censure; he acted only ministerially; the measures were deliberated and resolved upon elsewhere; and if he did his duty in executing the orders he received, he was by no means responsible for the consequences.

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The matter was agitated for some time with great bitterness by the Lords on the other side. They could not, they said, repress their grief and indignation at the deplorable state of our navy, which was not only clearly proved by the noble Duke who conducted the enquiry, but, to their astonishment, substantially acknowledged by the great officer who presided in that department, notwithstanding his endeavours to palliate and qualify facts, and to evade the conclusions which they evidently led to. They reminded him and his colleagues in office, of the high sounding language and boastings which they had held through the session. When themselves had complained of the weakness of our internal military defence, and of its insufficiency for the protection of this island, they were answered that it was a matter of little consequence; that our navy was our great national bulwark; it was that we were to depend upon in the day of trial; it was invincible, and superior to any thing our natural enemies could bring against us. "We are able to cope with the whole united force of the House of Bourbon."—"The more France and Spain know of our navy, the better; a thorough knowledge of its state is the best means of securing us against the designs of our enemies." Such was the current language of ministers. But what, said they, do we hear on this day? That all our apprehensions were well founded; and that all those boastings were the offspring of fallacy and deceit. This was not a bare affirmation without proof; the noble Earl, they said, who presides in the counsels of this

country, had just told the House so in as many words. He did not put a negative on the resolutions for their not being founded on truth, but merely because they would be an avowal of our naval weakness.

The court party, without admitting, or much controverting these positions, stood firm on their old ground of the danger and impolicy of exhibiting such details, whether true or false, to public inspection. The resolutions were at length rejected upon a division, by a majority of 64 to 26.

The American conciliatory bills were carried through the Lords without a division; being introduced and read on the 3d of March; read the second time on the 5th, and passed on the 9th. They were, however, reprobated in the whole or in part, by a few individuals, who considered them as exhibiting such marks of humiliation and disgrace, as the most unhappy periods in the history of this country had never before equalled. Some of the opposition considered them as highly disgraceful to this country, as well as incapable of producing the wished-for effect. The last proposition seemed to have been the general opinion of that party.

The Earl of Abingdon, although he would not obstruct the bills by an opposition in the House, entered his single dissent in a protest against them. The Duke of Grafton, on the second reading of the bills, informed the House that he had received information which he could not question, that a treaty had been actually signed between the court of France and the American deputies. He said that his noble



noble kinsman had put the question in the other House to the Minister, from whom he was able only to procure an evasive answer. That some clear explanation of a matter in itself of so important a nature, and which was at that time so immediately critical, was absolutely necessary, previous to their entering into any discussion of bills, whose effect must entirely depend upon the fact which was to be explained. That, if the information was true, it was absurd to insult parliament with the appearance of reconciliation, when it was no longer practicable. If ministers knew the fact, they were culpable in the highest degree, in concealing intelligence of so important a nature from parliament, and leading it, under the cover of that concealment, into measures of futility and public dishonour. Or, if they pleaded ignorance, their conduct was still, if possible, more reprehensible, and their incapacity more glaring, in being entirely deficient in that species of information which it was the first duty of their stations to procure. He called loudly for an answer as to the point of fact, and desired it might be remembered, that it was on the 5th of March he put that question to the King's ministers.

A noble Lord, the nature of whose high office afforded him every opportunity of information in all public matters, said, he had indeed heard of such a treaty from out-door report, and also that the question had been put and fully answered in the other House; but he assured their lordships, in the most precise terms, that he knew not of any such treaty as had been mentioned, having been signed, or

entered into, between the court of France and the deputies of the congress. He hoped it would likewise be remembered, that it was on the 5th of March when he declared in his place, that he knew nothing of any such treaty, nor had received any authentic information of its being either in existence or contemplation.

The committee of enquiry being resumed on the 12th of March, the business was opened and conducted by the Earl of Effingham, who having previously obtained an order for papers and the attendance of witnesses, observed, that the profusion which prevailed in the different departments of the state, and the waste and misapplication of the public treasure, which more particularly attended every thing relative to the present unhappy and unfortunate war, were become so notorious and enormous, as to demand their most serious attention and immediate interference. That this must have been of course a principal object of their enquiry into the state of the nation; but that in the present unhappy season, when the nation was already groaning under the weight of new and accumulating burthens, when the sources of taxation were already exhausted in such a degree, that the whole time and invention of the Minister seemed unequal to the discovery of new subjects for it; when he was already obliged to borrow money for the service of the current year, at a higher premium than had been given in the course of the last war, and far beyond the legal rate of interest; and when we were at the eve of a foreign war of such extent and danger, as would render the strictest œconomy necessary



necessary to our immediate preservation, under all these circumstances, it became doubly incumbent on their lordships, both as an obligation of public and private duty, to look carefully into the expenditure of the public money, and by correcting the profligacy of ministers and public officers, to apply a speedy and effectual remedy to this crying and ruinous grievance.

The business of the present day, his Lordship observed, went no farther than to the novel conduct, and its consequences, of the Treasury Board, in departing from its proper line of business, and taking into its hands the unprecedented management of the transport service. But this was introductory to that thorough investigation, which he intended, of the public accounts in general. He acknowledged, ironically, that the whole of the expenditure which was to be the object of their immediate enquiry, amounted only to about 600,000 l. which, to those who were in the practice of voting or passing millions, without care or examination, might appear too trifling a matter to become a subject of their serious consideration. But when he had made it appear, as he would, that the loss to the public in this comparatively small expenditure, amounted to no less than one fourth of the whole sum; when it was recollected, that the detection in this instance afforded full room for a presumption, that the same waste prevailed in the disposal and management of those immense sums which were annually raised upon the people; he trusted, however trifling or unworthy of their attention the loss of 150,000 l. in one

article of expenditure might appear, their lordships would see the propriety of supporting him in the commencement of an enquiry, which tended to a general reformation, in a matter of such vast importance, and such universal concern, as the expenditure of the public treasure.

It appeared (contrary as they stated to the general course of official business) that the treasury going out of its proper department, and entering upon a task to which it seemed totally incompetent, took the whole business of the transport service into its own possession. That instead of adhering to the practice of the navy-board, which was in continual exercise under their eyes, of publicly advertising for proposals, and without any regard to the price at which it then and still procured freight, they entered into a private bargain with a Mr. Atkinson, in consequence of which they had for a long time paid twelve shillings and sixpence a ton on an infinite quantity of freight, besides allowing him two and a half per cent. for his commission or agency. And that instead of employing a proper officer from the king's yards, as a check upon this agent, to measure the ships, and ascertain their condition, these matters were left entirely to himself, who informed the Lords that he employed a surveyor for that purpose.

Both the noble Earl, and the other Lords who supported the enquiry, stigmatized the whole transaction with Atkinson in the most direct terms, as a jobb of the most disgraceful and shameful nature. They said, it carried about it all its proper and characteristic marks.



marks. It was a most beneficial contract, made in the dark, with a noted and highly favoured contractor. The Treasury-board entered into a business with which they had no concern, and were totally unacquainted, merely, to all appearance, upon that, and no other account. They had departed, in making the bargain, from all the fair and open rules of conduct, which had been laid down and established by the navy-board in the execution of the same service. And all their boasted merit in at length lowering the price of freight sixpence in the ton, and cutting off one per cent. from their agent's commission, proceeded from a motive which had no relation to public good or œconomy. Their favourite contractor had, from the multitude of his beneficial bargains, brought himself and them within the notice of parliament. They were obliged, upon that account, after it had undergone a parliamentary discussion, to submit the state and nature of his well-known rum-contract to the inspection and decision of several capital and intelligent merchants; and these gentlemen, who were pitched upon by themselves, reprobated the whole transaction in the most decisive terms. Under these circumstances they thought it necessary to curtail a part of the glaring exorbitances of the present contract, (which we find to be then done without any difficulty) and to make some apparent tender of restoring the transport business to the navy-board; an offer which was, however, managed in such a manner, that its producing a refusal was well understood.

The noble Lord at the head of the navy undertook the defence of the treasury, which he performed

with his usual ability. It was stated on that side, that the service was new, and the necessity irresistible. It was the first time that such an army had ever been maintained at such a distance. The troops must be fed at all events. Every thing depended on the promptness of the supply. And notwithstanding the great exertions used for that purpose, the letters from the commander in chief were frequent, urgent, and complaining. An infinite quantity of shipping was to be procured, and must be obtained on any terms. The greatness of the demand necessarily raised the price. The cause of the Treasury's being obliged to pay higher for freight than the navy-board, was explained by Atkinson's evidence. It appeared by that, that from essential differences in the two services, the owners of shipping preferred that of the naval department, at a lower price, and that paid in navy-bills, which were liable to a considerable discount, to the Treasury service, at an advanced price, and ready money payment.

No doubt, it was said, could be entertained, that every possible œconomy was practised by the Treasury. They undertook this troublesome business merely to save expence by the appointment of new officers. They struck sixpence off the freight as soon as it could be done; and they even reduced the agent's commission one per cent. But they did not chuse that an army of Englishmen and friendly foreigners should be starved in a hostile land, whilst they were haggling about freight. So that instead of a vote of censure, they deserved the public thanks of their country for their zeal and alacrity in



in this business. They concluded, that although they did not question the veracity of the facts, or the exactness of the estimates contained in the noble Earl's resolutions, they must oppose them and all other resolutions upon matters of fact.

It was accordingly moved, that the chairman should quit the chair, which was carried upon a division by a majority of 39 to 18. Lord Effingham then proposed the string

of resolutions which he intended for the establishment of his facts; which being all set aside by the previous question, without a division, he then moved his concluding resolution, intended as a censure upon the conduct of the Treasury, and stating therefrom a loss to the public, to a very great amount. The House divided upon this question, which was rejected, by a majority of 35 to 17.

### C H A P. VIII.

*Motion by Mr. Grenville rejected. French Declaration. Royal Message. Great Debates on the Address. Amendment moved by Mr. Baker. Amendment rejected; and the original Address at length carried on a division. Great debates on the Message and Address in the House of Lords. Amendment moved by the Duke of Manchester. Rejected, and the original Address carried, as before, on a division. Great Debates on Mr. Fox's motions relative to the failure of the Canada expedition. Rejected on a division. Counter motion, carried in the Committee, but not reported. Col. Barre's motion for a Committee to inspect the public accounts, agreed to, under certain modifications. Petition from Newcastle. Motion by Mr. Wilkes, relative to private aids, or loans to the crown, rejected on a division. Opposition to the House tax bill. Several amendments moved, and rejected, on separate divisions. Committee appointed to consider of the trade of Ireland. Resolutions passed, and bills brought in, on that subject. Sir William Meredith's motion for a repeal of the Declaratory Act, laid by. Bill brought in and passed, to enable his Majesty to make a suitable provision for the younger part of the Royal family, as well as for the Duke of Gloucester's children. Motion by Sir P. J. Clerke for bringing in the contractor's bill, carried on a division. Great opposition formed to the Irish bills. Contractor's bill read the first time; and the motion for its being read the second, carried upon a division. Second reading of the contractor's bill. Lost upon the question of commitment, by a majority of two only. Great debate on the message for a vote of credit. Debate on the second reading of the Irish bills. Sir Cecil Wray's motion rejected. Bills committed. Proceedings in the House of Commons on the death of the Earl of Chatham.*

**T**HE time at length arrived when France was to throw off the mask entirely with respect to America, and to realize

all those predictions, which had been so long held out, and so frequently repeated by the minority, and which had, till lately, afforded  
a constant



a constant topic of ridicule to ministers and majorities. It had been repeatedly said, that the House of Bourbon would not support the Americans on the double account, that it would be teaching an evil lesson against themselves, and which might be too soon practised, to their own colonies, and that the establishment of an independent state and rising empire in the new world, would be dangerous to their future interests both in Europe and America. A doctrine which, considered merely as a subject for speculative controversy, might undoubtedly afford room for some discussion, if, directly contrary to the disposition and practice of the rest of mankind, they looked more to future and remote contingencies, than to the greatest present advantages, and to the gratification of the most urgent and powerful passions.

Mar. 16th. On the day previous to the laying of the declaration from France before both Houses, the minister gave notice to the Commons, that he should have occasion, on the following to present a message from the Throne to that House. Mr. Grenville replied, that he believed the subject of the message was already anticipated by the House; and, in order that gentlemen might be truly, as well as fully informed, in a matter of so great importance, before they tied themselves down to any particular measures by an answer, he would move for an address, “ to lay before the House, “ copies of all communications “ from his Majesty’s ambassador “ at the court of France, or the “ French ambassador at this court, “ touching any treaty of alliance, “ confederacy, or commerce, en-

tered into between that court “ and the revolted colonies in “ North America.”

The minister directly moved the previous question, giving as a reason, that the exposure of the papers demanded, would be a most unpardonable and pernicious act of treachery, to those, who at the greatest risque, had communicated secret intelligence to government. Mr. Grenville offered to prevent an effect which he abhorred, by inserting the words “ or extracts,” after copies, in the motion; but the minister insisted that no amendment could be received after the previous question had been moved. This conduct was, however, reprobated with so much indignation on the other side, and represented as an act of quibbling and chicanery, so unworthy of, and unfitting for that place, that the minister withdrew his motion, and the amendment was received. The previous question being then again moved, the minister carried it upon a division by a majority of 231 to 146.

On the following day, 17th. the Royal message, accompanied by the French declaration, signed, on the 13th, by M. de Noailles, the ambassador from that court, were presented to the Commons by the minister. The former, after mentioning the matter of fact, with respect to the notification, acquainted them, that in consequence of that offensive communication, his Majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from the court of France. Then stating the justice and good faith of his Majesty’s conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, he trusts, that he shall not stand responsible



sponsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every foreign power in Europe. It concluded with a declaration, that, "his Majesty, relying with the firmest confidence on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it shall become necessary, all the force and resources of his kingdoms; which he trusts will be found adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country."

The French declaration seems to state the actual independence of the Americans, as it was declared by them on the 4th of July, 1776, as a justification for consolidating, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be established between the two nations, and the signing a treaty of friendship and commerce, intended to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. Under an insulting parade of cultivating the good understanding between France and Great-Britain, the knowledge of this transaction is said to be communicated, accompanied with a declaration, that the contracting parties have paid great attention, not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of France; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity.

It is taken for granted, that the new proofs now given of a constant and sincere disposition for peace, will produce similar effects on our side; and that his Britannic Majesty, animated by similar sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that might alter the good harmony subsisting between the two crowns; and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between France and America from being interrupted, and to cause all general commercial usages, as well as the particular rules subsisting between France and England, to be observed. It concludes with an intimation, that the French King, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, had, in consequence, taken eventual measures for these purposes, in concert with the United States of North America.

The minister moved an address to the Throne, which, besides echoing back and confirming the principal positions in the message, declares the highest indignation and greatest resentment at the unjust and unprovoked conduct of France, which, in another part, it calls "that restless and dangerous spirit of ambition and aggrandizement, which has so often invaded the rights and threatened the liberties of Europe." It concludes with the strongest assurances of the most zealous assistance and support; and a declaration of the firmest confidence, that, in every demonstration of loyalty to his Majesty, and of love to their country, his faithful subjects would vie with each other; and that no considera-

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tions would divert or deter them from standing forth in the public defence, and from sustaining, with a steady perseverance, any extraordinary burthens and expences, which should be found necessary for enabling his Majesty to vindicate the honour of his crown, and to protect the just rights and essential interests of these kingdoms.

Mr. Baker moved, that an amendment to the following purport, should be inserted after the words, "assurances of support," in the address, viz. "hoping and trusting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to remove from his counsels those ministers, in whose conduct, from experience of the pernicious effects of their past measures, his people can place no confidence in the present momentous situation of public affairs. Sir George Yonge warmly seconded the amendment, and was himself as warmly supported. The principal ground of argument was, the folly and danger of committing the conduct of the most arduous war, in which this country was ever involved, to those men, who had already shewn themselves totally unequal to its government in the most profound quiet and peace; whose pernicious counsels and measures had converted that season of happiness and prosperity into all the horrors and mischiefs of a most unnatural, cruel, and destructive civil war; whose ignorance and incapacity in the management of that war of their own creation, joined to that incorrigible obstinacy, which disdaining all counsel, and rejecting all warning, were at length the unhappy means, of for ever severing the British empire, and of finally

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plunging this nation in all its present danger and calamity.

But they dwelt principally upon the present glaring and criminal instance (as they termed it) of incapacity or negligence, in not being able, in a time of profound peace, and when intelligence was so procurable as to be obtained by a private gentleman, to discover the designs or transactions of the court of France, until they were put in actual force and open avowal against us. Or if they were acquainted with these circumstances, they were still more criminally culpable, they said, in having taken no single measure to guard against so momentous an event, nor made the smallest provision for the protection either of these kingdoms or of our foreign possessions, which were every where, whether in the East or West Indies, the Mediterranean, or at home, left defenceless, and open to insult and danger. Is then the fate of Great Britain, they cried, in this critical season of danger, to be committed to the hands of such men? Is the disgrace, ruin, and discomfiture, which attended their three years war, singly with America, the motive for entrusting them now with the conduct of the war against the whole house of Bourbon, closely united with those very Americans? It was in vain, they said, to talk of calling forth the spirit of the nation, by men who had lost all confidence with the people. They were universally and justly considered as an administration composed of imbecillity and deceit; no honest and disinterested man would venture to entrust them with his property; and it was no detraction to their character to say, that they

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were



were not more detested at home, than they were the contempt and derision of all foreigners.

They concluded, that the knowledge which the French, as well as the rest of Europe had, of the wretched weakness and instability of our counsels, and of the precipitate absurdity, and continued misconduct of our Ministers, was the cause, which, after long rendering us a bye-word, and mockery among the nations, had encouraged the House of Bourbon to offer us the present insult. That, in fact, if the Ministers had been pensioners to France, they could not have promoted the interests of that country more effectually than they had actually done. That in these circumstances, it would be in vain to offer any support to his Majesty, without informing him at the same time of the incapacity of those to whom he had entrusted the management of the public affairs. That as it would be impossible, after such repeated instances of folly, neglect, and incapacity, for the nation to repose any confidence in his present Ministers, so their removal could alone realize any offers of support, and revive the drooping spirit of the people. That single measure, they said, would strike more terror into the enemies of this country, than all the warlike preparations which we were capable of making, under the present notorious imbecillity of our counsels and measures.

In answer to this, the Minister declared his fixed and unalterable resolution, that in the present situation of public affairs, he would keep his place at all events. He said, that the interest of the empire, no less than his own pride

and sense of honour, now rendered his continuance in office absolutely necessary. It would be a disgrace, which he was determined not to incur, to abandon the helm, while the ship of state was tossed about in a storm, until he had brought her safely into port. He could see but little foundation for the present public alarm; the fall of the stocks, he said, was merely the effect of that sudden panic, which was the usual concomitant of a beginning war. The apparent backwardness to fill the present loan, he, however, attributed rather to the greatness of the national debt, than to the mere approach of a war. Great Britain had always been so punctual in the payment of the interest due to her creditors, that she could never want money for the public service. The dread of an invasion, he said, was a mere bugbear; and if it should take place, the nation would have but little reason to be apprehensive for the consequences. Our navy never was, at the commencement of a war, in so flourishing a condition as at present; the new levies were nearly completed; and that the public might be rendered entirely easy on the subject of invasion, his Majesty intended to recur to that constitutional source of defence, which was so great a favourite with the other side of the House, by drawing out and embodying the militia. He concluded, that the insult offered by France was of the most disgraceful nature; that as he knew the honour of the nation was dear to every gentleman in that House, so he trusted there was not a man in it who would not risque his life and fortune to wipe



wipe off the stain it had received ; and that consequently, no one would refuse to agree to an address, which only went to assure the King, that he should find in his faithful Commons, every support necessary to maintain the honour of his people, and the dignity of his crown.

Several of the most respectable members of the opposition, as well as some gentlemen who were not of that party, considered an immediate acknowledgement of the independency of the Americans, as not only the wisest, but the only measure now to be adopted, which could extricate us, without still greater losses, and with any tolerable prospect of future advantage from our antient colonies, out of our present danger and difficulties. Their independence, was not only already established, but had obtained such time to fix and settle upon its foundations, that it appeared now too firm to be shaken by our utmost efforts, even supposing it were left, without any foreign support, merely to that of its own inherent strength. But, in that situation, to form any hope of our being equal to its overthrow, under the acknowledgment and support of the House of Bourbon, was, they said, an idea only fit to be entertained by bedlamites ; and any attempt of the sort, could be only considered as the last act of political despair, insatiation, and phrenzy.

On the other hand, by submitting prudently to that necessity in which we have been involved by our own perverseness and folly, and acknowledging in time that independency of the colonies, which we must otherwise be at length compelled, under the most

ruinous circumstances, to acknowledge ; we shall immediately, and in the first instance, prevent the double war with the House of Bourbon and America. We shall thereby prevent those mutual connections, friendships, habitudes of life, communication of sentiments, manners, and language, which must otherwise be the inevitable consequence of such a participation in a common course of danger and warfare, and under such a state of apparent obligation on one side. By this means, said they, America will be emancipated from all connection with France, excepting merely what is included in the dead letter of a treaty of commerce, and what may depend upon the payment of a public debt, which, in this case, she would not be long in discharging ; but which, a continuation of the war would every day increase, and of course, not only bind her more closely to the house of Bourbon, but if it became enormous would even abridge her freedom of acting. In this case also, the open commerce which America would carry on with all the world, would necessarily lessen her connection with, and weaken her dependence on France. But what would still, they said, be of greater importance than any thing yet mentioned, the resentments of America would grow cool ; the sense of those injuries and sufferings which she experienced at our hands, would daily weaken ; commerce would necessarily renew our former intercourse ; friendships and affections would again be revived ; their children would again come here for their education ; and religion, language, similarity of laws, customs, and manners, would



all have their influence, in rendering us as nearly one people, as it was still possible. And thus, said they, we should derive greater advantages from the predilection and affection of America, in giving us a preference in point of commerce, and supporting us with a filial regard, as a friendly and faithful ally, in any emergency of distress or danger, than we could draw from that continent, under any circumstance of conquest, or condition of slavery; supposing the possibility of our accomplishing the one, and inflicting the other.

It was, however, contended by those who held the opposite opinion, that nothing could be a more complete disgrace to the nation, than to surrender its just and natural superiority to the deceitful and insolent interposition of France. That the hopes arising from the supposed new alliance with the independent states of America, were wild and visionary. That those who would refuse the very liberal offers that were now to be made, were determined enemies to their own people in America, as well as to this country. That it would be base and cruel to expose those, who had risked all things in the support of Government, to the insolence and fury of the rebellious party; and the more so, as the well affected was by far the more numerous division of that people.

The question being at length put, at half past two in the morning, the amendment was rejected, and the original address accordingly carried upon a division, by a majority of 263 to 113.

The French notification, accompanied with the royal message, were on the same day presented to

the Lords by Lord Weymouth, who also moved for an address similar to that proposed to the Commons. The censures passed upon that conduct of public affairs which had brought on the present crisis, were, on this occasion, and some others that followed, delivered in a much higher tone, and in more express and unqualified terms, than those which were produced by the same or similar subjects in the other House.

The Duke of Manchester was the first to declare, that however great the provocation given by France might be, he must notwithstanding totally oppose the address, if the approaching war was to be conducted by the same men who were the authors of all our present calamities. Men, he said, in whose hands nothing could succeed; and in whom it would be madness to confide. He reminded the House of the frequent admonitions and warnings Ministers had received from the Lords on that side; and in which almost every progressive step towards national ruin, even to the very important business of the present day, had been truly and exactly foretold. They received, he said, continual communications of such facts and circumstances, as seemed sufficient to open the eyes of the most obstinate and incredulous; but in spite of facts and circumstances, they unhappily got majorities to support them against the strongest convictions of probability and common sense; and now have brought us to the melancholy dilemma of not being in a state to preserve peace, or to prosecute a war.

The noble Duke then moved the following amendment, to be  
inserted



inserted immediately after the word "support" in the address, viz. "whenever his Majesty shall, from a regard to the honour of his crown, and the safety of his people, remove from his counsels those persons, under whose administration no plan, civil or military, has been successful; and the colonies, so valuable a part of the empire, have been lost to the nation, and driven into connections with the court of France; and whose longer continuance in power, we are bound to represent to his Majesty, may highly endanger the safety of his crown, and of the remaining part of his dominions."

Some secret and invisible power, which they represented as having for several years guided all the state movements, and as being the real and efficient cause of all the national misfortunes and calamities, became an object of loud animadversion with some of the Lords. They said that this invisible power was the crying evil, and the great grievance to be provided against. That this unconstitutional subserviency, which indeed could only be established, through the shameful and base servility of Ministers, had been the fatal source of all the evils which had poured in upon this country during the present reign. That, whoever resisted this secret, concealed impulse, however able or fitting to serve the state was proscribed; whilst those who paid the desired obedience to it, however weak, ignorant, or incapable, were immediately patronized, promoted, and required no other qualification, to rise to the possession of the first and most responsible offices.

The noble Minister who moved the address, said, he would not for the present enter into any exculpation of himself, or of his brethren in office; he would reserve a formal defence for a formal accusation. He could not however avoid observing, that an unproved accusation of Ministers, and a condemnation of their conduct untried and unheard, was as unfair and unjust, as it was contrary to all propriety with respect to time, place, and occasion. This was not, however, the principal ground upon which he must oppose the amendment; but for its being clogged with a condition which implied, that what was right and necessary in itself should not be pursued, unless something else were granted. At a time when the very being of the kingdom seemed to stand on a precarious basis, and that his Majesty requested their united assistance to support that along with his own dignity, it carried a most ungenerous appearance to tack compulsory conditions, as the price of a necessary service. If the address met their sentiments, let it receive their sanction as the necessary consequence of its propriety and expedience; but let not unreasonable concessions be made the measure of duty. And if ministers were found incapable or guilty upon a proper examination, an application then to the throne, unmixed with any foreign matter, would, undoubtedly, meet with proper attention. As to the secret influence talked of, the King's Ministers knew of none. They had done their duty upon their own opinions. If these opinions



were erroneous and honest, they would be pardoned; if just and well founded, they would meet support and applause. If their conduct was faulty, they would deserve punishment; and they were ready courageously to support their own conduct in their own persons, and to abide the just sense of the House, without skulking behind the throne or parliament, or exculpating themselves upon the idea of any secret influence whatever.

The very few Lords on the same side who entered into any part of the debate, said, they opposed the amendment as unprecedented and indecent. That it would be little less than offering a direct insult to the Sovereign; and that it would be equally injurious and unjust to his servants, to condemn them by a hasty and rash censure, before they were heard in their own defence. That the failure of their plans was by no means a proof of inability or misconduct; it might have proceeded from numberless circumstances with which they were yet unacquainted; and as no wisdom or ability could command success, its failure consequently could not, without farther evidence, imply any room for censure.

On the other side it was contended, that there was not a more proper, or truly parliamentary method of soliciting a redress of grievances, than by proposing that redress as the term of compliance to a request. It was the strong ground and foundation of all those checks which parliament held upon the crown. Without that there could be no such checks, and parliaments would be useless. The condition to be annexed to the address, was therefore perfectly in order, and

in full conformity with parliamentary usage. But if it had been otherwise, when the state was acknowledged to be shaken to its foundations, and its very existence at stake, forms were too ridiculous to be thought of. Such a situation of public affairs, presented the season for creating of new precedents suitable to the occasion, instead of being superstitiously bound by those which were obsolete and useless. The proposed condition was entwined with the national welfare; it was founded on matter of fact, and of public notoriety; it was not only a proper answer to, but it was demanded by the message from the crown; that message requires assistance and support, and this points out the only certain ground by which they can be obtained. The objection made to a condemnation without trial, a noble Earl humorously observed to be unfounded; the Ministers, he said, had been long,—too long tried; and were now under the condemnation of all the disinterested part of the nation.

Several of the Lords on that side, objected greatly to the passionate and inflammatory expressions used in the message, and which were echoed back in the address. They were no less than tantamount, they said, to a declaration of war. Was the nation in condition, or its military force in a state of preparation to abide the consequences? There was no call for any violence or intemperance of language. There was not an angry expression in the French rescript. The matter of fact, they said, should have been stated plainly to parliament for their deliberations, and they might well have declared in return, their deter-



determination to support upon all occasions, both the dignity of the crown and the interests of the nation, without entangling themselves with any specific resolution or promise, and without the smallest occasion for any inflammatory language on either side. They said, that however grievous the measure taken by France might be, and in fact was, yet that war was by no means an inevitable, or even necessary consequence of the present declaration. We had ourselves used a similar conduct on former occasions, with respect both to France and Spain, without its being productive of any immediate war with either. And, however we might lament the occasion and its consequences, reprobate the conduct which exposed us to them, or vainly and passionately exclaim against the perfidiousness of the act, it was in reality one of those measures of political advantage, which no rival nation, under a wise and active government could have overlooked or neglected. In these circumstances then, there seemed no necessity for entering into a war; if, without injury to the honour of Great Britain, war could be avoided it ought.

It behoved us first to consider what the object of the war was, and our ability of attaining that object; and in the next place most seriously to reflect upon the possible consequences of our failing in the attempt. The only object of a present war with France must be the recovery of America; an object which every man in his senses must now see to be totally unattainable. What then, said they, is to be done? The answer is

short, and the strait line of conduct before you. Cancel your inflammatory votes, and your menacing declarations. Annihilate that ridiculous conciliatory system, which seems to have been calculated only to render parliament a subject of mockery and derision. And, instead of sending out Commissioners to be laughed at, to return as they went, and to render our public counsels still more contemptible, arm them with powers to acknowledge the independency of the Americans, if they insist upon it, and to conclude the most advantageous treaty of peace and commerce with them, that can now be obtained. But at any rate let your conduct with regard to France be what it may, establish peace with America. The point of honour, must in this case give way to necessity. The attempting impossibilities can only render our ruin inevitable. It is impossible to recall what we have wantonly thrown away. By these means we shall obtain security. We shall be extricated from our immediate dangers and difficulties. We shall gain breathing time, which in our present situation is a matter of the first importance. And we must trust to time, fortune, and future wisdom, to remedy some of the evils, and to restore some of those advantages, which our violence have produced, or our folly squandered.

The opposition were not, however, unanimous in their opinion, with regard to admitting the independence of America. It was held and firmly supported, as the only means of saving the nation, by the Marquis of Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond, and



seemed to be entertained by most, or all, of those Lords who compose that party. But the Earls of Chatham, Temple, and Shelburne, with some other Lords whose sentiments were generally in unison with theirs, could not bear the idea of a separation from America, nor consequently of its independence. This they considered as the greatest of all possible political and national evils, and as including the utter degradation and final ruin of this country. The evil, (though not to the utmost extent it was described) was acknowledged on the other side; but the possibility of preventing it was the matter in question.

The question being at length put upon the Duke of Manchester's amendment, it was rejected upon a division by a majority of 100, including 16 proxies, to 36, including two proxies, who supported the question. The main question being afterwards put on the original address, it was carried by a proportional majority, though the numbers were smaller on both sides.

Among the singularities of that day's debate, a noble Earl, in the warmth excited by the subject declared, that the nation was betrayed, and that nothing less than treachery could account for those measures which led to its present situation. The fatal effects of a supposed system of corruption, which was said to be at this time generally prevalent, became a subject also of much animadversion, in the course of which the conduct of a majority in the other House underwent such strictures, as were probably never before heard within those walls.

The committee on March 19th. the state of the nation being resumed in the House of Commons, the subject of the late expedition from Canada was taken up by Mr. Fox; who having first caused the papers relative to that measure to be read, proceeded to state the grounds of his intended motions. His principal object was to shew that the measure was originally absurd and impracticable in the design; and that the failure of effect being accordingly inevitable, all the subsequent losses and misfortunes were to be directly charged to the noble Lord at the head of the American department, and not to the officers who were entrusted with the execution. He accordingly proposed three resolutions tending to establish the following points, that the plan of the expedition was impolitic, unwise, and incapable of producing any good effect; that the provision made for it was inadequate to the object; and that General Burgoyne had acted agreeably to the tenor of his instructions. From these, he said, he deduced a fourth resolution, which he reserved, and which was intended to pass the censure of the house upon the noble Lord who was the ostensible author of the expedition.

This business brought on the longest debate that had taken place during the course of the session; and called forth little less than the whole ability on both sides of the House. The framer of the motion was thought in his introductory speech, to have even transcended his customary style of exertion, and his friends by no means lost any ground in their support.



support. On the other side, the ground of impropriety in bringing on the business during the absence of those generals, who until the contrary was established, must be considered as principal parties in the charge, was again taken. That there had been a fault, and a great one, somewhere, was universally allowed. A whole army had been lost. The nature and fortune of the war thereby totally changed. A new, and most dangerous foreign war was the immediate consequence; the loss of America, and even more, might possibly be the final. The causes that led to such a series of fatal consequences, they said, required undoubtedly the strictest investigation; and the fault, wherever it lay, might demand even more than censure. But the general acknowledgement of a fault or crime, could by no means imply the Minister to be the guilty person; nor could the enquiry be properly conducted, nor the charge fixed as justice directed, until all the parties were present, and all the evidence.

The direct charges made against the American Minister by the opposition, however, necessarily called forth some direct defence; and no pains were omitted to shew, that the northern expedition was, in the first place, a wise and necessary measure; that it was capable of success, and the design evidently practicable; and that the noble Secretary, in whose department it lay, had omitted nothing which could be done by an attentive Minister to insure its success. They also endeavoured much to controvert a point insisted on by the opposition, that General Burgoyne's

orders were peremptory with respect to his advancing to Albany. They said, that however peremptory the letter of instructions might appear, a discretionary latitude of conduct, to be regulated by circumstances and events, was always necessarily implied and understood. This, with much more upon the subject, will, however, properly appear, in the relation of the long discussion which this business underwent in the ensuing session of parliament.

The question being at length put, the first resolution was rejected upon a division, by the great majority of 164 to 44. The event of this division was resented by the mover, Mr. Fox, with an unusual degree of warmth, and an appearance of the highest indignation. He not only declared that he would not propose another motion; but taking the resolution of censure out of his pocket, tore it in pieces, and immediately quit-  
ted the house.

The conquering party were not, however, satisfied with this victory. They were determined in the present warmth of success to pursue the advantage, and to render it complete by a vote of negative approbation. A great law officer accordingly moved, that it does not appear to this committee, that the failure of the expedition to Canada arose from any neglect in the Secretary of State for the colonies. Although this motion was carried in the committee, yet as the chief argument of the majority turned upon the injustice of any decision in the absence of the parties, a decision in favour of the party present did not appear very equitable; it was thought, on  
consider-



consideration among themselves, that it would be more expedient not to proceed upon it; therefore, the resolution was not reported to the house, by which it was rendered in effect a non-entity.

As the charge of a boundless profusion in the public expenditure, had afforded a constant theme for animadversion to the opposition in both Houses during the session, Col. Barré, who had frequently taken up, and commented with severity upon detached parts of the subject, at length determined to render the whole an object of parliamentary enquiry. In a comprehensive view which he took of various parts of the subject, the conduct of ministers and contractors, with the exorbitant profits supposed to be gained on contracts and agencies, underwent no small share of censure and animadversion. He concluded an able speech, some parts of which threw the minister into an unusual degree of warmth, and even betrayed him into some irregularity in point of order, and with respect to interruption, by moving for a “committee to inspect the public accounts with respect to expenditure, and to report their opinion thereon to the House.”

Several of the gentlemen in office opposed the motion as unnecessary, from a conviction, they said, that the treasury had acted with the utmost prudence and oeconomy in the disposal of the public money. They said, that if any undue profits had in some particular instances been obtained by contractors, the treasury would oblige them to refund such sums; as soon as the accounts could be examined, and the ne-

cessary enquiries made. They also said that this was not a fit season for a committee of accounts; the House was not in a proper disposition, nor the nation in a proper temper, for such a discussion; it would only afford fresh matter for the calumnious spirit of the times to prey upon; and might be productive of great mischief, by disseminating ill-founded charges, and exciting causeless jealousies and suspicions among the people.

Amendments and modifications were proposed on the same side, particularly by leaving the words, “to report their opinions thereon,” out of the motion, and by referring the matter to a select committee. These points were agreed to, and 21 gentlemen were accordingly chosen by ballot as a select committee, although the gentleman who framed the original motion, said he would rather withdraw it, than to join in deceiving the public by hanging out hopes of redress, when it was evident from the train in which the business was now proposed to be placed, that nothing useful could be effected.

On the same day, a petition of uncommon rigour against the Ministers was presented from the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne. In this piece, after a long enumeration of grievances and evils, particularly those appertaining to the civil war, they call upon parliament, that its wisdom and attention may be, “seriously engaged to investigate, and effectually root out, the cause of these evils; and to establish the peace and happiness of society, by humbly addressing his Majesty to remove from his presence and counsels for ever those

“men,



“ men, who from motives of in-  
 “ terest, or vindictive ambition,  
 “ may have destroyed this peace,  
 “ interrupted this happiness, and  
 “ forfeited the confidence of the  
 “ people; and to prevent succeed-  
 “ ing delinquents from being mis-  
 “ led by the flattering hopes of  
 “ impunity, we pray, that legal  
 “ but rigorous and exemplary pu-  
 “ nishments may be impartially  
 “ inflicted upon any who are found  
 “ to have betrayed the just rights,  
 “ and sacrificed the welfare, of  
 “ their country; that such effec-  
 “ tual check may be given to vice  
 “ and corruption, and such coun-  
 “ tenance and encouragement to  
 “ public virtue, as may unite a  
 “ free and generous people upon  
 “ the solid basis of loyalty and mu-  
 “ tual affection.”

April 2d. A motion made by  
 Mr. Wilkes for bring-  
 ing in a bill “ more effectually to  
 “ prevent the dangerous and un-  
 “ constitutional practice of giving,  
 “ or granting money to the crown,  
 “ as a private aid, loan, benevo-  
 “ lence or subscription, for pub-  
 “ lic purposes, without the con-  
 “ sent of parliament,” was, after  
 “ a short debate, rejected upon a  
 division, by a majority of 71, to  
 40.

On the same day the Minister  
 gave notice, that he would on the  
 following move for some allowance  
 to be made to the subscribers on  
 the present loan, in order to make  
 up the loss sustained by them, in  
 consequence of the change which  
 had taken place in public affairs  
 since the time of their subscription,  
 and which had materially affected  
 the marketable value of the funds.  
 He said this proposal was equitable  
 and just, as the event in question

had taken place before their first  
 payment was made. And, that if  
 the subscribers were to be the suf-  
 ferers, it would be out of the power  
 of any Minister to raise a loan upon  
 any future occasion, however cri-  
 tical.

This proposal was however re-  
 probated in such unreserved terms  
 by the opposition, that, although  
 it was afterwards talked of, the  
 Minister never thought fitting to  
 bring it forward. They said they  
 were astonished at the noble lord’s  
 temerity, and his consequent con-  
 tempt of parliament; it was, in-  
 deed, beyond endurance. So bare-  
 faced a proposition had never been  
 made in that House; and if it  
 were received it would establish a  
 precedent, of a more dangerous  
 nature, than even any of those hi-  
 therto furnished, for the practice  
 of future Ministers. With such a  
 precedent, all ideas of loans and of  
 contracts would become ridiculous.  
 Did not the noble lord tell the  
 House, with his usual confidence  
 and tone of authority, the great  
 advantage he had allowed the sub-  
 scribers in this very loan; and had  
 he the face now to come, and pro-  
 pose to take a sum of money out of  
 the national purse, in order to sup-  
 ply any deficiency of intended and  
 expected profit which might fall to  
 the lot of those friends, to whom,  
 as marks of favour, of private and  
 parliamentary kindness, he had al-  
 ready parcelled out that loan in  
 such shares as were due to their  
 respective merits? Suppose, said  
 they, that these subscribers had (as  
 has frequently been the case) made  
 six or eight per cent. upon their  
 money, would they come to the  
 treasury, or to that bar, to acknow-  
 ledge that their gains were exorbi-  
 tant,



tant, and that they were come to refund the extraordinary profits?

The house-tax bill was either combated in the whole, or controverted in its parts, by some in the opposition, in every part of its progress through the House of Commons. They said it was particularly injurious, unjust, and oppressive, from its being unequally and partially allotted, as near nine-tenths of its burthens were to be borne by the metropolis, and the county of Middlesex. That it carried more the appearance of a bill of punishment on the citizens of London, for their daring to oppose the American war, than a fair, equal, and proportionate tax on property. And, they said it was a most grievous and melancholy consideration, that those who, within and without that House, had either personally opposed or execrated all the measures that tended to that fatal event, should in themselves and their posterity, have their properties taxed, and their inheritances perpetually mortgaged, to supply the immense sums lavished in schemes of folly, cruelty, and injustice, which they equally lamented and detested.

Failing in their opposition to the general principle of the bill, they used the most strenuous efforts in the committee on the second of April, for lessening its effect with respect to the poorer orders of the people. Upon this principle they first moved, that houses of 10l. a year, and under, should not be rated to the tax. This question, after considerable debate, being lost on a division, by a majority of 69 to 51; they then moved, that houses of 7l. a year, and under, should be exempted. Upon this

being rejected on a division, they descended through different gradations of rents, down to five pounds one shilling: having brought every question to a division, and lost every one. The bill was passed on the 6th.

The distresses of Ireland had long been an object of regret, even with many of those who had no particular interest in that country. Without entering into the causes from which these originated, it will be sufficient to observe, that they had grown to their present alarming and deplorable state, under the unhappy consequences of the American war; so that the country became unequal to the support of that great establishment, with which it had (perhaps too inconsiderately) encumbered itself, when the flourishing state of all other parts of the British empire, had diffused a considerable degree of prosperity even thither.

This state of affairs became now so notorious, and the consequences were said to be so urgent, that the Ministers were at length convinced of the necessity of paying attention to them; and of affording some immediate satisfaction to the feelings, if not an entire redress to the grievances of that people. Earl Nugent had accordingly on the 2d of April moved, that a committee of the whole house should be appointed to consider of the trade of Ireland. The noble Lord observed, that the conduct of Great Britain towards its sister kingdom, had been no less impolitic than unjust, and that the present situation of public affairs called particularly on this country to enter into a revision of the Irish trade laws.

This proposal in favour of Ireland,



land, though originating from the court side of the House, was entered into with great cordiality by most of the principal members of the opposition; and indeed by that whole party, excepting a few gentlemen, who from their situation as representatives of manufacturing towns or counties, considered themselves under an indispensable obligation to pay the greatest regard to the opinions, although they were even founded on the prejudices, of their constituents. The former said, that Ireland was now the chief dependency of the British crown, and that it particularly behoved this country, at this season, and in this situation, to admit the Irish nation to the privileges of British citizens; a measure which true policy and right wisdom would have long since adopted.

They said, that the restrictions on the Irish trade had defeated the purpose for which they were intended, and, instead of promoting the staple manufactory of this country, in its woollen fabricks, produced a direct contrary effect. For the Irish, in order to pay their rents, were under a necessity of disposing of the produce of their lands, and as they were not allowed to manufacture their wool, to find a market for it wherever they could. All partial laws and unnatural restraints must ever fail in their design, when opposed to the operation of such a necessity. France, feeling an irremediable want of the raw material in herself, afforded a ready market, and an exorbitant price for the Irish wool. The cheapness of living, and other circumstances, were, however, more than a counterbalance, for the excessive price

which she paid for the raw material. And thus, France was enabled to arrive at such a state with respect to her woollen manufactures, as to rival us in that very commerce of which we were so jealous.

The noble Lord's motions, as they were then stated, or afterwards altered in the Committee or House, were placed under four heads, and directed to the following purposes: That the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations, or to the settlements on the coast of Africa, in British ships navigated according to law, all goods, wares, and merchandizes, being the produce or manufacture of that kingdom, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted, or commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, legally imported from that kingdom, as also foreign certificate goods, under the same condition. The second permitted a direct importation into Ireland, of all goods, wares and merchandize, being the produce of any of the British plantations, or of the settlements on the coast of Africa, tobacco only excepted.—The third permitted the direct exportation from Ireland, to all places except Great Britain, of glass manufactured in that kingdom.—The fourth, by taking off a duty amounting to a prohibition, permitted the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, into Great Britain.—And the fifth, which was moved by Mr. Burke, permitted the importation of Irish sail-cloth and cordage.

Although the motions were unanimously agreed to for the present and that the greatest good wishes were



were on all hands expressed for the sister kingdom, yet some gentlemen could not forbear expressing their apprehensions, that if the proposed resolutions should pass into a law, it would prove highly detrimental to the manufactures of this country; for that the taxes in Ireland being low, and labour cheap, the Irish would be able to undersell us in such a degree, as would probably prove the ruin of several of our trading towns.

To this it was answered, that the taxes in Ireland were many and high; and that upon an accurate examination, they would be found, proportionally to the means of paying them, considerably greater than in England. That strangers, from the apparent opulence and splendor of the metropolis, with the magnificence and unbounded hospitality of people of fashion, were liable to be much deceived in their ideas with respect to the real state of that kingdom. But that in fact, the people of that country had languished so long, under the most intolerable grievances, and the weight of the most oppressive laws, that they were now reduced to a state of the most extreme wretchedness. Their loyalty, however, and affection to this country, were so far superior with them to all other considerations, that in the midst of their own distress, they looked only to our danger; and though the oppressiveness of our acts compelled multitudes of their brethren daily to abandon their country and all that was dear to them, who, without crime or charge, were undergoing in foreign lands all the miseries incident to a state of banishment, yet their remaining friends were still willing to strain every

nerve to support us in the moment of our distress. A noble Lord in office, who had embarked warmly on that side, concluded his speech by declaring, that, a braver, a more generous, or a more loyal people were not to be found; and, he flattered himself therefore, that they would be treated by parliament according to their high deserts.

A gentleman of high distinction in the opposition, and who had once been high in office, after expressing his warmest approbation of the present measure, and declaring his happiness at seeing that the mist of prejudice was beginning to disperse; added, that it would increase his happiness to give the measure a broader bottom; for, though he was as steadfast a protestant as any gentleman in the House, he wished to see some means adopted for granting such indulgencies to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as might attach that great body of men to government: their affections had been alienated; he wished to recal them by indulgent behaviour, and thereby giving them an interest in government. He hated the persecuting spirit of the Romish religion, and could not therefore wish to be a persecutor.

This brought up the Minister, and afforded an opportunity for a disclosure of his sentiments on the present business. The noble Lord declared, that he would with the greatest cordiality concur in any measure which tended to so desirable a purpose, as that mentioned by the gentleman who spoke before him; but the proposed redress was not within their province; it properly belonged to the parliament  
of



of Ireland; the laws which were so severe against the Roman Catholics had originated there, and redress of domestic grievances should likewise of right originate from them. The penal laws of that kingdom were the consequence of apprehensions; a cause, which, however groundless, always produces the most severe and cruel policy. As these apprehensions had long ceased, he made no doubt that their own parliament would perceive and redress the grievance; for there was not any where a people of more liberal sentiments than the Irish.

Leaving therefore, he said, to the candour of their own parliament, to grant such indulgence to the Roman Catholics as their loyalty deserved, he requested the House would agree to what was in their power, and properly within their province. The Irish complained, and complained with justice, of the oppressive restrictions of our trade laws; a relaxation of them, would benefit the Irish, and ultimately enrich ourselves; their profits, as in other cases, would finally center with us; embarked in the same common cause with us, they were not to be considered as rivals in trade; but their rivals were in reality ours, as ours should be theirs. The exception of woollen manufactures he should say nothing to; it might not, perhaps, be just; that point, however, had been given up by the Irish themselves, and the resignation confirmed by an ancient compact. He concluded by giving an unreserved and hearty concurrence to the motion.

April. 6th. On the day previous to this business, Sir

William Meredith had moved for a repeal of the declaratory act of the year 1766, as preparatory to that of the other obnoxious American laws; the whole measure being in his opinion absolutely necessary before the departure of the commissioners, to afford any prospect of success to their negotiation. The motion was opposed by Mr. Burke, who spoke much at length to the question, and with much applause from the greater part on both sides of the House. The tendency of his speech was to prove that the act, as an abstract proposition of law, was wise at the time it was made. That it produced great advantage at that time, to the measures for healing the differences with America; and that it produced no ill effect. That the House had already formally renounced the obnoxious power in question, which was supposed to be involved in that act; and that therefore this repeal, would be only for parliament to give itself the lie, for no manner of purpose. The motion was gently rejected without a division, by a motion for its being adjourned for two months.

A message was received from this throne, April 8th. to enable his majesty to make suitable provision for his younger children out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, which could not be done without an act of parliament for the purpose. The proposal went to the settling an annuity of 60,000 l. on the six younger princes, of 30,000 l. on the five princesses, and of 12,000 l. on the prince and princess, son and daughter to his royal highness the Duke of Gloucester. The annuities only to



to take effect, in the first instance, on the demise of his Majesty; and, in the second, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester. A bill was accordingly, immediately brought in on these grounds, and a law speedily passed for the desired purpose.

In a few days after Sir 13th. Philip Jennings Clerke, brought in what was called the Contractor's Bill, founded upon the ground prescribed in the following motion, "A bill for restraining any person, being a member of the House of Commons, from being concerned himself, or any person in trust for him, in any contract made by the commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the commissioners of the navy, the board of ordnance, or by any other person or persons, for the public service, unless the said contract shall be made at a public bidding."

The general odium under which this order of men had long laboured, rendered this bill exceedingly popular without doors; whilst it afforded an opportunity within (which was by no means neglected) of renewing all that censure, that had upon various occasions, with no unsparing hand, been bestowed upon them in the course of the session. To this odium it can only be attributed, that a motion, which conveyed a well-understood censure upon government, and which was indeed founded upon former charges, that equally included the treasury bench and the contractors, should, notwithstanding all the weight of administration, be carried by a considerable majority. Yet such was the event. The motion being carried by a majority of

71 to 50, and a bill accordingly brought in.

In the mean time a strong opposition was forming against the Irish bills, which were founded upon those resolutions we have already stated. A general alarm was spread through most of the trading and manufacturing parts of the kingdom. They considered the admittance of Ireland to any participation in trade, as not only destructive in the most ruinous degree of their property, but as being equally subversive of their rights. They were as little disposed to consent, that the people of Ireland should cultivate their own manufactures, and dispose of their native commodities at the proper foreign markets, as they were to admit them to any limited degree of participation. In a word, a foreign invasion could scarcely have excited a greater alarm. It ran like an infection every where, and took such absolute possession of the mind, that the recent, and immediately forefelt example of America, with respect to any general application of causes to effects, was totally forgotten. The city of London preserved the dignity of so great and majestic an emporium, and continued uninfluenced by common opinion, and unmoved by popular clamour.

The Easter recess afforded time and opportunity for public meetings, for the preparation of petitions, and of instructions to representatives, which were accordingly brought up in considerable numbers at the meeting of parliament. A curious circumstance occurred upon this occasion, which afforded a striking instance of the eagerness with which ill-founded popular apprehensions



prehenſions, may, in certain caſes, be received and communicated. A motion had been made, and a bill accordingly brought in, for the importation of ſail-cloth from Ireland. This was however founded totally in error, and the gentleman who brought it in afterwards diſcovered, that the liberty of importing Iriſh ſail-cloth was already eſtabliſhed, by a poſitive law of long ſtanding. Yet this bill was as violently oppoſed by petitions from different parts of the kingdom, and as ſtrongly charged with the moſt ruinous conſequences, as any of the other four bills its companions, which were all founded upon new ground. From hence it was inferred in debate by the mover, and not unfairly urged, that the jealouſy entertained of the other Iriſh bills was equally unfounded, and only originated in prejudice, ignorance, and the ſelfiſh views of a few intereſted individuals.

May 1ſt. On the firſt day of buſineſs after the Eaſter reſeſs, the contractors bill was brought in and read the firſt time. A motion being then made, for its being read the ſecond time on the 4th, it was oppoſed; but carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 72 to 61. Theſe two victories afforded no ſmall hope to the oppoſition that they would carry it through; and there was no doubt of its ſucceſs in the Houſe of Lords. The expectation was ſtill ſtronger out of doors, nor was the hope by any means weaker.

The full appearance of the Houſe (for the ſeaſon of the year) on the ſecond reading, afforded room, however, for apprehenſion; at leaſt it evidently demonſtrated, that no means were left untried, to give a

turn to the courſe of that new current, which ran ſo violently againſt a very conſiderable part of the ſtrength and ſupport of adminiſtration. A motion being made for committing the bill, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, and a conſiderable debate enſued. No ground could ſcarcely be taken by either ſide in this debate, which we have not already had occaſion to go over, or which will not be obvious from the nature of the ſubject, excepting only one objection which was made to the bill by its oppoſers; namely, that it was totally inadequate to its purpoſe; that it could not provide againſt ſecret jobbing under the cover of nominal agents, the effects of which would be much more pernicious, than any derived from the preſent open practice. Some new charges of malverſation were indeed made, and ſome particular inſtances to ſhew its neceſſity pointed out, in ſupport of the bill; and ſome intemperance of language, from a gentleman who felt himſelf included in its operation, was ſuddenly checked, and reprehended with ſeverity upon the ſpot.

The queſtion being at length put upon the motion of commitment, it was loſt by two only, the numbers being 115, to 113, who ſupported the committing of the bill upon a diviſion. A motion was then made by the victors, for its being laid by for two months, which was of courſe carried. Thus was a bill, which many conſidered as being of the utmoſt importance to the public intereſts of this country, loſt by only two voices.

The meſſage for a vote of credit, which was received 5th. on the following day, cauſed much debate



debate on that and the next; and, as some new ground was now afforded, brought out an extraordinary degree of censure upon the conduct of the ministers; whilst the circumstances attending the immediate charge afforded them rather unequal means of defence. For it was now known that D'Estaing's fleet, consisting of 12 ships of the line, had sailed from Toulon before the middle of the preceding month. America was generally supposed to be its object; and as no squadron had been sent from hence, either to intercept it on the passage, or to combat it on the spot, it was much apprehended, that from the comparative weakness of the force under Lord Howe, both our fleet and army might have fallen sacrifices to the great naval superiority of the French, in conjunction with the whole land force of America, which, it could not be doubted, would, on such an account, be drawn from all parts to the point of action. Several concurring circumstances served much to widen this ground of complaint and censure. The preparations necessary for the equipment of this fleet at Toulon, were so great, and had continued so long, that the designed expedition, had for some months been a subject of public attention, and of general conversation, in most parts of Europe; and even its object had been publicly talked of. About the very time that a scheme so full of danger in its design, was carrying into immediate effect at Toulon, by the departure of the French squadron in pursuit of its object, a royal naval review at Portsmouth, was said to have entirely occupied the attention of the admiralty, the navy,

and of government. And, as if it had been to complete and round the subjects of complaint, it happened that the absence of the ministers from town, at the time that the dispatches arrived at London with the account of D'Estaing's sailing, prevented for some days the holding of a council, and of course the sending any timely orders to Portsmouth, for endeavouring to provide against the danger, so that the wind had unluckily changed to a wrong point, before any effective measure could be directed or taken.

In this state of things, the minister's motion, for referring the message from the throne to the committee of supply, was directly, and peremptorily opposed. The opposition said, that it would be the height of imprudence and folly, in the present dangerous crisis of affairs, to vote an indefinite grant of money, to an administration so totally incapable of expending the public revenue either with economy or effect. Whilst the public affairs were (to the misfortune and ruin of the whole empire) committed to such hands, it was incumbent on parliament to attend constantly to its own business and that of the nation. They should sit and vote the money gradually, as the wants and occasions arose. The emergencies ought first to be ascertained to the House, the sums specified, and authentic documents, or vouchers for the expenditure laid upon the table, before they granted a shilling to such men. No punishment, they said, could be too great for those, who under the affectation of bearing the name, or filling the rank of ministers, or from the still baser motive of lucre,



ventured to undertake the conduct of public affairs in a great nation, and in the most arduous circumstances, when their ignorance, laziness, and incapacity, rendered them totally incapable of fulfilling their duty.

They said that incapacity was as injurious to the nation as the blackest treachery. Of what avail was it to the public to inform them, that it was not through treachery, but through mere stupidity and ignorance, that from the want of a proper squadron being stationed at Gibraltar, D'Estaing was suffered to burst through the confined limits of the Mediterranean, and to carry destruction to our fleet and army in North America, and fire and sword afterwards to our West-India islands? Was it of any use to the nation to be informed, whether it proceeded from treachery, or from that fatality which had ever attended the present inauspicious administration, and which had banished every able and honest man from the royal counsels, that the navy of England was engaged in a holiday pageant at Spithead, to divert the attention of the people from their immediate danger, whilst our colonies and foreign dependencies were abandoned, our glory tarnished, and the British flag for ever disgraced?

Would it lessen the calamities of the nation to learn, that the pillage of their coasts during the summer, the alarm and terror into which different parts of the kingdom had been thrown, under the apprehension of immediate invasion, together with the destruction of their commerce, and the loss of public credit, proceeded merely from the

incapacity of the ministers? Or that the calling out of a militia without arms, and sending them to be encamped without tents or field equipage, sprung from the same cause? But to which ever cause the foregoing instances may be attributed, no doubt, said they, can be entertained, that it was the most thorough conviction of their incapacity, which produced the French rescript, the dangerous measure, on which it was founded, and the insult and contumely which the British flag has undergone in the ports of Spain. Nothing less than such conviction, could have emboldened those nations to venture upon such a conduct; nor could any other possible direction of the affairs of Great-Britain, have drawn upon it such insult and injury.

They asked, if any man in his senses could give a vote of credit to a ministry, who were always the last to learn what they should be the first to know? Who could be so insensible of the sudden emergencies to which such a season as the present was liable, that when the account arrived of a transaction, which every body expected, and which they should long since have guarded against, only one of them was to be found, and the rest were so dispersed in the course of their pleasures, that a sufficient number of them could not be procured for holding a council, until the hour of debate and determination was lost. Thus have we lost that advantage of the wind, which its known and natural course in the month of April afforded; and now see our fleet embayed at Portsmouth, and likely to continue



there, from its having as naturally and regularly taken the opposite direction.

Who then, they said, could trust such ministers? or was it even possible to estimate their guilt? Was there any thing more wanting to seal that fatal character of their administration, which carried no other distinction, than the regular and successive circumstances of ruin in which they had involved their country? But it seemed, that the disgrace of a Burgoyne was to be atoned by the destruction of a Howe; and the want of information relative to the union of France and America, to be compensated by the ignorance of D'Estaing's sailing and destination. A gentleman of distinction on that side ended his speech with an eager exclamation, "Whither is the spirit of England fled? Where is the wisdom that used to pervade her counsels? Where are the terrors gone, with which she was wont to fill the bosoms of those who dared to insult her? Britain, he feared, was betrayed; treachery and corruption vied with each other to see which should first effect her downfall and disgrace."

The ministers said they were confident, that if the gentlemen on the other side were acquainted with the preparations that had been made, and the effectual care taken to protect this country from invasion, they would not so rashly condemn them for treachery; nor charge them so hastily with incapacity. The utmost exertions had been used, as well with respect to the navy, as to every other mode of preparation and defence. And though no fleet had yet sailed to

oppose the Toulon Squadron, that was properly to be attributed to the advantage of supply which the French derived from their register, and which at all times enabled them to man out a fleet sooner than we could; but it by no means afforded any just ground for the repeated charges of incapacity made against the ministers. They besides insisted, that in the present circumstances of danger to which the nation was exposed, under the immediate threat and apprehension of invasion, it would have been highly imprudent and unwise to have weakened the home defence by any detachment from the grand fleet, until such a force was provided, as would have been adequate to the different services. And if it had been even otherwise, and that detachments could have been spared, still, they contended, that it would not have been fitting to send out a squadron to oppose D'Estaing, without some clue for its guidance in meeting him, which could not be obtained, until some light was thrown on his destination or object. It was hoped, that if D'Estaing was bound to North-America, Lord Howe would be able to use such means of defence, as would prevent any immediate consequence of moment; but in the worst that could possibly happen, Admiral Byron, with the fleet now under his orders at Portsmouth, would arrive in time on that coast, to take full vengeance for any insult that was offered.

The American minister acknowledged, that appearances were against the ministry; but appearances were not to justify a condemnation; a full enquiry into the circumstances might place their case



case in a very different light. For his part, he was ready to meet every scrutiny, and wished punishment to fall where it was deserved. When the dispatches arrived, he took the speediest means to convene the ministers from the country, where some of them then were. That, from the time of their arrival, the greatest expedition had been used by him, in sending the orders of council to the proper officers at Spithead; but misfortunes were not always to be avoided. He hoped, he heartily wished, that our affairs might take a happier turn. The painful pre-eminence of office was, he said, at such a time, little to be envied; and, for his part, if any gentleman of talents and inclination to serve his country wished to come into his place, he was ready to resign it.

It will not escape observation, that the acknowledgment now made, of not venturing to detach a squadron from the home defence, in a case of such infinite importance, as that of the Toulon squadron's being admitted to come freely out of the Mediterranean, ill accorded with that flourishing state of the navy, which had been so long and so frequently boasted. Nor will it be supposed that such a circumstance escaped the watchful attention, or the pointed animadversion, of the minority.

Upon the whole, notwithstanding the warm part taken by the opposition against the ministers, the danger of the time was so sensibly felt, and the necessity of the measure so well understood, that they did not seem to mean any real obstruction to the vote of credit; so that it was not only passed in

the Committee, but the report received and agreed to in the House on the following day, without a division being demanded on either.

The second reading of the Irish bills brought out May 6th. the whole force of debate on that subject. Sir Cecil Wray moved, that the words "on this day three months," be added to the order for reading the bills, in the place of the word "now." He was seconded by Sir Thomas Egerton, and the business was warmly taken up, and extremely well supported on both sides. As the subject was then, and still continues, to be an object of the first political consideration with respect to both kingdoms, we shall be the more particularly attentive in stating the debate.

The Gentleman who moved the amendment, professed, in the first place, the best disposition towards the whole Irish nation; said, he was ready to concur, at any time, in whatever might promote the true interests of that country; and expressed his hearty wishes, that the British Parliament might render her every assistance in its power, without infringing on the trade of Great Britain. He well knew the grievances of that country, and lamented them. Of these he numbered, the Irish pension-list; the sinecure offices; the penal laws against Roman Catholics; with absentees, and some others. He assured the House, that he would not only gladly join in redressing these grievances; but that if the amendment he proposed should meet with their sentiments, he would move for a committee before they rose, to take into consideration, early in the next session,



the restrictive laws on the trade of Ireland; and would do every thing in his power to forward the interests of that country, where they did not immediately interfere with those of England.

He further declared, that he had no objection to admit of Ireland's participating equally with us in the benefits of a free trade, provided she bore an equal share of our national burthens; but that was not the case, nor was any thing tending towards it proposed by the bills. Ireland was supposed to contain above two millions of souls, and they were taxed at one million in money; which was about ten shillings, on an average, to each head. But Great-Britain, with six millions of souls, was taxed at twelve millions of money; by which each inhabitant paid forty shillings towards the support of government. So astonishing a difference between the circumstances of both countries, carried with it such intuitive conviction, as to supersede all argument upon the subject, and to shew, at the first view, the impolicy, the unreasonableness, and even the injustice to our own people, (who had undertaken this heavy burthen on the faith of our navigation laws, and the supposed security and stability of our commerce) of passing the bills now depending.

He was likewise of opinion, that the present measure was brought in at a very improper time, when the minds of men were taken up with matters of the most singular importance; the business was, besides, of too serious and complicated a nature to be hurried through at the latter end of a session. A matter of such magnitude, as that

of overthrowing the whole system of our trade-laws, was not to be lightly undertaken; nor hastily determined. Such a measure demanded the most mature deliberation, the strictest investigation of facts and circumstances, along with the fullest consideration of future effects and contingencies.

As to any danger of a rebellion in Ireland, from a failure of expected relief founded on these propositions, he could not think that there was the smallest foundation for any such apprehension. Besides that rebellion was not in the character of that nation, the people at large were not at all interested in the event of these bills; their operation would be confined to the metropolis and a few of the principal sea-ports, where it could only affect the capital merchants and traders. Opulence does not produce the men for rebellion, and happily, the indigent in that country have no concern in the question; had America been rich, she would never have rebelled; they are the rich, who in all countries are calculated for slavery.

He observed, that the petitions on their table deserved the particular attention of parliament; the petitioners were men of a description entitled to respect, and to a patient hearing; their evidence were still to be examined, and their counsel heard; and he appealed to the candour of gentlemen on all sides of the House, whether the month of May was the proper season to enter into so laborious and important an investigation. And said, that although he was not apprehensive of a rebellion in Ireland, that was more than he would venture to answer for with respect  
to



to England, if the present bills passed, considering the consequently increased want of employment which would then be superadded to the present distresses of our manufacturers. He concluded, by strongly urging the House to lay the bills aside; to refer the general business of Ireland to a committee; whose report would lay the foundation for their future mature deliberation; and enable them to afford such redress to Ireland, as the situation of both countries would admit of without prejudice to this.

Mr. Burke was the great and powerful supporter of the bills in point of debate. His situation was rather singular, and undoubtedly embarrassing. For he received his seat in parliament, without expence, from the free votes and predilection of the citizens of Bristol in his favour. And his constituents now thought their interests materially affected by the bills in question. As this subject was, perhaps, never before so ably discussed, we shall state some of the arguments that appeared in such abstracts as we have seen of that gentleman's speech.

He said, that the bills before them were no more than restorations of what the wisdom of a British Parliament had, on a former occasion, thought proper to invest Ireland with. The navigation bills passed in the 12th of Charles the Second, extended to Ireland as well as to England. A kind of left-handed policy had, however, deprived her of the freedom she had enjoyed under that law, and she had ever since remained under the most cruel, oppressive, and unnatural restriction. Deprived of

every incentive to industry, and shut out from every passage to wealth, she had inwardly lamented, but she had never complained of her condition. She had gone the most forward lengths in serving the interests, and in defending the rights of Great-Britain. She had assisted in conquests, from which she was to gain no advantage, and emptied her treasury, and desolated her land, to prove her attachment and loyalty to the government of this country. Such had been her conduct, and her reward had been restriction and commercial bondage of the most cruel nature. He did not mean, he said, by describing her situation, to engage the humanity of the House in her favour; he knew very well that alms are but poor resources: justice, and not pity, was to be the measure of our conduct. The Irish requested Britain to be wise, not to be generous; to provide for her own good, and to secure her own interest; sensible that wisdom and prudence would dictate; that, to accomplish these, a different conduct towards them was necessary.

The annual revenue of the two kingdoms, he said, had been exultingly, but most inequitably, drawn into comparison, to prove that Ireland paid no proportion of tax. It was not the number of inhabitants that constituted the specific difference in the article of taxation between two countries; but the distinction of internal opulence and external advantage. Compare the two countries by that line, and it will be found that Ireland is taxed in a quadruple proportion more than England. The internal wealth, and the external advantage of trade and commerce,



are forty times greater in England than in Ireland. There is, therefore, no ratio of proportion in the mode of taxing the latter. She is taxed without enjoying the means of payment. There are several excises which England is subject to, and which she is not. Suppose them laid: they must be laid for the sake of oppression, not production; and for the benefit of the officers, not of the revenue. Leather is taxed in England — but what would be the product of such a tax, where such innumerable multitudes of the people never wear shoes? You tax candles in England. But there are two hundred thousand houses in Ireland, in which probably a candle, such as you tax, was never lighted. The taxes must follow wealth, and not precede it. If any attempt against this rule is made, there will neither be wealth nor taxes. This, he said, was the order of nature; which must be followed. And as to the judgment of the proportion, it must be left to themselves, or they are not free; and surely the fault of the parliament of Ireland, has never been illiberality in its grants. Restricted from trading, she enjoys no opportunity of acquiring wealth to defray and discharge the taxes imposed upon her. Enlarge her means of payment, and, in proportion to her ability, she will enlarge her taxes. An equality of commercial advantage could not be established between the two countries. The opulence of the one is a great obstacle to the other. The great disproportion of capital effectually destroys the possibility of an equality. And as the ability of proceeding will increase in the same proportion, in the pro-

gress of the one and of the other, the same proportion of advantage will still remain. The Irish will be able to follow the English at an equal distance in every stage, both in the outset and in the continuance; but they will never be able to accelerate their motion so as to overtake them.

He said, the supposed operation of the cheapness of labour with respect to manufactures was totally unfounded, and the arguments founded thereon nugatory; and that until the instant that the price of labour was equal in both countries, the superiority of manufacture would remain with the English. That the price of labour rises with the growth of manufacture, and is highest when the manufacture is best. And that the experience of every day tells us, that where the price of labour is highest, the manufacturer is able to sell his commodity at the lowest price. He observed, that the difference of duty on some of the enumerated imported articles, was so abundantly overbalanced by the other advantages enjoyed by this country, that without it there could not be the smallest degree of competition in manufacture on the side of Ireland; nor could that in any degree hurt England. They had, he said, a strange opinion of the extent of the world, who believed that there was not room enough in it for the trade of two such islands as these.

He observed, that most, if not all of the petitions on the table, tended to express the utmost fears of the consequences that would arise, from granting a free exportation of sail-cloth and iron to the Irish. At the same time the real matter of fact is, that the Irish have long possessed,



possessed, without being able to turn it to any advantage worth mention, the free exportation of manufactured iron and steel, as well as of sail-cloth. From hence it is evident, that the petitioners have not felt from the reality, what they dreaded in the idea; and it is fairly to be inferred, that the other matters of apprehension contained in the petitions, are as groundless as these; and are only founded, like them, upon mere conjecture. It also appears evidently, that the advantages possessed by the English are so far superior in these respects, that the Irish were not able to prosecute these manufactures to any purpose, nor consequently to turn their liberty of exportation to account. And this, he said, was so truly the fact, that every species of iron manufacture, in particular, was actually exported in incredible quantities to Ireland.

He shewed from other instances, as well as the present, how hastily and erroneously manufacturers are liable to form their opinions upon subjects of this nature; and upon what slight grounds alarms are raised, and apprehensions propagated amongst them. Particularly when, some years ago, a bill was brought in for the free importation of woollen yarn from Ireland, an universal alarm was excited, and petitions were sent in from every quarter, stating and complaining of the ruinous consequences which it would produce; the bill, however, passed into a law, and now, upon a full experience of its effects, they both feel and acknowledge its beneficial tendency. But it was absurd, he said, to think, that a participation of manufacture would be detrimental to this country.

Had we not seen the woollen manufactory planted in different parts of this country; and had we not also seen that it throve by the competition?

He concluded with lamenting, that it could happen in any one instance, that his conscience should direct him to take a part contrary to the opinion of his constituents. It had been his invariable aim to protect their rights and interests, and to act at all times as became the senator and representative of the people. In this instance he had dared to act contrary to the wishes, though he was sensible, not to the interests, of his constituents. And if, from his conduct in this business, he should be deprived of his seat in that House, as he apprehended he might, his conduct being disapproved by many of his chief friends and supporters, as well as by all who had opposed him at his election; he had the satisfaction of being perfectly assured, that he should suffer in the very cause of those who had inflicted the punishment. He should not blame them if they did reject him; the event would afford a very useful example; on the one hand, of a senator inflexibly adhering to his opinion, against interest and against popularity; and on the other, of constituents exercising their undoubted right of rejection, not on corrupt motives, but from their persuasion that he whom they had chosen had acted against the judgment and interest of those he represented.

Other gentlemen, on the same side, considered the proposition of going into a committee, as little better than a direct negative. It held out no security, but a vague promise



promise to move a committee, which committee should appoint another committee. They said it would carry too unbecoming an appearance of trifling with the sister kingdom; and they knew the temper of the people of Ireland too well, to hold any doubt of their not being satisfied with such treatment.

The minister coincided in this opinion. He said, that as the expectations of the Irish were raised from what had been already done, it would be unwise to protract the business for another session. The gentlemen who opposed the bills seemed all to agree, that something ought to be done for the relief of Ireland, though they differed about the nature and extent of what ought to be done. He could see no reason, however, why the present bills should not pass, whatever other measures they might take hereafter. The House might, notwithstanding, appoint a committee to enquire into the general state of the trade, and upon their report, in another session, a more extensive plan might be framed and adopted. He concluded by saying, that he held it as a duty of obligation upon Britain, to give Ireland a degree, at least, of recompence for the exertions she had made, supposing even we were not inclined, in policy, to give her relief from the restrictions she laboured under; and he hoped the house would agree to the present bills, as a test of their intention and inclination to befriend her more substantially in future.

The motion was rejected upon a division, and the bills accordingly committed.

The death of the Earl of Chatham called forth the strongest marks and expressions of grief, with the greatest eulogiums on his public virtues, from one side of the House, and was attended with the most exalted and lasting testimonials of public esteem and gratitude, with which departed merit can be honoured, from the whole. This celebrated nobleman, (but once more celebrated commoner) who had for several years been a victim to a most excruciating disorder, which reduced him to a state of extreme feebleness with respect to his bodily powers, still retained all that vigour of mind by which in better days he was so much distinguished; and was seized with a fainting fit, the forerunner of his death, some days before in the House of Lords, in the midst of an eager speech which he was making upon American affairs. Thus, he may be said to have died as he lived, in the service of his country. The Earl of Chatham expired, at his seat at Hayes, in Kent, on the morning of May the 11th, 1778. The high pitch of power and glory to which this country had risen under his administration, have placed his public character in so conspicuous a point of view, that any attempt towards a further display of it, would appear, at least, superfluous. It may well be feared, that the fatal consequences of his removal from power, will not be less remembered. Some errors and inconsistencies in his public conduct, may well be overlooked among such a cloud of public virtues and services. He acknowledged himself, in the first assembly of the nation,

that



that he had been deceived at a most critical time, and upon a most critical occasion. This is the more to be lamented, if (as many think) all the subsequent misfortunes and calamities of the British nation and empire, have derived their source from that deception. He will, however, at all times, hold an exalted rank, among the first names of ancient or modern statesmen.

11th. The evening was pretty far advanced before the account of this nobleman's death was received in the House of Commons, and some business, then in hand, rendered it late before the event could be publicly announced. That melancholy office was undertaken by Colonel Barre, who, with the strongest marks of the most profound concern and grief, and with as much eloquence as agreed with such feelings, pronounced a short eulogium on the merits of the deceased Earl, and then taking such a sketch of the obligations which the nation owed to his public virtues and services as the time and situation would allow, moved an address to his Majesty for directions, "That the remains of WILIAM PITT, EARL of CHATHAM, be interred at the public expence." The motion was seconded by Mr. Townshend, and seemed to receive the most general approbation.

It is so well known as scarcely to require observation, that for many years, the services of the late nobleman had been so far from being acceptable at court, that his name was not even frequently mentioned, by those who were well versed in the etiquette of conversation proper to be observed in such

situations. A gentleman, high in office, accordingly endeavoured, with his usual address, to get rid of the motion, by a proposal, which, without conveying the ungracious and unpopular appearance of directly opposing the honour intended to the memory of the deceased, would, however, if adopted, serve greatly to lessen its effect. After expressing the greatest respect for the unrivalled talents of the late statesman, and regret, that his country should be deprived of them at a time when they were so much wanted by her, he said, that he would undoubtedly vote for the motion, if the honourable gentleman thought fitting to persist in it; but he could not help thinking, that a monument to his memory would be a more eligible, as well as a more lasting testimony of the public gratitude, than the defraying of his funeral honours.

This proposal produced a directly contrary effect, to that which was supposed to be intended. The opposition received it with joy, as a happy recollection of what they had overlooked, in the paroxysms of grief excited by so great a public and private loss. But instead of a substitution, they tacked it as an amendment to the original motion, in the following words: "And that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that great and excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will make good the expence."

At this instant the minister entered, who having quitted the House



House for the night, before this subject was introduced, and receiving afterwards intelligence of what was going forward, returned in the greatest haste, in order to prevent the opposition from carrying away the whole credit and popularity of the measure. He declared his happiness in arriving time enough to give his vote for the motion, which he hoped would pass unanimously, and lamented that he had not breath enough, from the hurry in which he came, to express himself with that degree of respect, which he wished to shew on so great an occasion. Thus both parties vied in the honours which they paid to the deceased Earl, and the amended motion was carried without a dissenting voice.

The ready compliance of the Crown with the terms of the address, being, on the following 13th. day but one, announced by the Minister, Lord John Cavendish arose, and said, that he hoped the public gratitude would not stop at what had been done. That great man, and invaluable minister, he said, had distinguished himself as much by his disinterestedness, as by his zeal, ability, or any other of his great qualities. The consequence of this exemplary virtue was, that while he conducted the affairs of the public with unparalleled advantage and glory to them, he had scorned or neglected all means of advantage to himself; so that, with the greatest opportunities in his hands of acquiring an ample fortune, he had, notwithstanding, left his family destitute of all suitable provision. His Lordship therefore

hoped, that virtue should not in this instance be merely its own reward; but that the gratitude of the public to Lord Chatham's descendants, should be the means of exciting an emulation in those yet unborn, to copy such an example.

The Minister fell in with the sentiments of the noble Lord in a manner that did him honour; and the whole House seemed to participate of a general pleasure in their approbation of them. A motion was according made by Mr. Townshend, which, (contrary to the general course of that gentleman's fortune) was unanimously passed, for an address to his Majesty, "That he would be graciously pleased to make such a lasting provision for the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as his Majesty, in his wisdom and liberality, should think fit, as a mark of the sense the nation entertains of the services done to the kingdom by that able statesman; and to assure his Majesty that the House would make good the same." Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke spoke upon this occasion, in a manner which did equal honour to their abilities and their hearts.

This message occasioned the bringing in and passing of a bill, by which an annuity of four thousand pounds a year, payable out of the civil list revenue, is forever settled on those heirs of the late Earl, to whom the Earldom of Chatham may descend. This exalted instance of national gratitude, and honourable reward of departed merit, was followed by a grant of twenty thousand pounds from



from the Commons, towards discharging the debts of the late Earl. All this business was conducted with a liberality which did the highest honour to the House; there

not having been the smallest alteration, nor a single dissentient voice, upon any one proposition that was made on the subject.

## C H A P. IX.

*Sir George Saville's motion for a bill to repeal certain penalties and disqualifications to which the English Roman Catholics were liable, universally agreed to. Event of the Irish business. Debates relative to the Toulon papers; Sir William Meredith's first motion, at length rejected. Motion of adjournment, by the Minister, carried. Circumstances relative to the arrival of General Burgoyne. Motion by Mr. Vyner, relative to the Canada expedition. Amendment moved by Mr. Fox. Explanations of his situation and conduct by General Burgoyne. Debate. Mr. Fox's amendment rejected on a division. Original motion set aside by the previous question. Motion by Mr. Hartley against the prorogation of Parliament, after considerable debates, rejected on a division. Similar motion by Sir James Lowther, meets the same fate. Motion by the Duke of Richmond for withdrawing the forces from North America. Previous question moved and carried on a division. Great debates on the Earl of Effingham's motions tending to an enquiry into the state of the navy. Effective motions rejected; two others agreed to. Duke of Richmond closes the enquiry in the general Committee on the state of the nation. Moves an address of great length, founded on various matters of fact, which had been established in the course of the enquiry. Debate broke off on the sudden illness of the Earl of Chatham, and adjourned to the following day. Address rejected. Protest. Resolutions, founded on the Toulon papers, moved by the Duke of Richmond. Justification of naval affairs and conduct, by the noble Lord immediately concerned. Interesting particulars stated by the Earl of Bristol. Motions set aside, on a division, by the previous question. Protest on the Chatham annuity bill. Earl of Derby's motion relative to the Saratoga business, set aside by the previous question. Duke of Bolton's motion for deferring the prorogation of Parliament, after long debates, rejected on a division. Speech from the Throne.*

THE lateness of the season did not prevent Sir George Seville from endeavouring to profit of the lenient temper and liberal spirit of the times, in favour of a long-oppressed body of men, almost forgotten in the patience and silence with which for many years they endured their grievances.

However necessary the penal laws against Roman Catholics originally were, whilst the constitution was yet struggling into reformation, and afterwards confirming itself in that happy settlement, as the cause of persecution had long ceased to operate, men of humanity could not avoid lamenting, as all true policy



policy forbade, the keeping up of such standing memorials of civil rancour and discord, and perpetuating a line of division, by which one part of the people being cut off from the rights of citizens, could scarcely be said to possess any share in the common interest, and were rendered incapable of forming any part of the common union of defence. Indeed these laws seemed calculated to compel a considerable body of the people to hold an hereditary enmity to government, and even to wean them from all affection to their country.

May 14th. Sir George Saville moved accordingly for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities provided in an act of the 10th and 11th of William the Third, entitled, An act to prevent the further growth of popery. He stated, that one of his principal views in proposing this repeal was, to vindicate the honour, and to assert the principles of the Protestant religion, to which all persecution was, or ought to be, wholly adverse. That this pure religion ought not to have had an existence, if persecution had been lawful; and it ill became us to practise that with which we reproached others. That he did not meddle with the vast body of that penal code; but selected that act, on which he found most of the prosecutions had been formed, and which gave the greatest scope to the base views of interested relations, and of informers for reward. The act had not indeed been regularly put in execution, but sometimes it had; and he understood that several lived under

great terror, and some under actual contribution, in consequence of the powers given by it. As an inducement to the repeal of those penalties, which were directed with such a violence of severity against Papists, he stated the peaceable and loyal behaviour of that part of the people under a government, which, though not rigorous in enforcing, yet suffered such intolerable penalties and disqualifications to stand against them on the statutes. A late loyal and excellent address which they had presented to the throne, stood high among the instances which Sir George pointed out, of the safety, and the good consequences, which were likely to attend this liberal procedure of Parliament. He observed, that in that address they not only expressed their obedience to the government under which they lived, but their attachment to the constitution upon which the civil rights of this country have been established by the revolution, and which placed the present family upon the throne of these kingdoms. As a further guard and security, however, against any possible consequence of the measure, he proposed that a sufficient test might be formed, by which they should bind themselves to the support of the civil government by law established.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Dunning, who, with his well-known ability and knowledge in such subjects, went into a legal discussion of the principle, objects, and past operation, of the bill which was intended to be repealed. The following he stated as the great and grievous penalties.—The punishment of Popish priests, or Jesuits,



Jesuits, who should be found to teach or officiate in the services of that church; which acts were felony in foreigners, and high treason in the natives of this kingdom.—The forfeitures of Popish heirs, who had received their education abroad, and whose estates went to the next Protestant heir.—The power given to the son or other nearest relation, being a Protestant, to take possession of the father, or other relation's estate, during the life of the real proprietor.—And, the depriving of Papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase; a word, which in its legal meaning carried a much greater latitude, than was understood (and that perhaps happily) in its ordinary acceptation; for it applied to all legal property acquired by any other means than that of descent.

These, he said, were the objects of the proposed repeal. Some of them had now ceased to be necessary, and others were at all times a disgrace to humanity. The imprisonment of a Popish priest for life, only for officiating in the services of his religion, was horrible in its nature; and must, to an Englishman, be ever held as infinitely worse than death. Such a law, in times of so great liberality as the present, and when so little was to be apprehended from these people, called loudly for repeal; and he begged to remind the House, that even then they would not be left at liberty to exercise their functions; but would still, under the restriction of former laws, be liable to a year's imprisonment, and to the punishment of a heavy fine.

And although, he observed, the mildness of government had hitherto softened the rigour of the law in the practice, it was to be remembered, that the Roman catholic priests constantly lay at the mercy of the basest and most abandoned of mankind, of common informers; for on the evidence of any of these wretches, the magisterial and judicial powers were of necessity bound to enforce all the shameful penalties of the act. Others of these penalties held out the most powerful temptations for the commission of acts of depravity, at the very thought of which our nature recoils with horror. They seem calculated to loosen all the bands of society; to dissolve all civil, moral, and religious obligations and duties; to poison the sources of domestic felicity; and to annihilate every principle of honour. The encouragement given to children to lay their hands upon the estates of their parents, and the restriction which debars any man from the honest acquisition of property, need, said he, only to be mentioned, to excite the utmost indignation of this House.

The motion was received with universal approbation, and a bill was accordingly brought in and passed without a single negative, by which a considerable body of our fellow-citizens were relieved from the pressure of some of the most intolerable of those grievances under which they had long laboured.

In the mean time, counsel and evidence were more than once heard on different parts of the Irish business; and in consequence of some compromise between the supporters and opposers of those bills,



bills, although the former shewed a great superiority of strength, it was notwithstanding thought necessary to give up, for the present, most of the advantages that were originally intended for that country. Some enlargement however was given to the linen trade, particularly in the article of checks; and some openings given in the African and West India trades which did not before exist. Thus the measure, at its final transit through parliament, might be rather considered as an opening to future service, and an earnest of good intention, than as affording any immediate benefit, or even as holding out any future advantage, of any great importance to Ireland.

In consequence of a motion made by Sir William Meredith, several papers having been laid before the House, containing the intelligence received by government, of the equipment and sailing of the Toulon squadron, that gentleman opened the way for the motions which he intended 25th. to found upon the substance of those papers, by some very severe reprehensions of the conduct of administration in respect to that business. He observed, that, amidst all the dangers that threatened the very being of this country, amidst the violent shocks of commerce and of public credit, our Ministers alone seemed careless, thoughtless, and totally regardless of what was past, present, or to come. They had not however, as usual, been deficient in information upon this occasion. They had early and complete intelligence of the preparations at Toulon. On the 3d of January they had notice

of the equipment; on the 8th of February they had advice of the number of ships that was to compose the squadron; and on the 28th of the same month, that the crews were all completed. They had early information of Mons. D'Estaing's arrival, and of the day on which he intended to sail; and that he actually did sail upon the 13th of April. With all this timely intelligence, we are now arrived at the latter end of May, and our fleet is still lying at Spithead. Not a single ship is sent out, nor a single measure taken, to guard us against this formidable armament.

He said, it was so long ago as the 20th of Nov. that the first Lord of the Admiralty informed the public, that there were 42 ships of the line fit for service, of which he said 35 might put to sea at an hour's warning, and the remainder seven would be ready in a fortnight. He said, that it needed not to be a statesman to know, that the first thing to be done under any apprehension of a foreign war, was to dispatch a fleet to the Mediterranean. This was no matter of theory or opinion, our constant practice in all wars confirmed the necessity of the measure. Indeed, to what other purpose were Gibraltar or Minorca conquered, or retained, at the expence of so many millions to the nation, but to afford a station to our fleets, and enable them to maintain the sovereignty of that sea, and to command its communication with the ocean.

He then moved three resolutions, the first of which went to establish, that the Ministers had received various intelligence, during the months



months of January, February, March, and April, of the equipment, and, at length, of the final sailing on the 13th of April, of the Toulon fleet.—The second, that it did not appear to the House, that any orders were sent until the 29th of April, for any fleet of observation, to attend the motions of that from Toulon; and that no fleet did actually sail, until the 20th of the present May, when eleven sail of the line left St. Helen's.—The last, taking for granted, that the representation of the state of the navy made in the preceding month of November, was founded in fact, went upon that ground to a censure of the Ministers. It declared, that his Majesty's Ministers were inattentive to the public welfare and safety, in not having stationed a fleet in the Mediterranean, as had been the practice in former times, and on similar occasions; by which neglect, the advantages to be derived from the expensive fortresses at Gibraltar and Port Mahon have been lost; and the Toulon fleet has been left at liberty, for six weeks past, to proceed towards the attack of any of his Majesty's defenceless dominions abroad, and to form a junction with the fleets in any ports out of the Mediterranean, and thereby collect a force from which Great-Britain and Ireland might be exposed to the most imminent danger.

The motion was seconded by Sir George Yonge, and supported by some other gentlemen on the same side, who threw out the heaviest censures on that state of supineness, and irresolution, into which, they said, the Ministers had been thrown by the ap-

pearance of that danger, into which they had wilfully, if not maliciously, plunged the nation. Ministers, who blustered and looked big whilst danger seemed at a distance, and who then equally despised council and warning, now shrink into nothing, and seem to lose all the powers and faculties of men at its approach.

One gentleman asserted, that from his own knowledge of the French Ministers and counsels, and of the state and disposition of parties at that court, he was to a certainty convinced, that with any moderate share of decisiveness or vigour in their conduct, and any rational system to go upon, it was in three several instances, in the power of our Ministers within a very few months, either to have deterred the French from entering into the American alliance, or to have obliged them to relinquish it, and to sue for a continuation of peace since its conclusion. He stated three measures, any of which, he said, would have produced one or other of these effects. But, unfortunately for this country, he said, our Ministers seemed to be as ignorant of the characters of the men they had to deal with, as they were blind to events.

A gentleman old in office, and who is supposed by many, to be frequently deeper in the secret of affairs than the acting Ministers, moved the previous question upon the first resolution. He said, however true the facts were, that the enquiry was highly improper. That, he did not think the House of Commons an assembly calculated for the discussion of state affairs; it was the business of parliament to raise supplies, not to



debate on the measures of government. The one was the proper object of legislative, the other of executive power. If Ministers were criminal, they might be attacked at a proper time; not in the very midst of the operations which were the object of enquiry. The Roman senate, indeed, discussed all political questions; that body was composed of men of honour and discretion, who could keep their own secrets. But the debates of parliament in England were published in every news-paper.

This question upon the competency of parliament, and limitation of the objects of its discussion and enquiry, roused all the activity of a gentleman, who, since the rejection of his late motions on the state of the nation, had seemed rather disposed to taciturnity. He combated the doctrine now advanced, (which he considered as an insult to every individual, as well as to parliament at large,) with his usual spirit. Insisted, that it was the undoubted privilege of that House, to enquire into, and to censure, the conduct of those who were entrusted with the executive power of the state. Laughed at the idea held out on the other side, that the matter before them was a fit subject for the deliberation of his Majesty's council, but not for the House of Commons. Did he mean that the cabinet council was the proper body to censure the want of wisdom in his Majesty's counsels? Or was it supposed, that the same council which had given so many unhappy proofs of its total want of wisdom, should now correct its own errors, and be the avenger of its own offences.

He said, that nothing could be so injurious to the honour of parliament; nothing so abhorrent from the ends and principles of their institution, as to suppose them incapable of deliberating on those affairs of state, which they were immediately summoned to vote and determine upon. To speak with freedom, was the essence of parliamentary functions; and its exercise became at present more particularly necessary than at any other time, when, through the egregious folly, or the most heinous treachery, in the King's Ministers, and notwithstanding the enormous supplies granted by that House, yet, not a single measure had been taken, to guard against the greatest danger that ever threatened this country. In such a situation, when France was with great activity sending out fleets to reduce our remaining foreign possessions, and preparing for an immediate invasion of England or Ireland, whilst we were languishing under the torpor of a supine, senseless, incapable government, it was the care, the vigilance, and the vigour of parliament only, that could afford even a hope of redeeming this country from destruction.

The Minister first entered into a justification of the gentleman who had moved the previous question, and a defence of his motion. This he founded on its expediency. It would be impossible, he said, for the servants of the crown to defend their conduct, without their entering into such explanations, as the prudence of the House must instantly put a stop to. With respect to the danger apprehended from the Toulon squadron, he said,



said, it was utterly impossible to guard all the different parts, of so extensive, and so widely disjointed, an empire as this, from the surprise or attack of an enemy, on some one or other of its remote dependencies. But he could say, that measures were taken as early as possible; and that he made no doubt, a fleet sufficient to disappoint D'Estaing would be found, let his object be what it would. He then entered into a general vindication of his own conduct, which he said, he would, at a proper time, willingly submit to a public enquiry; but this was by no means the season for such a business. He said the loss or neglect of foreign alliances or connections, so repeatedly urged on the other side, were unjustly attributed to him; and after a pretty long discussion on the advantages, and disadvantages, of such connections, asserted, that though he had been frequently accused of declaring the contrary, he never had been of opinion against them. But that they could not always be had merely because they were wanted. Sovereign states seek their own advantages; and when nothing reciprocal can be offered to them, no treaties of alliance can bind them, against what they think their interest. That such is, and has been for some time past, the position of Europe, that we had nothing to offer in return for any assistance we might receive. He did not seem to think it any cause of surprise, if France and Spain united, should form a greater naval force than that of this country, For if any great maritime country, he said, applied its mind and its revenue to the building of ships,

there was no doubt but it might build them. He concluded by declaring, that he knew of no such being as that called Prime Minister; it was a name, and signified an office, unknown to the constitution. As first Lord of the Treasury, he would be answerable for those things that came within his department, but further he would not go; and he trusted he never should be so presumptuous, as to think himself capable of directing the departments of others.

The previous question was at length carried upon a division by a majority of 117 to 91. Sir William Meredith then moved his second resolution, in answer to which, the noble Lord at the head of affairs moved an adjournment; which, after many reflections on that mode of proceeding, was carried as the former question had been.

The arrival of General Burgoyne from America, with some peculiar circumstances accompanying or consequent of that event, served, all together, to cause a revival of the business relative to the northern expedition, and seemed to indicate such an accession of new matter of investigation, as might possibly keep parliament together longer than had been expected. That once favourite General, soon discovered, upon his return, that he was no longer an object of court favour, or of ministerial countenance. He was, in the first instance, refused admission to the royal presence, and from thence experienced all those marks of being in disgrace, which are so well understood, and so quickly perceived, by the retainers and followers of courts.



Under these circumstances of disgrace and interdiction, a court of enquiry was appointed; but the general officers reported, that in his then situation, as a prisoner on parole to the Congress, under the convention—they could not take cognizance of his conduct. This spirited officer then demanded a court-martial—which on the same grounds was refused. He then declared himself under a necessity of throwing himself upon parliament, for a public enquiry into his conduct. The business was not, however, taken up, as he expected, by any side of the House at his first appearance. Possibly the lateness of the season, and the fear of the determination of a ministerial majority, might deter the opposition from any steps to that purpose. Mr. Vyner, however, removed any difficulty that occurred on either side, by moving for a committee of the whole House, to consider of the state and condition of the army which surrendered themselves prisoners, on convention, at Saratoga, in America; and also by what means Lieutenant General Burgoyne, who commanded that army, and was included in that convention, was released, and is now in England.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilkes, and an amendment moved by Mr. Fox, for the insertion of the following words, immediately after the word “consider” “of the transactions of the northern army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and”—.

The motion and amendment afforded that opportunity to the General which he was seeking for, of explaining the nature and

state of his situation, and the particular circumstances of that persecution, as he termed it, under which he described himself, as most injuriously suffering.

He accordingly vindicated his own conduct, and the honour of the brave army which he commanded, with great ability, in a long and eloquent speech. As the general discussion of the subject was passed over to the ensuing session, and will of course become an object of our future recital, we shall for the present only take notice of such peculiar matter relative to the immediate business, as will serve to explain the ground of debate, or as could not be related with propriety hereafter.

The General seconded the motion and the amendment, as tending to that general enquiry into his conduct, which could alone vindicate his character and honour, from the aspersions of ministerial writers, and all the other means which had been used, as well during his absence, as since his arrival, to injure both. He entered into a justification of his conduct with respect to the cruelties charged to the savages, and a vindication of his regular forces, from the inhumanities attributed to them. He insisted that he had not exceeded his orders, and that they were positive and peremptory. That the House had been designedly misled to his prejudice in the former enquiry upon this subject, by laying before them his original plan for the Canada expedition, and leaving them in the opinion that all its parts had been punctually complied with; although the Minister who laid it before them, knew the contrary to be the fact,



fact, and that some of its most material clauses had been erased. He observed that the papers which had been laid before them, were in some respects deficient, and in others superfluous. Among the latter he particularly complained of the exposure of a private and confidential letter, which could answer no public purpose, and at the same time evidently tended to his personal prejudice. And among the former, the withholding of several others, which were not in the same predicament, some of which would have removed the ill impression and effect caused by that letter, and others would have afforded explanations of several material parts of his conduct, and rendered a long train of correspondence which was laid before them unnecessary. But he complained still more of the disclosure of a paper of the most secret nature, containing his thoughts upon the manner of conducting the war from the side of Canada. Upon this part of the subject he exclaimed with great energy, "what officer will venture hereafter to give his opinion upon measures or men when called upon by a Minister, if his confidence, his reasonings, and his preferences, are to be thus invidiously exposed, to create jealousies and differences among his fellow officers, and at last to put an imposition upon the world, and make him responsible for the plan as well as the execution of a hazardous campaign."

After stating and refuting a number of calumnies, which, from interested or malevolent purposes, had been industriously propagated against him, he said, that under such circumstances of the greatest

injury to the reputation of one of their members, together with that of his character having already been brought into question before them, and his direct assertion, that the information which the House had then gone upon was incomplete and fallacious, he knew not what description of men could justly refuse, to him personally, a new and full enquiry.

He put it strongly to the feelings of his auditors, and to make it individually their own case, the situation of an injured and persecuted man, debarred, by an interdiction, from the possibility of vindicating himself to his Sovereign, and put by, if not inevitably precluded from the judgment of a military tribunal, if thus, disgraced at court, and cut off from resource in the line of his profession, he should also at last, in his final appeal to the justice and equity of his country, find himself disappointed in the only possible means of justification that remained, by the refusal of a parliamentary investigation of a measure of state, with which the rectitude or criminality of his conduct was inseparably blended. After applying this matter particularly and forcibly to his brother officers in parliament, as a common cause of the profession, from the discouragement and injury which the service must suffer under the establishment of such a precedent, and various other considerations applied to different parts of the House, he wound up the whole of that part of the subject, by declaring, that he waved an appeal to private sentiments, and desired the motion to be considered as a call upon the public duty of the House;



House; and he required and demanded, in his place, as a representative of the nation, a full and impartial enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the northern army in an expedition from Canada.

The American Minister declared his concern for the exposure of the private letter, which he attributed to accident, or official mistake. As to the General's not having access to his Sovereign, he said there were various precedents for the refusal, until his conduct had undergone a military enquiry, which could not yet be done. And concluded, that as military men were the natural and proper judges of the subject, he could not see the propriety of any interference by parliament in the business. Other gentlemen in office, besides confirming that opinion, held parliament as totally incompetent to any decision on the question. And one of the law officers said, they had one enquiry already, which afforded sufficient information to form an opinion, and nothing more could be done for the present.

The question being at length put on Mr. Fox's amendment, it was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 144 to 95. And, the main question, after some unusual warmth of altercation, was set by at a late hour by the previous question, which was carried without a division.

Although the Ministers did not seem much disposed on this day to enter into any particular discussion with the General, yet, if any such measures were intended to be kept, they were fully done away by the part which he took

in an ensuing debate; when it also seemed that they were not unprepared for the event.

This was in consequence of a motion made by Mr. 28th. Hartley, for an address to prevent the prorogation of parliament, and that they should continue sitting for the purpose of assisting and forwarding the measures already taken for the restoration of peace in America; and that they might be in readiness, in the present critical situation and prospect of public affairs, to provide for every important event at the earliest notice. In a warm speech which General Burgoyne made in support of the motion, he advanced matters and opinions which could not fail of being exceedingly grating to the Ministers, and which were refuted accordingly. Particularly, his describing them, as totally insufficient and unable to support the weight of public affairs in the present critical and dangerous emergency.

To the general knowledge of this incapability, he attributed the diffidence, despondency, and consternation, which were evident among a great part of the people; and a still more fatal symptom, he said, that torpid indifference to our impending fate, which prevailed among a yet greater number. After stating the general panic that might result from this general state of temper and opinion, he said, "the salvation of the country depends upon the confidence of the people in some part of government." He then proceeded to censure without reserve, the whole public conduct pursued since the delivery of the French rescript; particularly in whatever related



related to offence, defence, and the total neglect of all means to inspirit the nation. In a course of striking military observations, illustrated by late and popular historical examples, he used the following, "it will be difficult for those who are most conversant in history, and accurate in observation, to point out examples, where, after an alarm, the spirits of men have revived by inaction. He knew of no great exertions, where the governing counsels have shewn apprehension and terror, and consequent confusion at the outset."

The drift of the speech was to shew the necessity of complying with the motion, in order, besides other great objects, that the presence of parliament, might restore the confidence, and renew the spirit of the nation; and he said, that if the King's Ministers should take the lead in opposition to the motion, and use their influence for its rejection, he should hold them to be the opposers of national spirit, opposers of public virtue, and opposers of the most efficacious means to save their country.

Although, in the course of his speech, he had disclaimed all hostility, it was notwithstanding understood and resented as a declaration of war; and accordingly brought out a bitter reply, mixed with much personality, from a gentleman high in office; and not less noted for freedom of speech, than for his other eminent qualities. After stating his reasons against the motion, upon the same grounds which we have seen taken at the Christmas recess, he particularly applied himself to the last speaker, who, he said, being a prisoner, was in fact dead to all

civil, as well as military purposes, and, as such, had no right to speak, much less to vote in that House. He then threw some degree of ridicule, in his state of it, upon the General's application or wish for a trial. The honourable gentleman, he said, knew, when he desired a trial, that he could not be tried; he was upon parole; he was, as a prisoner under that parole, not at liberty to do any act in his personal capacity. — Suppose, for instance, he should be tried and found guilty, who could punish him? No one certainly. A prisoner is always bound to his first engagement, and amenable to the stipulations of those who have prescribed the terms. To talk therefore of trial, without the power to punish, was a farce; the power to try, implied the power to punish; or such a power meant nothing.

One of the law officers of the crown took up the same ground of argument, and made it an object of serious and real discussion. In a speech, fraught with general knowledge and ancient learning, and in which the doubts and arguments were too methodically arranged, to admit any doubt of their preparation for the purpose, he endeavoured to establish from the example of Regulus, in the Roman history, and other precedents, that the General (the convention of Saratoga being now broken) was merely in the state of a common prisoner of war; and that, consequently, he was not *sui juris*, but the immediate property of another power. From whence he insisted, with the fullest appearance of conviction to himself, that the General, under his pre-



sent obligations, was totally incapable of exercising any civil office, incompetent to any civil function, and incapable of bearing arms in this country.

The General expressed the utmost indignation at this attempt to overthrow all his rights, as a man, a citizen, and a soldier. He urged that the convention was not broken. That the Congress, from some ill-founded jealousy in respect to some circumstances of his own conduct, and still more, from their doubt of the faith of administration, had only suspended the execution of it on their side, until it had received a formal ratification from government. That he was bound to no condition by the convention, excepting the single one, of not serving in America; nor by his parole, but that of returning, on due notice being given, on the demand of the Congress. He stated an instance from the last war, of a noble Lord then present, who was taken prisoner at St. Cas, and whose parole situation came directly home to the point in question. But it seemed as if fortune had foreseen and provided for this new impediment which was to be created, in order to a further limitation of the right of sitting in parliament. For it appeared, that the idea of restraining him by his parole, from giving any vote against America in parliament, had been adopted by some of the leaders there; but that it had not only been rejected with disdain, but that it had been further said, they wished him to attend his duty in parliament, from a certainty, that his intimate knowledge of the state of affairs on both sides, would induce him, by every means in his

power, to accelerate, what they declared, they so much wished for, a peace, upon proper terms. In the debate, it was pressed upon the whole, as arising from the maxims and practice of warfare established among civilized nations, that the General was not only at full liberty to serve against any other enemy, but that, if he had defeated or destroyed an American fleet or army, in any other of the three quarters of the world, it could not by any construction be interpreted as a breach of his parole.

The Speaker put an end to all cavil upon the subject, by deciding the question in favour of General Burgoyne, and the learned law-officer appeared to acquiesce in his opinion. But the principal leaders of the opposition did not let the matter pass off so easily. They warmly resented the illiberal treatment, as they termed it, offered to the General, in his present circumstances of accumulated misfortune. And, upon this occasion, the researches of the learned law officer, in the fabulous legends of barbarous antiquity, and his fixing upon the very questionable story of Regulus in the first Punic war (an æra when it lay in the option of the victors, whether to massacre, sell, or to keep as slaves, their prisoners) as a precedent for the present times; and thereby, not only to overthrow the modern laws of warfare, but to render it the test of a British senator's holding his seat in parliament, underwent no small share of animadversion and ridicule.

Mr. Hartley's motion was at length rejected on a division, by a majority of 105 to 53. This did not prevent Sir James Lowther, on the



the day before the recess, from moving for an address, that parliament might be continued sitting by adjournments, until a happy termination of the present public exigencies. His motion, however, met with a similar fate to the former.

During this constant state of warfare in one House, public affairs were not less warmly agitated in the other. On the 25d of March a motion was made by the Duke of Richmond for an address, "That all the ships of war and land forces be immediately withdrawn from the ports and territories of the thirteen revolted provinces, and disposed of in such manner as should seem best calculated for the defence of the remaining parts of the empire, in the difficult situation in which we are unfortunately placed; humbly beseeching his Majesty, to take into his particular consideration the condition of England and Ireland to repel a foreign invasion; and imploring him to take the most speedy and effectual measures for providing for the security of these kingdoms."

This motion brought on a very warm and interesting debate; in which, the chief leaders of opposition entered into a large field of discussion, and censure. The ministers and their friends were not equally active in the debate. It was principally opposed by the First Lord of the Admiralty, who, without much controverting the propriety or necessity of the proposed measure, founded his opposition to the motion on the ground of secrecy, expedience, and policy, with respect to the mode of carrying it into execution; which

should not be subject to the exposure incident to a parliamentary discussion. He accordingly moved the previous question; which was at length carried upon a division, by a majority of 56 to 28.

An acknowledgement made by the noble Lord, to whose department the information particularly belonged, of an unhappy consequence of the American contest, which had been long foreseen, and frequently urged by the opposition in both Houses, and which had hitherto been treated by the ministers, as rather a subject of ridicule, than of serious consideration, was a circumstance in this debate which could not pass unnoticed. The noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, attributed the scarcity of seamen (to which the present insufficiency of the navy could only be charged, as he said there were ships enough ready for sea), merely to the want of those American sailors, who had contributed to man our fleets in former wars. These the noble Lord estimated at 18,000; and observed, that if we considered that those men were now employed against us, it made a real difference of 36,000 seamen.—A fatal consequence, indeed, of our unhappy civil war; and yet so obvious, that the lateness of the discovery scarcely excites less surprize than regret.

Several motions made by the Earl of Effingham, on the last of March, relative to naval affairs, were the means of introducing a very long and interesting debate, in which the noble mover, with the Dukes of Bolton and Richmond, took the principal share on one side, and the noble Lord at the head of the department in question,



question, found sufficient occasion for the full exertion of all his faculties, on the other. The motions went,—To, An account of the state of the ships in his Majesty's navy, in the latter end of the year 1770.—Of the ordinary estimates of the navy from 1770, to 1778, inclusive.—Of the number of ships broke up and sold, with the old stores sold, and an account of what both sold for, all within that term.—An account of the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships and vessels, over and above those charged in the wear and tear, of the year 1777.—And concluded with some accounts relative to stoppages.

The objects of the enquiry were, in the first place, to ascertain the real state of the navy; a knowledge of which, at this critical season, the Lords on that side represented, as being not only of the highest importance, but as being absolutely necessary with respect to the public safety; more especially, as they insisted, and endeavoured to demonstrate from public facts and consequences, that parliament had hitherto been intentionally misled, in all the official information which had been laid before them on that subject. The second was to detect and remedy those malversations of office, neglect of its great and principal duty, and profusion of the public money, which had been so long and so frequently charged to the account of that department. It seemed also to be a part of the drift of the enquiry, to overthrow that position which they had heard so often repeated, of the ruinous condition of the navy when it was placed in the hands of its present conductors, and of its wonderful

growth and prosperity under their nurture.

The noble Earl supported his resolutions with no moderate share of abilities, in a speech replete with information, and including such a series of naval facts, as sufficiently shewed, the industry with which he had obtained a thorough knowledge of his subject. He concluded, by strenuously recommending to the First Lord of the Admiralty, on his own account, and as the best means of shewing, that he was not liable to any part of that heavy censure which he had thrown out against the board in general, to consent to the motions; or if they implied any thing, which, in the noble Lord's own opinion, could tend to afford any improper information to our foreign enemies, that he would propose such modifications or alteration of them, as should prevent that effect; but not to let an opinion go abroad into the world, that all the charges which had been laid now or at other times upon that ground had been so well founded, that he could not venture to stand the test of an enquiry.

The noble Lord at the head of that department wished with great fervour, that the committee of enquiry had never been instituted; and asserted his full conviction, that the matters which had already come out in the course of its sitting, particularly with respect to the navy, had been extremely prejudicial to the interests of this country. He accordingly recurred to that beaten but strong ground, (which had already repelled so many assaults) of political secrecy, and the danger of disclosure. It may well be believed, that no pains were



were omitted, nor provocation spared by his noble assailants, to induce him to quit this ground of advantage; but the noble Lord, with all the caution and temper of a veteran and experienced general, could neither be tempted nor provoked to abandon it.

After much severity of animadversion the question being at length put on the first resolution, it was rejected on a division, by a majority of 50 to 20. The second and fifth were agreed to; but the third and fourth were negatived separately without a division.

This was the last act of the grand committee of the nation in the House of Lords. The Duke of Richmond, who had moved that committee, thought it necessary on the 7th of April, to close the enquiry. Though, he said, he had failed by the prevalence of that power he wished to correct, in several of those objects for which he proposed the committee, he attributed several public and important benefits to it. He said, that an ascertainment of the state of the army, of the state of the navy, of the general expenditure in consequence of the American war, and a particular investigation of a part of that expenditure, were the result of their enquiries: and he firmly believed, that it was owing merely to the committee, that the ministers had been so far brought to their senses, as to set about something like an attempt, towards an accommodation with the Americans. He said, the enquiry was highly necessary, from the circumstantial recital of the most interesting information which it had produced; and that as it had been of singular advantage to the na-

tion, he was exceedingly happy to find that it had met with the universal approbation of all ranks of people.

It also afforded him great pleasure, that the conduct of it had been approved of by their Lordships, who had in no one instance expressed their dislike of the manner of agitating the various questions which had been introduced, either by other Lords, or by himself; the only objection made to either, amounting not to a denial of the resolutions of fact offered to their consideration, (which had been on all sides acknowledged to be truths) but merely to an argument of the inexpediency of passing such resolutions at that particular period of time. He then stated his reasons for closing the enquiry; and after having taken, with his usual ability, a general review of the whole business, he shewed the motives for winding it up by the address to the throne which he was going to propose.

He accordingly moved for an address of great length, containing an abstract of the various species of information which had been obtained by the enquiry, the sum of the different resolutions which had been founded on that information, and proposed to the committee, and some general results arising from the whole. Among these were the following:—The defective state of the navy; being neither in any degree answerable to the assurances repeatedly given by the First Lord of that department, to the vast sums granted for its use, nor competent to the services which it may very shortly be called to fulfil.—The increase of debt incurred by the war; the interest



terest of which, being equal to a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and added to our former burthens, will, they fear, under the circumstances of a diminished trade, render it difficult for this country to support the national faith.—That, by an enquiry into some parts of this enormous expenditure it appears, that the mode of contracting and engaging for the transports and supplies of the army has been unusual and prodigal, and such as affords ground for suspicion of corrupt management.—The truly alarming state of public credit, proceeding, along with the enormity of the national debt, from the want of confidence in ministers, who have justly forfeited the good opinion of the nation. And this want of confidence evident, from the low state of the public funds; and still more, from the discredit of the new loan, which now sells considerably under par, although the terms given this year for six millions, when we have yet had no foreign war whatever, are higher than those which were given for twelve millions in 1761, which was the 7th year of a war with the house of Bourbon.—And, that from the melancholy state of facts which they have recited, they see it impossible to carry on the present system of reducing America by force of arms.

After much implied and expressed censure and condemnation of public measures, an avowed opinion, that nothing less than a misrepresentation of American affairs, could have induced the Crown and Parliament to the prosecution of so fatal a war, and an advice for the recal of the fleets and armies from the revolted colonies,

and the effectuating of a reconciliation with them, the intended address concludes as follows, “ That  
 “ we think it our duty, on offering  
 “ to his Majesty this unhappy, but  
 “ true representation of the state  
 “ of his dominions, to express our  
 “ indignation at the conduct of  
 “ his Ministers, who have caused  
 “ it; who, by abusing his confidence, have tarnished the lustre  
 “ of his crown; who, by their  
 “ unfortunate counsels have dis-  
 “ membered his empire, wasted  
 “ the public treasures, sunk the  
 “ public credit, impaired the com-  
 “ merce of his kingdoms, dis-  
 “ graced his arms, and weakened  
 “ his naval power, the pride and  
 “ bulwark of this nation; whilst  
 “ by delaying to reconcile the dis-  
 “ ference which they had excited  
 “ amongst his people, they have  
 “ suffered such an alliance to take  
 “ place, between the former sub-  
 “ jects, and the ancient rivals of  
 “ Great-Britain, and have neither  
 “ taken measures to prevent, nor  
 “ formed alliances to counteract  
 “ so fatal an union.

“ That in this calamitous, al-  
 “ though they trust not desperate  
 “ situation of public affairs, they  
 “ repose their ultimate hope in  
 “ his Majesty’s paternal goodness.  
 “ That they have no doubt,  
 “ that he will look back to the  
 “ principles, both political and  
 “ constitutional, which gave rise  
 “ to the Revolution, from whence  
 “ we have derived the happiness  
 “ of being governed by princes of  
 “ his illustrious house. That he  
 “ will reflect on the examples of  
 “ his predecessors from that au-  
 “ spicious period, during which  
 “ the prosperity, the opulence, the  
 “ power, the territory, and the  
 “ renown



“renown of his throne and nation  
 “have flourished and increased  
 “beyond all example. That he  
 “will particularly call to mind  
 “the circumstances of his accession  
 “to the crown, when he took pos-  
 “session of an inheritance so full  
 “of glory, and of the trust of  
 “preserving it in all its lustre.  
 “That deeply affected with these  
 “considerations, he will be gra-  
 “ciously pleased to put an end to  
 “a system, too well understood  
 “in its nature, and too sorely felt  
 “its effects, which by the arts  
 “of wicked men has prevailed in  
 “his court and administration,  
 “and which, if suffered to con-  
 “tinue, will complete the mis-  
 “eries which have begun; and  
 “leave nothing in this country  
 “which can do honour to his go-  
 “vernment, or make the name of  
 “an Englishman a matter of that  
 “pride and distinction, in which  
 “his Majesty and his subjects had  
 “so much reason to glory in for-  
 “mer happy times.”

It was in the great debate upon  
 this address, that the Earl of Cha-  
 tham was seized with that fainting  
 fit in the midst of the Lords, which,  
 notwithstanding some appearances  
 of recovery, was the unhappy pre-  
 lude to his death. The noble  
 Duke who had moved the address,  
 upon that melancholy incident,  
 proposed to adjourn the business to  
 the following day, which was im-  
 mediately complied with. The  
 debate was accordingly renewed on  
 the next day, but was, by a division  
 in the opposition, confined to them-  
 selves; for, as the Earl of Cha-  
 tham had on the preceding, strongly  
 protested against any measure that  
 tended to the dismemberment of  
 the empire, and to the acknow-

ledgement of the independence of  
 America, so the same ground was  
 taken up and supported on this by  
 the Earl of Shelburne. They were  
 sorry to differ from those whom  
 they otherwise so greatly respected.  
 But the independency of America  
 they considered as an end to the  
 dignity of this crown, and to all  
 the future possible importance of  
 this kingdom. Who will dare,  
 said Lord Chatham, to disinherit  
 the Prince of Wales and the Bishop  
 of Osnaburg? They were willing  
 to encounter all dangers, and to  
 risque all consequences, sooner  
 than submit to that fatal proposi-  
 tion; and hoping, that this coun-  
 try was still possessed of resources  
 in men and money, not only equal  
 to a perseverance in the struggle,  
 but to the attainment of a final  
 triumph over all our enemies, and  
 to that of the grand object, the re-  
 covery of America, to whose liber-  
 ties they never were enemies, but  
 ever wished to place them upon a  
 sure and permanent basis.

On the other hand, the Duke of  
 Richmond, and most of the other  
 Lords of the opposition, who com-  
 pose the body of the Whiggs, or  
 what is called the Rockingham  
 party, declared their grief and hor-  
 ror, at the dismemberment of the  
 empire, and the consequent ruin  
 brought upon this country, to be  
 as great, as that of any persons  
 within or without that House.  
 They were as ready as any others,  
 to trace the causes, and to join in  
 punishing the authors of the mea-  
 sures, which led to this fatal cala-  
 mity. As they were as deeply con-  
 cerned in the event, so they would  
 go as great lengths, at the hazard  
 of life and fortune, on any fair  
 ground of hope, and rational prof-  
 pect



pect of success, for the restoration of the empire to its former state of power, glory, and felicity. But these declarations on any side, were now, they said, words without meaning or effect. The mischief was done. America was already lost. Her independence was established as firmly as that of other states. We had sufficient cause for regret; but our lamentation on that subject was of no more avail, than it would for the loss of Normandy or France. If we had been inspired with a spirit of conquest, before our means and our strength were exhausted in, what they called, this frantic and wicked war, it might have been directed to much more feasible objects, from their being much nearer home, as well as from the general union of the empire, than the conquest of America. They concluded, that the attempting of impossibilities, and the braving of danger without the means of opposing it, were equally repugnant to wisdom, and to the real character of courage. And that the only part now left for wisdom and prudence to act, was to look to the preservation and improvement of the remaining parts of the empire; which could only be done, by an immediate peace with America, and a return of friendship with our late fellow-subjects. That the grand object of the policy of this kingdom, in its present circumstances, was to prevent America from growing into habits of connection with France; and if a refusal of the acknowledgement of an independence, which we know to exist, and are unable to destroy, stood in the way of a reconciliation, they could not come into that refusal. — In the

previous debate, the Duke of Richmond frequently and strongly pressed the Earl of Chatham (though with the greatest deference), to specify the means that he had, for making the Americans renounce the independence of which they were in possession. That great man candidly confessed, that he, for his part, was unable to point out the means; but he believed that they existed. The Duke of Richmond said, that if he could not, no man could; and that it was not in his power to change his opinion on the noble Lord's authority, unsupported by any reasons, but a recital of the calamities which must attend a state of things, which they both knew to be already decided.

The question being at length put, the motion for the address was rejected on a division, by a majority of 50 to 33. A noble Earl, could not refrain from expressing some considerable share of resentment upon this division. He said, that "These dead majorities would  
" be the ruin of the nation. Let  
" the question be what it will,  
" though the salvation of this  
" country depend upon it, if it  
" be moved by certain persons, it  
" is sure of a negative." He then said to the other Lords on the same side, that they had been told by Ministers, it was the only way in which his Majesty would receive their counsel: but there were other modes, he said, by which they had a right to give their counsel, however it might be received. And, he proposed, that the Minority should wait upon his Majesty, in a body, with the address; it contained information, he said, worthy of the royal ear; it was not for him to forejudge the effect. Al-  
8 though



though the proposal seemed in part to be agreed to, and only deferred for further consideration; yet the measure was not carried into execution.

The following short protest was, however, entered, and signed by twenty Lords. "Because we think  
" the rejection of the proposed address at this time, may appear  
" to indicate in this House, a desire of continuing that plan of  
" ignorance, concealment, deceit, and delusion, by which the Sovereign and his people have already been brought into so many and so great calamities. We hold it absolutely necessary that both Sovereign and people should be undeceived, and that they should distinctly and authentically be made acquainted with the state of their affairs, which is faithfully represented in this proposed address, at a time when our existence as a nation may depend upon our conceiving a just idea of our real situation, and upon our wisdom in making a proper use of it."

The disposition of honouring the remains or memory of the late Earl of Chatham, did not seem so strong or so general in the House of Lords as in that of the Commons. A motion being made by the Earl of Shelburne, on the 13th of May, that the House should attend the funeral of the late Earl, it was directly opposed; and the numbers being found equal upon a division, amounting to sixteen on each side, the proxies were called for, when the motion was lost by a majority of one; the numbers being 20, to 19 who supported the question.

The Toulon papers produced no less debate in the House of Lords than in that of the Commons; and brought out, at least, an equal share of the severest censure, and most direct condemnation of the conduct and measures of Ministers, in every thing that related to that new war, in which they were charged with involving the nation, as well as with what respected the immediate subject of consideration. These papers were laid before the House, and taken into consideration on the 25th of May, in consequence of a preceding motion made by the Duke of Richmond for that purpose. The noble Duke took up, and went through the business with his usual ability, in a speech of considerable length; which he closed with a motion for resolutions, similar to those which we have already seen stated in the House of Commons upon the same subject.

The noble Earl immediately concerned, was under a necessity of resting his justification or defence, partly on the perfidy of France, partly on denial, partly on explanation, and partly on irresponsibility. He complained, that France had, for the last two or three years, acted a most insidious part; and done us more mischief thereby, than if she had actually declared against us originally; and as to her present great naval power, which afforded such a topic of censure on the other side, it proceeded from her having, during the last three years, departed totally from her usual and constant line of policy, and directed her attention chiefly to the establishment of her marine. But even still, he said, if seamen could be had, there was  
very



very little to be dreaded from her naval power. As to the boastings (as they were termed on the other side) with respect to the flourishing state of the navy, he complained bitterly of the unparliamentary practice, of bringing up words that dropped on former occasions, and passages from former debates, as grounds for censure or argument in the present; and as to those that related to himself, he either directly contradicted the charges, or said, that his words were mistated and misrepresented. The same mode of defence went to that representation, which he was charged with repeatedly making, of the deplorable and ruinous condition in which he found the navy at the time of coming into office; with the addition, that he had only complained of the scarcity of timber. With respect to responsibility, he said, he was no more answerable than any other individual in administration. That he had never said, that one in his place ought to answer with his head, if at the breaking out of a war between this kingdom and the house of Bourbon, we had not a navy superior to that of France and Spain. He had spoken of the responsibility of administration at large. If measures were wisely planned, he was entitled to share the credit; if otherwise, the blame; and if the measures committed to his care were faithfully executed, as far as lay in his power, he must stand fully justified. The want of a fleet at Gibraltar, the noble Lord justified on the ground of precedent; as it was well known that we had no fleet there, at the time that the French invaded Minorca, in the beginning of the last

war: although hostilities had been committed at sea long before.

Among the many interesting particulars stated by the Earl of Bristol in the speech made by him on that occasion, he shewed from a navy-list in his hand, under the authority of the then board of admiralty, of which himself was at that time a member, that the navy of England, in the month of May, 1771, being a few months after Lord Hawke had quitted that department, amounted to no less than 139 ships of the line, besides 243 frigates, and other vessels; composing in the whole a fleet of 382 vessels of war. "A prodigious navy indeed!" (the noble Lord exclaimed) and—"all dwindled to nothing." Above three millions and a half, he said, had been since granted for building and repairs. And yet the noble Lord now confesses, that he has but 49 ships in all fit for service. He exclaimed with great energy, "Is this possible?" "Is it to be borne?" "What is become of the ships then?" "What is become of the money?" "But we have neither the one nor the other, nor any satisfaction to the public for either." He hoped his warmth would be excused; he could not help it on that subject, when he saw his country so used: and that in a department, in which 43 years service had given him so great an interest, and had also entitled him to some considerable share of knowledge.

The defence of the noble Earl was left solely to a noble Lord, [who we believe is not in office,] and whose situation and habits seemed rather to lead to a different line, than to the knowledge of naval



naval affairs. He, however, said, that his defence was founded upon the testimony of his own eyes; from the information which they had afforded in a marine tour to visit the several dock-yards, he had lately made in company with the noble Earl; and also, upon that which he had obtained in a conversation with a ship-builder, during that excursion, relative to some part of the conduct observed in the naval department. Under the conviction arising from this fund of accumulated knowledge, the noble Lord moved the previous question.

The Duke of Richmond closed the debate with a speech; in which, after commiserating the situation of the noble Earl, who had been thus abandoned in his distress by all his colleagues in office, he said, (after several other observations) “ That if Ministers continued  
“ silent, and should be supported  
“ by a majority of that House,  
“ the nation was lost, and their  
“ Lordships would be answerable  
“ to the public and to posterity for  
“ the consequence. The forms  
“ of the constitution, and their  
“ Lordships assembling in that  
“ House, was no better than a  
“ solemn mockery of the nation.  
“ The other House were known  
“ to be at the devotion of the  
“ Minister; if, therefore, their  
“ Lordships had nothing to do,  
“ but to pass the bills presented  
“ by the other House, and that  
“ no redress was to be had but  
“ from those who were the authors  
“ of the public misfortunes, he  
“ saw no service Parliament could  
“ be of. In such a critical state  
“ of affairs, when every thing  
“ within and without portended  
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“ public calamity, he desired  
“ their Lordships to look forward  
“ to their own safety, and prevent  
“ those mischiefs which have so  
“ often followed the mal-admini-  
“ stration of the government of  
“ this country.”

The House then divided, when the previous question was carried, and the motions were consequently lost, by a majority of 49 to 34. The bill for settling an annuity on the posterity of the Earl of Chatham, inheritors of that title, after its smooth passage through the House of Commons, met with an opposition where it was still less to be expected. The opponents, indeed, were not numerous; but as they were determined in their object, the opposition was strong.

Upon the second reading of that bill, on the last day but one of the session, it was opposed by the Duke of Chandos, who objected particularly to the perpetuity of the provision, and to the mischievous precedent which it would set, thereby opening a door for similar applications of the same nature from men in high stations. The noble Duke was supported by the Chancellor and a few other Lords. A considerable debate ensued, which was, however, more taken up by collateral matter which sprung up in its course, than by the immediate question. And, although the bill was carried upon a division, by a majority of 42 to 11, the following protest was entered, signed by the noble Duke we mentioned, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, and Lord Paget.

Viz. “ Because we cannot  
“ agree to such an unwarrantable  
“ lavishing away of the public  
[\*O] “ money,



“ money, at a time when the nation  
 “ groans under a heavy load of  
 “ debts, and is engaged in a dan-  
 “ gerous and expensive war.

“ Because we fear that this act  
 “ may, in after times, be made  
 “ use of as a precedent for factious  
 “ purposes, and to the enriching  
 “ of private families at the public  
 “ expence.”

On the same day, the Earl of Derby moved for an address, tending to an enquiry into the difficulties which obstructed the faithful performance of the convention signed at Saratoga; which he founded, as well on a regard to the public faith, as to the gallant men, who were now suffering as prisoners in America, through a failure in fulfilling the terms of that capitulation. The noble Minister who was present, declared his total ignorance of the subject, and objected to the motion on account of the lateness of the season, and the nearness of the prorogation, which was to take place on the following day; a circumstance which rendered the enquiry utterly impracticable. As the noble earl would not, however, withdraw his motion, it was, after some debate, disposed of by the previous question, without a division.

This avowal of immediate prorogation called up the Duke of Bolton, who after stating the danger and difficulty of the times, and the alarming state of these kingdoms, under the immediate threat and apprehensions of an invasion, without any proper means of defence in their hands, or wisdom in our public councils, to adopt such measures, as would direct their operations to effect, if there were, closed a speech of considerable

length, by moving an address, for deferring the prorogation of parliament until the present very dangerous crisis might be happily terminated.

The debate was long and interesting, and the motion was supported by most of the principal Lords of the opposition; but as it was necessarily on the same ground with that which we have stated upon the same subject in the House of Commons, our entering into any particular detail of it is thereby rendered unnecessary. The navy was again brought into question, and the First Lord of that department again put upon some justification or defence of naval affairs or measures; in the course of which he also again found occasion to complain of misrepresentation, even with respect to words or matters that were charged to him in the last debate; and was put to an absolute denial or contradiction of matters, which the professional Lords on the other side positively insisted to be incontrovertible and authenticated facts. The motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 42 to 20.

Particular thanks were returned in the speech from the throne, for the zeal shewn June 3d. in supporting the honour of the crown, and for their attention to the real interests of the subjects, in the wise, just, and humane laws, which had been the result of their deliberations. His Majesty's desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had been uniform and sincere; he reflected with great satisfaction, that he had made the faith of treaties and the law of nations the rule of his conduct; let that power by whom this tranquillity



ity should be disturbed, answer to their subjects and to the world for all the fatal consequences of war. The vigour and firmness of parliament had enabled his Majesty to provide for such events and emergencies as might happen; and he trusted, that the experienced valour and discipline of the fleets and armies, with the loyal and united ardour of the nation, armed and animated in defence of every thing that is dear to them, would be able, under the protection of Divine Providence, to defeat all the enterprizes which the enemies of the crown might presume to undertake, and convince them how dangerous it was to provoke the spirit and strength of Great Britain. The Commons were thanked for the chearfulness with which they had granted the large and ample supplies for the

service of the year, as well as for their care in raising them in a manner the most effectual and the least burthensome; and the warmest acknowledgments were due for the provision made for the more honourable support of the Royal Family.

Thus was brought to a conclusion, this long, tedious, and exceedingly laborious session of parliament. A session, in which a greater number of the most interesting and important public questions were agitated, although not generally decided upon, than any other perhaps within the space of a century past. And which also afforded more frequent room for expectation and hope to the people, with respect to the conduct of public affairs, than any that we remember.

## C H A P. X.

*State of the hostile armies in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood during the winter. Hard condition of the brave army under the convention of Saratoga. Suspension of the treaty by the Congress, until a ratification is obtained from the court of Great Britain. Predatory expeditions from Philadelphia and Rhode Island. Draught of the Conciliatory Bills published in America. Effect produced by it on both sides. Conduct, and resolutions of the Congress. Silas Deane arrives with the French treaties. Sir Henry Clinton arrives to take the command of the army at Philadelphia, in the room of General Sir William Howe, who returns to England. Arrival of the Commissioners for restoring peace, &c. Letter to the Congress. Secretary to the Commissioners refused a passport. Answer returned by the Congress to the Commissioners. Further particulars relative to the proposed negociation. Evacuation of Philadelphia. Difficulties encountered by the British army in their march across the Jerseys. General Washington crosses the Delaware. Battle near Monmouth. General Lee, tried by a court martial, and suspended. British army pass over to Sandy Hook Island, and are conveyed by the fleet to New York. Toulon squadron arrive on the coast of America. Appear before Sandy Hook, where they cast anchor. Alarm, and preparations at Sandy Hook and New York. Departure of the French fleet. Arrival of reinforcements to Lord Howe.*



*French fleet appear before Rhode Island. Defensive preparations by General Sir Robert Pigot. Invasion of that Island meditated by the Americans, to second the operations of the French. Lord Howe sails to the relief of Rhode Island. D'Estaing quits the harbour, and puts to sea, to meet the British Squadron. Fleets separated, at the point of engaging, by a violent storm. Captain Raynor, in the Isis, bravely engages a French man of war of 74 guns. D'Estaing returns to Rhode Island, and proceeds from thence to Boston. Is pursued by Lord Howe. Gen. Sullivan lands in Rhode Island. Invests the British posts. American army greatly disconcerted by D'Estaing's departure. Sullivan retreats, and at length totally quits the island. Lord Howe, finding D'Estaing's Squadron so strongly secured in Nantasket Road, as to render an attack impracticable, returns from Boston.*

FROM this war of words and opinions in the old world, we are led to a war of deeds and arms in the new. The one, notwithstanding the supposed summary decisiveness of its nature, being little more conclusive than the other. The hostile armies at Philadelphia and Valley Forge, passed the severity of the winter, within a few miles of each other, in great quiet. The assailants, however, contrary to the general course and circumstance of war, had the advantage of a capital city, and that a fine one, for their quarters; whilst the native army was under a necessity of enduring all the extremity of the season, under a huddled camp in the open field. Notwithstanding this great advantage in point of ease and convenience, the lines and redoubts with which it was found necessary to cover the city of Philadelphia, did not permit the British or auxiliary forces to rust in their military habits, or to grow languid in the exercise of their military duties. Upon the whole, the army was well supplied and healthy.

In the mean time, the gallant and unfortunate army, that had been under a necessity of sub-

mitting to the terms of the convention at Saratoga, met with great and unexpected delays and difficulties in respect to their return to Europe, and underwent many grievous vexations, in that station which had been allotted for their reception in the neighbourhood of Boston. The former of these, however, opened the great ground of grievance, as the succeeding could not otherwise have been of any considerable duration. Notwithstanding the enmity which unhappily prevails between the now disjoined parts of the British nation, it affords us no satisfaction in treating this subject, that truth and justice compel us, strongly to condemn the conduct of the Congress; who seem, upon this occasion, to have departed widely from that system of fairness, equity, and good faith, so essential to new States, and which had hitherto appeared, in a considerable degree, to have been the guide of their actions.

It seems to have been rather unlucky, at least in point of time, that a requisition for some deviation from the terms of the convention, had been made by the British commanders. This was for the  
em-



embarkation of the convention troops, either at the Sound, near New York, or at Rhode Island, instead of Boston, which was the place appointed for their departure to Europe. And in consequence of the expectation entertained, that this proposal would have been complied with, the transports for the conveyance of the troops were assembled at Rhode Island. The Congress, however, not only refused to comply with the requisition, but made it a ground of a pretended suspicion, that the measure was proposed, merely to afford an opportunity to the convention-troops to join their fellows, with an intention then of making some pretence for evading or breaking the terms of the capitulation, and continuing to act in America, to the great detriment and danger of the common cause. To strengthen this colour of suspicion, they pretended, that the 26 transports which were provided at Rhode-Island, were insufficient for the conveyance of above 5,600 men, in a winter voyage to Europe; and, that in the present state of things, with respect to provisions, both in the British fleet and army, it was scarcely possible that they could have been victualled for so long a voyage, and so great a number, in so short a time.

In the mean time, great complaints having been made, by the British officers near Boston, of the badness of the quarters with which they had been provided, and which they represented, as being neither conformable to their expectation, rank, or to the terms of the capitulation, the sense and construction of some strong expostulation which was made by General Burgoyne,

in a letter of complaint upon the subject, was wrested by the Congress to a direct declaration, that the convention had been broken on their part, by a violation of its conditions. This they represented as a matter of the most serious and alarming nature: which indicated a full intention in the British General and army, to consider the convention as dissolved, by this supposed violation of it which was charged on their side, as soon as they got without the limits of their power; and a declaration of the sort now made, under the present circumstances of that army, would appear, they said, no small public justification of their future conduct, in acting as if they were in no degree bound, when at large, by a capitulation, which they had formally disavowed under restraint.

Some paltry resolutions which were passed, as to the soldiers not having faithfully delivered up all their accoutrements, were of so shameful a nature, as to be highly disgraceful to the Congress; and seemed strongly to indicate, that they were ready to grasp at any pretence, however weak or futile, by which they could evade the terms of the convention, without incurring the charge of a direct breach of public faith.

It was in vain that the General explained the intention, as well as the construction of that passage in his letter, which went no farther than to a well-founded complaint, and a demand of redress pursuant to the terms of the convention. It was to as little purpose that his officers, in order to remove this new difficulty, respectively signed their parole, which they had hitherto refused doing, until they



could obtain redress in the article of quarters, and which was not at any time granted. The General even offered to pledge himself, that notwithstanding the injurious suspicion entertained of his own honour and that of his officers, they would still join with him in signing any writing or instrument that might be thought necessary, for strengthening, confirming, or renewing, the validity of the convention.

But the Congress were inexorable. It was easily seen, that the measure which they had adopted was not so lightly taken as to be easily given up; and that explanations and securities could produce no effect on their determination.

Jan. 8, 1778. They had passed a resolution, from which they never receded, that the embarkation of Gen. Burgoyne and his army should be suspended, until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention at Saratoga should be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress. Although the treaties between France and America were not at that time concluded, it does not seem impossible, that the councils of that court had some considerable operation upon the conduct of the Congress in this extraordinary transaction. Perhaps being so closely pressed as they were, by a part only of the King's forces, then in actual possession of the most considerable of their cities, for magnitude, wealth, and commanding situation, they thought, that suffering those convention-troops to be sent to Europe, from whence they might be easily replaced, would entirely turn against them the scale of war; and therefore,

they chose to sacrifice their reputation, by an act never excusable, rather than their Being at this critical hour.

Some successful predatory expeditions into the Jerseys, and on the Delaware, with the surprize of a party of the enemy (who suffered no inconsiderable loss in men) on the Pennsylvania side, by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, were the only military operations which distinguished the remaining administration of General Sir William Howe in the command of the army. The loss of the Americans in these expeditions, and in some others, which were undertaken from Rhode Island towards the end of May, was exceedingly great, both with respect to public and private property. Ships, boats, houses, places of worship, stores of all sorts, and of whatever nature, whether public or private; in a word, every thing useful to man that was liable to the action of fire, was in some places consumed by it. The officers, however, attributed some of the enormities, with respect to the burning of private houses, to the licence and rage of the soldiers, and declared them to be entirely contrary to their intentions, and orders.

The Americans, as usual, made the severest charges of cruelty, many of which we hope to be unfounded, against the troops employed in these expeditions. Particularly the denial of quarter, and the slaughtering men in cold blood, several of whom, they said, neither had arms in their hands, nor were in any military capacity. They also complained, (on the Rhode Island side, where the charges were stronger made) as  
a less



a less cruel, though not more defensible act of injustice, the carrying off the peaceable inhabitants of the country, and detaining them as prisoners of war, until they should at some time or other be exchanged, for an equal number of soldiers taken on their side in arms. And although it was replied to this complaint, that as by their laws, every inhabitant from 16 to 60, was liable to be called upon to take up arms, and was therefore to be considered and treated at all times as a soldier, whether he was found in actual service or not, we can by no means think the reasoning included in this answer satisfactory or conclusive. Upon the whole, even if the treaty between France and America had not unhappily rendered all hope of success from the present conciliatory system hopeless, these predatory and irritating expeditions would have appeared peculiarly ill-timed and unlucky. Though strongly and warmly recommended by many here as the most effectual mode of war, we scarcely remember an instance in which they have not been more mischievous than useful to the grand objects, either of reducing, or of reconciling the colonies.

During these transactions, neither the Congress, nor General Washington, omitted any means or preparation for a vigorous campaign; whilst both, in their public acts, boldly held out to the people the hope of its being the last, and of their driving the British forces entirely out of America. The General, having now proved the submission and patience of his army in their long winter encampment, struck off all the superabundant baggage both of men and

officers, to the closest line of necessity, and ventured upon every other reform, which could render them agile in service, and effective in action. He also tried the influence of his own name and character, by a public letter to the farmers of the Middle Colonies, to request their providing and fattening cattle for the service of the army in the ensuing campaign. The Congress, among their other attentions to the war, issued a resolution, strongly urging the young gentlemen of the different colonies to raise a body of light cavalry, to serve at their own expence during the campaign; offering them such allurements and honorary distinctions in the service, as were calculated to reconcile that order of men to the restraints and duties of a military life, in the simple rank and character of private volunteers.

A rough draught of the conciliatory bills, as they appeared on the first reading in the House of Commons, was received at New York by Governor Tryon, about the middle of April, who used all means to circulate them among the people at large of the revolted colonies.

This unexpected measure of Ministry in England, excited equal astonishment and indignation in our own army, who thought that nothing could exceed the degradation which they felt in such a concession. The nature and circumstances of the war, and the long course of injuries and losses which had been offered and received, had by this time rendered every individual a partizan in the contest. They had been taught to



think, that nothing less than absolute conquest on their side, or the most unconditional submission on the other, could bring it to a conclusion. They blushed at the recollection, and thought their personal honour wounded in the recantation which was now to be made, of all that high language and treatment, which they had been accustomed to hold or to offer to rebels. The disappointment was the greater, as these papers were the substitute to a reinforcement of 20,000 men, which they had expected. If such were the feelings of the British army, it may not be easy to describe those of the numerous body of American refugees, whose passions being irritated to the highest degree, thought they beheld all their public and private hopes, as well as the gratification of their personal resentments, cut off at one blow. The bills were not, however, to produce the effect that was expected or apprehended; and, unhappily, an end was not yet to be put to the calamities of war.

The mode of circulating these papers, was considered, or represented, by the Americans, as an insidious attempt to divide the people; and the Congress, to shew their contempt of it, ordered them to be immediately published in their Gazettes. General Washington, in answer to Governor Tryon, who had sent him several copies of the draughts, with a request that they might be circulated among the officers and men of his army, enclosed in his letter to him a printed news-paper, in which they had been inserted by the order of the Congress; accompanied by the

printed resolutions of that body upon the subject. And Governor Turnbull, upon a similar letter and application, observed, that propositions of peace were usually made from the supreme authority of one contending power to the similar authority of the other; and that the present was the first instance, within his recollection, in which they had ever been addressed to the people at large of the opposite power, as an overture of reconciliation. He proceeded with the following words: "There was a day when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent state, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but that day, sir, is past irrevocably. The repeated rejection of our sincere, and sufficiently humble petitions; the commencement of hostilities; the inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part in its several stages; the insolence which displays itself on every petty advantage; the cruelties which have been exercised on those unhappy men, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands; all these are insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great Britain, on any other conditions, than the most absolute perfect independence." He concluded his letter with the following observation upon the restoration of union by a lasting and honourable peace, which he declared to be the ardent wish of every honest American, viz. "The British nation may then, perhaps, find us as affectionate and valuable friends, as we now are determined and fatal enemies, and will derive from that friendship



friendship more solid and real advantage than the most sanguine can expect from conquest."

The result of the deliberations; and of several resolutions upon the subject by the Congress, was a declaration April 22d. that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with Commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, should be considered and treated as enemies to the United States. That the United States could not with propriety hold any conference, or treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states. And, inasmuch as it appeared to be the design of their enemies to lull them into a fatal security, they called upon the several states to use the most strenuous exertions to have their respective quotas of troops in the field as soon as possible; and that all their militia might be held in readiness to act as occasion should require. All the resolutions upon this subject were unanimously agreed to.

In a few days after, May 2d. Silas Deane arrived express from Paris, at York Town, where the Congress had sat since the loss of Philadelphia, with those fatal instruments, which seemed to stamp a seal upon the separation of America from England. He had been conveyed from France in a Royal frigate of 28 guns, appointed for the purpose, and brought with him, for ratifi-

cation by the Congress, copies of the two treaties, of alliance, and of commerce, which had been concluded between France and the United States. The last of these was the first that had been executed, being signed on the 30th of January; the treaty of alliance was dated the 6th of February. Deane also brought an account of many other matters which were highly pleasing, as well as what related to the history of the negociation, and of its conclusion.

The joy and exultation of the Americans upon this occasion, could only be rivalled by their public demonstrations of them. The Congress immediately published a Gazette, which, besides a summary of the general information they had received, exhibited some of the most flattering articles of the treaties, with their own comments upon them, to the people; in which the extraordinary equity, generosity, and unparalleled honour, (as they described it) of the French King, were extolled in the highest degree. In this piece, they seemed to count upon Spain as being already a virtual party to the alliance, and to consider the naval force of both nations as united in their cause. They also built much upon the friendship of other great powers, and boasted of the favourable disposition of Europe in general to America.

About the same time, Gen. 8th. Sir Henry Clinton arrived to take the command of the army at Philadelphia, in the room of Sir William Howe; who returned to England, to the great regret of both officers and soldiery in general. In the beginning of June, the



the three Commissioners from England, being the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone, (with whom were joined in the commission, the Commander in Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, arrived in the Delaware.

June 9th. The Commissioners immediately dispatched a letter, with the late acts of parliament, a copy of their commission, and other papers, to the President of the Congress; but their Secretary, Dr. Ferguson, who was intended to convey the papers, and to act as an agent for conducting the negociation upon the spot with the Congress, being refused a passport for that purpose, they were obliged to forward them by common means.

The Commissioners proposed, even at this outset, several concessions and arrangements, which, at an earlier period, would have restored peace and felicity to the whole empire. They offered to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land.—To restore a free intercourse, and to renew the common benefits of naturalization through the several parts of the empire.—To extend every freedom to trade, that the respective interests on both sides could require.—To agree, that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the General Congress, or of the particular Assemblies.—To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.—To perpetuate the common union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents, from the different states, who should

have the privilege of a seat and voice in the Parliament of Great-Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they might be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they were deputed.—And, in short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government; so that the British states throughout North America, acting with Great Britain in peace and war, under one common Sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

Although these papers produced very considerable debates, which were renewed on different days, from the 11th to the 17th of June, in the Congress, yet the answer which they then returned, through the medium of their President, Henry Laurens, was sufficiently brief, however conclusive. They observed to the Commissioners, that the acts of the British parliament, the commission from their Sovereign, and their letter, supposed the people of those states to be subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and were founded on the idea of dependence, which was totally inadmissible. They informed them, that they were inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claim from which the war originated, and the savage manner



manner in which it had been conducted. They would therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. But, the only solid proof of that disposition would be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of those states, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

Such were the conditions, which an unhappy concurrence of events induced on the one side, and which the operation of the same causes rendered inadmissible on the other. The Congress, at the same time, issued an unanimous approbation of Gen. Washington's conduct in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson.

Although the Congress, as a body, did not enter into any litigation with the Commissioners upon the general subject of their mission, yet some of their members, particularly Mr. Drayton, one of the delegates for South Carolina, and others, perhaps, not officially connected with them, entered the lists of controversy in the public papers, with no small degree of acrimony. For, as the Commissioners seemed to carry along with them an idea, which at the time of their appointment, was endeavoured with great care to be established in England, viz. "that the bulk of the Americans were well-affected to the British government, and that the greater part of the remainder were only held in a state of delusion by the Congress," they accordingly, upon this failure of negotiation with that body, directed their future publications, in the manner

of appeals to the people at large; seeming, thereby, to realize, in some degree, the charge so repeatedly made on the other side, that their only object was, under the insidious appearance of conciliation, to excite either a separation amongst the colonies, or the people to tumults against their respective governments. And, as the Congress not only permitted, but affected to forward, the publication of all matters upon the subject, so the writers we have mentioned undertook to obviate the effect, which those issued by the Commissioners might have upon the people at large.

The strongest argument which they held out upon this occasion to the people was, that they had already concluded a solemn treaty with France, on the footing of, and for the establishment of their independency. That if they now treated with the Commissioners upon the ground of dependence, they should at once break their faith with France, forfeit their credit with all foreign nations, be considered as a faithless and infamous people, and for evermore be cut off even from the hope of foreign succour or resource. At the same time they would be thrown totally on the mercy of those, who had already pursued every measure of fraud, force, cruelty, and deceit for their destruction; as neither the King, the Ministers, nor the Parliament of England, would be under a necessity of ratifying any one condition which they agreed upon with the Commissioners. Or if they even found it necessary to ratify them for present purposes, it would be only to call a new parliament to undo the whole.

Nothing,



Nothing, they said, could be trusted to an enemy whom they had already found so faithless, and so obstinately persevering in malice and cruelty. The fraudulent intention of the proposed negociation, they said, was strongly evinced, by the Commissioners holding out conditions which went far beyond their avowed powers; being neither warranted by the commission, nor by the acts of parliament which they presented.

If any strong hope of success in the negociation had remained, the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the consequent retreat of the army to the northward, just at the arrival of the Commissioners, would have completely frustrated them. Commissioners accompanying a retreating army, which was in the act of abandoning the principal advantage of a two years war, could not promise themselves a great superiority in any treaty; and the more advantageous the offers which they should make in such circumstances, the more their concessions would be considered as proofs of weakness, not of good-will. This measure was carried into execution on the 18th of June, and the whole British army passed the Delaware on the same day, without interruption or danger, under the excellent dispositions made by the Admiral, Lord Howe, for the purpose.

Washington, having penetrated into the intention of abandoning Philadelphia, had already sent General Maxwell with his brigade to reinforce the Jersey militia, in order to throw every possible obstruction in the way of the British army, so that by impeding their progress, he might himself be enabled to bring up his force in such time, as

to profit of those opportunities, which, it was well to be supposed, so long a march through so dangerous a country would have afforded, of attacking them with great advantage. This detached corps and the militia, did not, however, effect any thing more of importance than the breaking down of the bridges; the great superiority of the British force having obliged them to abandon the strong pass at Mount Holly, without venturing an opposition.

The British army, notwithstanding, encountered much toil, difficulty, and numberless impediments in their march. They were encumbered with an enormous baggage, including provisions; the number of loaded horses and wheel-carriages being so great, as to cover an extent of twelve miles, in the narrow line of march, which the nature of the country and roads afforded. This incumbrance, so far at least as related to the provision, proceeded, however, from the foresight and wisdom of the General, Sir Henry Clinton; who being well aware, that the hostility of the country would cut off every source of subsistence from the troops, which was not within their own immediate comprehension, and being also uncertain as to the delays and obstructions which might occur on his march, was too prudent to put the fate of a whole army in any degree of hazard, for the trouble or difficulty that attended the conveyance of a certain and sufficient supply. The heat of the weather, which was then excessive, with the closeness of the narrow roads through the woods, and the constant labour of renewing or repairing bridges, in a country every where intersected with  
creeks



creeks and marshy brooks, were, all together, severely felt by the army.

From all these causes, its progress was exceedingly slow; and nothing less than these could have accounted for its spending so many days in traversing so narrow a country. When the army had advanced to Allen's Town, it became a matter of consideration with the General, whether to keep the direct course towards Staten Island, across the Rariton, or whether, by taking the road to his right, and drawing towards the sea-coast, he should push on to Sandy Hook. He knew that the Generals Washington and Lee, with the whole continental force on that side, had already passed the Delaware; and he had heard, that General Gates, with the northern army, was advancing to join them on the Rariton. The difficulty of passing the Rariton, and the circumstances with which it might have been attended, under his incumbrances, in the face of an enemy, with other concurring causes, determined him to the right-hand course, as much the more eligible.

On the other hand, General Washington, who had crossed the Delaware, far above Philadelphia, at Coryel's Ferry, attributed, with his usual foresight and caution, the slow movements of the British army, to a design of decoying him into the low country, when, by a rapid movement on the right, they might gain possession of the strong grounds above him, and so enclosing his army to the river, force him to a general engagement under every disadvantage. Under this persuasion, in which it is possible his sagacity deceived him, as

the peculiar circumstances of the British army rendered it totally incapable of any such rapid movements as he apprehended, the slowness on the one side retarded the motions on the other. It is, however, likewise probable, that Washington reserved himself entire for the passage of the Rariton; which he concluded would have been their course, and which he knew would have afforded him great advantage in an attack.

But when he discovered that the British army had departed from its expected line of direction, and was bending its way on the other side towards the sea-coast, he immediately changed his system, and sent several detachments of chosen troops, under the general conduct of the Marquis de Fayette, to harass the army in its march, himself following, at a suitable distance, with the whole force. As affairs grew more critical upon the near approach of the van of one army to the rear of the other, General Lee was dispatched with two brigades, to reinforce, and to take the command of the advanced corps; which, by Washington's account, amounted then to about 5000 men, although from the several detachments which he specifies, it would seem to have been stronger.

Sir Henry Clinton, on the march to a place called Freehold, judging from the number of the enemy's light troops which hovered on his rear, that their main body was at no great distance, judiciously determined to free that part of the army from the incumbrance and impediment of the baggage, which he accordingly placed under the conduct of General Knyphausen, who



who led the first column of the army. The other, which covered the line of march, being now disengaged and free for action, formed a body of troops which could not easily be equalled, and was under the immediate command of the General. It was composed of the 3d, 4th, and 5th brigades of British, two battalions of British, and the Hessian grenadiers, a battalion of light infantry, the guards, and the 16th regiment of light dragoons.

June 28th. On the morning after this arrangement General Knyphausen, with the first division and the carriages, began at the break of day to move, directing their march towards Middletown, which lay ten or twelve miles on their way, in a high and strong country. The second division, under the Commander in Chief, continued for some hours on their ground in the neighbourhood of Freehold, both to cover the line of march, and to afford time for the chain of carriages to get clear on their way.

Having begun to march about eight o'clock, some parties of the enemy which appeared in the woods on their left flank, were engaged and dispersed by the light troops: but as the rear-guard descended from the heights above Freehold, into a valley about three miles in length, and one in breadth, several columns of the enemy appeared likewise descending into the plain, who about ten o'clock began to cannonade the rear. The General at the same instant received intelligence, that the enemy were discovered marching in force on both his flanks. He was immediately struck, that an attack on the bag-

gage was their principal object; and as the carriages were then entangled in defiles which continued for some miles, it seemed a matter of no small difficulty to obviate the danger.

In this critical situation, the General, with great quickness and presence of mind, judged that a vigorous attack, and severe pressure, upon that body of the enemy which harassed his rear, would recall the detachments on his flanks to its assistance, and seemed to be the only probable means of saving the convoy. For although he had good information that General Washington was at hand with his whole army, which he heard was estimated at 20,000 men; yet, as he knew that his main body was separated from that corps which attacked Lord Cornwallis, in the rear, by two considerable defiles, he was not apprehensive that he could pass a greater body of troops through them, during the execution of the measure which he intended, than what the force along with him was well able to oppose; whilst, on the other hand, even with that division of the army, Washington's situation would not be a little critical, if he should chance to come upon him, when he was struggling in his passage through the defiles.

Guarding, however, against every possible result of the measure, and to be in preparation for the event of a general engagement, he recalled a brigade of the British Infantry, and the 17th regiment of light dragoons, from Knyphausen's division, and left direction for them to take a position which would effectually cover his right flank, being the side on which



which he was most jealous of the design of the enemy. In the mean time, the Queen's light dragoons had, with their usual spirit, attacked and routed the enemy's cavalry, under the Marquis de Fayette, and drove them back in confusion on their own infantry. The General then made dispositions to attack the enemy in the plain; but before he could advance, they fell unexpectedly back, and took a strong position on the heights above Monmouth Court-House.

The heat of the weather was in that season always intense; but upon that particular day was so excessive, as to be seldom equalled, even in the sultry summers of that continent; so that the troops were already greatly fatigued. The situation of the army, however, rendered the most vigorous exertion necessary. The British grenadiers, with their left to the village of Freehold, and the guards on their right, began the attack with such spirit, that the enemy soon gave way. But their second line preserved a better countenance; and resisted a fierce and eager attack with great obstinacy. They were, however, at length, completely routed; but in this exigency, with a very unusual degree of recollection, as well as resolution, took a third position with so much judgment, that their front was covered by a marshy hollow, which scarcely admitted the practicability of an attack by that way.

Sir Henry Clinton brought up part of the second line, and made some other dispositions to attack the enemy in this post, and the light infantry and rangers had already turned their left for that purpose; but the army in general

was now so overpowered by heat and fatigue, that, upon consideration, he thought it better not to press the affair any farther. He was also by this time confident, that the purpose which had induced him to the attack was gained, in the preservation of the convoy. A bold attempt of the enemy, to cut off the retreat of the light infantry, rendered some new movements, notwithstanding the excessive toil of the day, still necessary. The army at length returned to that position, from whence they had first driven the enemy, after their quitting the plain.

The General's opinion with respect to the design on the baggage, was justified in the event; and the propriety of his subsequent conduct in attacking the enemy on that principle confirmed. Two brigades of the enemy's light troops had passed the army, one on each flank, in that view, and had actually made the attempt; but by the good dispositions made by the commanders, the firmness of the 40th regiment, and the ready service of the light horse, they were repulsed at the first onset, and the engagement in the plain then commencing, were immediately recalled.

Sir Henry Clinton having now fully attained his object, for the Generals Knyphausen and Grant, with the first division and baggage, were arrived at Nut Swamp, near Middletown, could have no inducement for continuing in his present situation. The troops had already gained sufficient honour, in forcing successively, from two strong positions, a corps of the enemy, which, he was informed, amounted to near 12,000 men; and the merit of the service was much enhanced, by the



unequalled circumstances of heat and fatigue under which it was performed. The enemy were much superior in force to the division immediately under his command; and if the equality had been even nearer, it would still seem imprudent to have hazarded an engagement, at such a distance from the rest of his army, in a country, not only entirely hostile, but which from its nature must have been ruinous to strangers under any circumstance of defeat. And as the heat of the weather rendered marching by day intolerable, so the moon-light added much to the eligibility of the night for that purpose. Upon some or all of these accounts, the troops having reposed till ten o'clock, the army was again put in motion, and they marched forward to join their fellows.

Such was the detail of the action at Freehold, or Monmouth, as it is otherwise called, as given on our side. The loss, in slain, was not considerable in point of number, but rendered grievous by that of the brave Col. Monckton. That gallant officer, who had frequently encountered death in all its forms, had the fortune of being more than once grievously wounded, both in the last war and the present; and after the hair-breadth escape of a recovery, when left among the dead on the field, was only reserved to be killed on this day, at the head of the second battalion of grenadiers. This day and action were also rendered remarkable by the singular circumstance, unparalleled in the history of the New World, of 59 soldiers perishing! without receiving a wound, merely through the excessive heat and fatigue. Several of the Americans also, inured

as they were to the climate, died through the same cause.

The Americans claim great honour to that part of their troops which had an opportunity of being engaged in this action. They likewise claim, though without any apparent ground, the advantage as the affair now stands; but pretend that they should have gained a compleat and decisive victory, if it had not been for the misconduct and disobedience of orders of General Lee. That officer had, some time before, by an exchange, obtained a release from his long confinement at New York; and we have already seen, was appointed to take the command of those different bodies of troops, which had been detached to harass the British army, and to impede its march.

It appears from General Washington's account of the matter, that he being well informed, that if the British army once gained the high and strong country near Middletown, no attempt could afterwards be made upon them, with the smallest prospect of success, he accordingly determined to fall upon their rear immediately upon their departure from the strong grounds in the neighbourhood of Freehold, on which they had encamped during the night of the 27th. He communicated this intention to General Lee, with orders to make his dispositions for the attack, and to keep the troops lying upon their arms in constant preparation; which he also practised himself in the main body.

Washington having received an express at five in the morning, that the British army had begun their march, immediately dispatched an order to Lee to attack them; acquainting



quainting him at the same time, that he was marching directly to his support, and that for the greater expedition, he should cause his men to disincumber themselves of that part of their baggage, which (it appears from hence) they carried upon their backs. To his great surprize and mortification, however, when he had marched above five miles, he met the whole advanced corps retreating, which they informed him was by General Lee's orders, without their making the smallest opposition, excepting the single fire of one detachment, to repulse the British light horse.

The General found the rear of the retreating corps hard pressed by the enemy; but, by forming them anew, under the brave and spirited exertions of their officers, (as he says) he soon checked the advance of the British forces; and, having by this means gained time to plant some batteries of cannon, and to bring up fresh forces, the engagement hung in an equal poize. In this situation, (he continues) the enemy finding themselves warmly opposed in front, made an attempt to turn his left flank; but were bravely repulsed and driven back by some detached parties of infantry. A similar attempt on the right, was repelled by General Green; who afterwards, in conjunction with General Wayne, took such positions, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, as compelled the British forces to retire behind that defile, where the first stand had been made in the beginning of the action.

In that situation, in which their flanks were secured by thick woods and morasses, and their front only assailable through a narrow defile,

he notwithstanding made dispositions (he says) for attacking them; but the darkness came on so fast, as not to afford time for their surmounting the impediments in their way. The main body, however, lay all night upon their arms on the place of action, as the detached parties did in the several positions which they had been ordered to take, under a full determination of attacking the British army when the day appeared; but they retreated in such profound silence in the night, that the most advanced posts, and those very near them, knew nothing of their departure until morning.

Washington represents the number of British buried by the Americans, to be about four times greater, than the loss acknowledged by our Gazette; and his own, as much under that state. He says, they carried off their wounded, excepting four officers, and about forty soldiers. He gives high and unusual praise, and expresses himself under the greatest obligation to the zeal, bravery, and conduct of his officers; and says, the behaviour of the troops in general, after they had recovered from the surprize, occasioned by the retreat of the advanced corps, was such as could not be surpassed. The public acknowledgements of the Congress, were very flattering to the army, but particularly so to the General and to his officers; in which they affected to consider this action as a battle, and the result as a great and important victory obtained over the grand British army, under the immediate command of their General.

Washington took care to inform the Congress, that the nature of



the country rendered any further pursuit of the British army fruitless, and all attempts to disturb their embarkation at Sandy Hook, equally impracticable and dangerous. He accordingly detached only some light troops to observe and attend their motions, and drew off the main body of the army to the borders of the North River. The Americans lost some officers of name in this action; particularly a Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and a Major Dickenson of Virginia, both of whom were much regretted.

It appears that general Washington used some very harsh and severe expressions, in the face of the army, to General Lee, upon meeting him, on the retreat of his corps, from the place of action; amounting to a direct charge of a disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. This produced two passionate letters from Lee, (who was likewise put under arrest) with an answer from Washington, all written on the day or night of the action. A court martial was instantly demanded, and as instantly ordered; and so speedily carried into execution, as to be opened at Brunswick on the 4th of July. The charges laid against Lee were, first, disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions. For misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat. And lastly, for disrespect to the Commander in Chief, by the two letters we have mentioned. The result of the Court, after a trial which lasted to the 12th of August, was the

finding General Lee guilty of the first charge. The finding him in part guilty of the second, Of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and, in some few instances, a disorderly retreat." They also found him guilty of disrespect to the Commander in chief; and sentenced him, to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of twelve months. It is impossible for us to enter into the merits of this sentence; in which party might have had a great share. When a dispute had been carried to so great an height, between an officer on whom the Americans reposed their chief consequence, and one subordinate and less popular, it is not difficult to divine where the blame will be laid.

In the mean time, the British army arrived at the high lands of Navesink, in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, on the last of June; at which latter place, the fleet from the Delaware, under Lord Howe, after being detained in that river by calms, had most fortunately arrived on the preceding day. It had happened in the preceding winter, that the peninsula of Sandy Hook, had been cut off from the continent, and converted to an absolute island, by a violent breach of the sea; a circumstance then of little moment, but which might now have been attended with the most fatal consequences. By the happy arrival of the fleet, at the instant when its assistance was so critically necessary, the ability of the noble commander, and the extraordinary efforts of the seamen, this impediment was speedily removed; a bridge



bridge of boats being completed with such expedition, that the whole army was passed over this new channel on the 5th of July; and were afterwards conveyed with ease to New York; neither army nor navy yet knowing the circumstances of danger and ruin in which they had been so nearly involved.

For an unexpected enemy had now arrived on the coast of North America, who was to give a new, and strange turn to the circumstances of the war. On the second day after the conveyance of the army from Sandy Hook, Lord Howe received intelligence by his cruizers, that D'Estaing's fleet had been seen on the coast of Virginia, on the very day that the army had passed the bridge at Sandy Hook. If D'Estaing had met the transports, either in the Delaware, or on the passage from thence, loaded and encumbered as they were, and convoyed only by two ships of the line, with a number of frigates, the consequence with respect to the fleet is obvious. But it may not so immediately appear, that the fate of the army was so intimately combined with that of the fleet, that the destruction of the one, would have been the inevitable loss of the other. For as the army could not then, by any possible means, have prosecuted its way to New York, and would have been enclosed on one side by the American army, and on the other by the French fleet, cut off from all supply of provision, and destitute of every resource, a repetition of the Saratoga catastrophe, must have been the certain consequence.

Although this fatal event was prevented by the bad weather, and

unexpected impediments which D'Estaing met with on his voyage; yet, if he had directed his course directly to New York, instead of the Chesapeake or Delaware, things could scarcely have been better; as he would then have come upon the fleet and army, when they were entangled, either with the laying or passing of the bridge at Sandy Hook. In either circumstance destruction would have been inevitable; and would have been of an amount and magnitude, with respect both to the marine and land service, and the consequences hanging upon it, which, perhaps, has not been equalled of late ages. But D'Estaing's great object was the surprise of the fleet in the Delaware, and the consequent enclosure of the army at Philadelphia; fortunately the winds and weather frustrated his design. Upon the whole, it may not be easy to point out a more signal or providential deliverance.

The danger, though lessened, was not, however, immediately removed; and it still required the most consummate ability and fortitude, to render the kindness of fortune effective. On the 4th day after the account was received of his arrival on the coast, and subsequent advice of his having anchored at the Delaware being also received, D'Estaing appeared suddenly, and rather unexpectedly, in sight of the British fleet at Sandy Hook. His force was great, and in good condition, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and three frigates of superior size. Among the former, were several ships of great force and weight of metal; one carrying 90, another 80, and six carrying



74 guns each ; and the Squadron was said to have no less than eleven thousand men on board. On the other side, the British fleet under Lord Howe consisted of six sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty guns, with some frigates and sloops. Most of the former had been long on service, were accordingly in bad condition, and were also wretchedly manned. If any thing, however, could remedy such essential defects, it might have been hoped for, from the superior abilities of their Commander, and the excellency of his Officers.

They had, however, the advantage of being in possession of that port or harbour which is formed by Sandy Hook ; the entrance of which is covered by a bar, and from whence the inlet passes to New York. The expected, and avowed object of D'Estaing, was to force that passage, and to attack the English squadron in the harbour. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of preparation made by Lord Howe, that the time could possibly admit ; yet, from contrary winds, and other unavoidable incidents, the ships were not completely arrived in their respective situations of defence, nor had there been time to choose those situations with the judgment which was afterwards exercised, when D'Estaing appeared without the Hook. Under these circumstances, which, with respect to the effect, might be considered, in some degree as affording the advantages of a surprize, if he had pushed on directly to pass the bar and force the passage, it would seem, that neither the advantage of situation, nor any eminence of ability or vir-

tue on the other side, could be capable of counteracting the vast superiority of his force. The conflict would have been undoubtedly dreadful ; and perhaps, in that respect, might have exceeded any thing known in naval history ; but the greatest portion of human spirit, must require some adequate degree of strength, to render its exertions effective.

A diversity of opinion seems to prevail, on the practicability of the great ships of the French fleet, passing in force through the strait, and over the bar. Some are of opinion that it might have been attempted with prudence. If so, it may be considered as a happiness on all sides, that D'Estaing was not possessed of that spirit of enterprize which would have been equal to so arduous an attempt ; that the terror of the English flag was yet in no degree weakened ; and that the name of the noble Commander who opposed him, added some weight to that effect. D'Estaing accordingly cast anchor on the Jersey side, about four miles without the Hook, and in the vicinity of the small town of Shrewsbury.

The spirit that was displayed on this occasion, not only in the fleet and army, but through every order and denomination of seamen, was never exceeded, and will not often be equalled. A thousand volunteers were immediately dispatched from the transports to the fleet. The remainder of the crews, could not restrain their indignation at being left behind, and sought every possible means, by hiding in the boats or otherwise, to escape on board the men of war ; so that the agents could scarcely keep by  
force



force a sufficient number of hands for the watch of their respective ships. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New York, solicited employment with the greatest earnestness; and took their stations at the guns with the common sailors. Others hazarded every thing, by putting to sea in light vessels, to watch the motions of the enemy, and perform other necessary services. One in particular, with a noble disinterestedness and gallantry, which may be compared with any thing known in history, offered to convert his vessel (in which his whole hope and fortune lay) into a fire-ship, to be conducted by himself; and spurned with disdain every proposal of indemnification or reward.

It will afford no surprise, that this spirit should shine out in the army with equal lustre; and that the light infantry and grenadiers, who had scarcely recovered the fatigue of a most toilsome and dangerous march, and with many of the officers wounds still green and sore, should, notwithstanding, contend with such eagerness, to serve on board the men of war as marines, that the point of honour was obliged to be decided by lots. In a word, the public spirit, zeal, bravery, and magnanimity, displayed upon this occasion, would have stamped a character upon a nation that before had none; and is an honour even to this country. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the popularity of the noble Commander, and the confidence founded on his great qualities, contributed not a little to these exertions.

The French fleet continued at anchor in the position we have mentioned, and taking in water and provisions, for eleven days. It may be well supposed, that as D'Estaing did not profit of the first opportunity that offered, that any attempt made by him, after the exertions on the other side had taken their full effect, and the judicious defensive dispositions made by the British Admiral were completed, would have been not only ineffectual, but probably, (notwithstanding the superiority of his force) ruinous. Neither the confidence arising from D'Estaing's hesitation, or from their own courage, was, however, any allay to the mixed passions of grief and indignation which now agitated the British seamen. They endured the mortification, for the first time, of seeing a British fleet blocked up and insulted in their own harbour, and the French flag flying triumphant without; and this was still more deeply embittered and aggravated, by beholding every day, vessels under English colours (who had still been ignorant of the loss of their usual protection), captured under their eyes by the enemy. They looked out ever hour with the utmost anxiety, and in the most eager expectation, for the arrival of Byron's Squadron.

D'Estaing's fleet at length appeared under way; and as the wind was favour- July 22. able, and the spring tides at the highest (the water rising that afternoon thirty feet on the bar) it was expected that he intended to carry his long delayed menace into execution; and that that day would have afforded one of the



hottest and most desperate engagements that had ever been fought, during the long enmity and rivalry that had subsisted between the two nations. Every thing was at stake on the British side. If the naval force was destroyed, (and nothing less than destruction or victory could have ended the conflict) the vast fleets of transports and victuallers, with the army, must all have fallen along with it. D'Estaing, however, thought the attempt too dangerous; and shaping his course another way, was in a few hours out of sight.

Nothing was ever more critical than this commander's stay at Sandy Hook; and few things could be more fortunate in the present circumstances, than his departure at the exact period that he did. For if the whole, or any part, of Admiral Byron's fleet had arrived during his stay, considering the ruined state in which it reached the coasts of America, there could scarcely have been a hope, of its not falling, almost, a defenceless prey into his hands. That unfortunate squadron is said to have been, in many respects, badly equipped and provided. In this state they had the fortune of meeting unusually bad weather for the season; and being separated in different storms, and lingering through a tedious passage, arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged, in various degrees of distress, upon different and remote parts of the coast of America. Between the departure of D'Estaing on the 22d and the 30th of July, the *Renown*, of 50 guns, from the West Indies, the *Raisable* and *Centurion* of 64 and 50, from Halifax, and the

*Cornwall*, (one of Admiral Byron's squadron) of 74 guns, all arrived singly at Sandy Hook. The joy arising from this reinforcement, could scarcely be superior to that excited by a sense of the imminent danger which they had so fortunately escaped. It seemed no less an instance of good fortune, that the *Cornwall* was in better condition than most of the other ships of that squadron.

This failure of the excellently laid scheme, which had been concerted by the French ministry with the American deputies at Paris, for the surprize and capture of the British fleet and army, whether on the Delaware or its borders, necessarily called for new counsels and measures. Rhode Island was the object now fixed upon, as that which would admit the mutual operation of the new allies by land and sea. This was the motive of D'Estaing's departure from Sandy Hook; and for this purpose, General Sullivan assembled a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Providence, for an invasion of the island, on its north end, from the continent; whilst D'Estaing, was to enter the harbour of Newport, near its southern extremity, and after destroying the shipping, by a powerful assault on the works facing the sea, to place the British forces between two fires.

The French fleet either blocked up or entered the several inlets, between which Rhode Island, and its adjoining lesser islands, are enclosed, and which form a communication more or less navigable in the different branches, between the open sea and the back continent, on the 29th of July. The  
main



main body cast anchor without Brenton's Ledge, about five miles from Newport; two of their line of battle ships ran up the Naraganset passage, and anchored off the north end of the island of Conanicut, where they were shut up several days from rejoining the fleet by contrary winds; while some of their frigates, entering the Seconnet passage, occasioned the blowing up of the King Fisher sloop and two armed galleys, which could not otherwise avoid falling into the hands of the enemy.

Major General Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the British forces, took every measure in the power of a brave and experienced officer, that could tend to a vigorous and most obstinate defence. The troops, artillery, and cattle, were immediately conveyed from the island of Conanicut; the troops at the out posts in Rhode Island, were in constant readiness, at the first signal, to join the main body; the works to the sea were strengthened by every possible means, and the seamen belonging to the vessels that were destroyed, as well as those that could be spared from others, were called to their favourite occupation of serving the artillery. The transports (which must otherwise have fallen into the enemies hands) were sunk in different parts of those channels and passages, which might have afforded them an opportunity of attacking the works with advantage. The royal frigates were removed as far from danger as possible; but as their loss or destruction must be inevitable in the prosecution of the enemy's design, they were dismantled of their artillery and stores, and the necessary measures taken for securing the latter part of the alternative.

Two opposite bays, in the inlets on the eastern and western sides of the island, compress it so much, as to form a kind of Isthmus, by which the southern end, that spreads into the ocean, is connected with the main body. The town of Newport lies just within this peninsula, at the opening of the Isthmus, on the western side of the island, and facing the island of Conanicut; the space between both forming a bay, which includes, or forms the harbour. The inlet to the harbour from the sea, called the Middle Channel, is narrow, and enclosed by Brenton's Point, and the opposite point of Conanicut, which form the southern extremities of both islands. A bar of high grounds, which crosses the Isthmus from channel to channel above Newport, was strongly covered with lines, redoubts, and artillery; so that the Peninsula might be considered as a garrison, distinct from the rest of the island; and under the protection of a superior naval force, might in a great measure defy any attempts from the northern side, supposing that an enemy had made good its landing in such circumstances. But the enemy being masters by sea, rendered the task of defence, under the apprehension of an attack on both sides at the same time, exceedingly arduous. The commander had, however, just before, received a reinforcement of five battalions; the troops were in excellent condition and spirit; and the body of seamen, both with respect to labour and danger, were no small addition to their means of resistance.

The force destined against them by land, was not so considerable as their information had led them



to apprehend. The business on that side seems to have been committed mostly, if not entirely, to the northern colonies, who were those immediately concerned in the event. General Sullivan, is however said to have assembled about 10,000 men; of whom, at least half, were composed of volunteers from New England and Connecticut. As the operations of the French fleet, were regulated by those of the army on land, they continued inactive, until Sullivan was in condition to pass over from the continent to the north end of the island. On the 8th of August, finding that measure in forwardness, and the wind being favourable, they entered the harbour under an easy sail, cannonading the batteries and town as they passed, and receiving their fire, without any material effect on either side. They anchored above the town, between Goat Island and Conanicut, but nearer to the latter, on which both the French and Americans had parties for some days past.

As soon as the determination of the enemy to enter the harbour became apparent, the commanders found themselves under the grievous necessity of burning the *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno*, and *Cerberus* frigates; as they were soon after of sinking the *Flora* and *Falcon*.

As soon as Lord Howe received advice of the danger of Rhode Island, he determined to attempt every thing, which resolution, under the direction of reason and judgment, could undertake for its preservation. His squadron, notwithstanding the late reinforcements, was still, with respect to effective force, and weight of me-

tal, so far inferior to the enemy, that to hazard an engagement, without some collateral advantage to counteract so great a superiority, would seem a degree of rashness inconsistent with his character. In point of number, he was indeed superior to the French, his squadron now consisting of one 74, seven 64, and five 50 gun ships, besides several frigates; but the great deficiency in other respects, appears from the bare recital of the rates. Every thing in such a situation was, however, to be tried, and he was determined that nothing should be left undone. The account indeed he received of the separated state of the French fleet, some of them involved in the channels, and the bulk lying without, afforded some room for a hope, that he might bring on an engagement upon more equal terms than could have been otherwise expected.

But notwithstanding the utmost possible expedition, he met with such unavoidable delays, that he was not able to reach Rhode Island, until the day after the Aug. 9th. French fleet had entered that harbour. From the situation in which the enemy now lay, he was enabled to communicate directly with General Pigot; the result of which was, that under the present circumstances, the affording him any essential relief was impracticable.

A sudden change of wind to the north-east, afforded an equal change of circumstances, and on the following day, the French Admiral stood out to sea with the whole fleet, those in the *Naraganset* Passage, as well as the port. Lord Howe, justly deeming the weather-gage too great an advantage



vantage to be added to the superior force of the enemy, contended for that object with all the skill and judgment incident to an able and experienced seaman. On the other hand, D'Estaing, notwithstanding his superiority, was as eager to preserve this advantage, as his adversary to obtain it. This contest of seamanship

11th. prevented an engagement on that day; but the wind on the following still continuing adverse to the design of the British Admiral, he determined to make the best of the present circumstances, and to engage the enemy; forming the line in such a manner as to be joined by three fire ships, which were under the tow of as many frigates. A strong gale of wind, which afterwards increased to a violent tempest, and continued for near 48 hours, not only put by the engagement by separating the fleets, for the present, but scattered them in such a manner, and caused so much damage on both sides, as rendered an engagement for some time impracticable.

The French suffered greatly in this tempest, two of their capital ships being dismasted, and others much damaged. Some untoward situations, and unusual circumstances, were produced by this conflict of the elements. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, had lost all her masts, and was met in that condition on the evening of the 13th, by the Renown of 50 guns, Capt. Dawson, who attacked her with such fury, as well as judgment and advantage, that no doubt could have been entertained of the event, if the daylight had continued. But the darkness of the night, and freshness of

the gale, whose violence was not yet quite allayed, compelled Capt. Dawson to cease from his attack, after he had poured several broadsides close into her, and had, besides other apparent damage, shot away her rudder. He, however, lay to, as closely as possible, for the night, intending to renew the attack in the morning, and considering her as little less than a certain prize. The appearance of six French men of war, by whom he was chased at day light, and who were possibly led that way by the firing, put an end to Dawson's hopes, and relieved the French Admiral from this very urgent distress.

Upon the same evening, and about the same hour, the Preston, likewise of 50 guns, Commodore Hotham, fell in with the Tonant, a French 80 gun ship, with only her main-mast standing. The Commodore attacked her with the same spirit and effect, with which Captain Dawson had engaged the Languedoc. The circumstances were likewise similar in every respect. The night obliged him to draw off, with the same intention of renewing the engagement, and under the same certainty of success; whilst the appearance of a part of the French fleet in the morning, frustrated both.

The circumstances of advantage afforded by the tempest, were not, however, entirely confined to one side. It held out one on the other, which was productive of one of the most gallant and brilliant naval actions, of this, or of any war. The Isis of 50 guns, Capt. Raynor, Aug. 16th. was eagerly chased and engaged by a French 74 gun flag-ship, supposed to be the Zèle, though other accounts say the Cesar. The

French.



Frenchman was much the better failer, and the circumstances of the ships with respect to the tempest were the same, they having both entirely escaped the effects of its fury. In this very unequal contest, in which the greatest resolution and skill, would seem incapable of supplying the deficiency of force on the one side, a close and desperate engagement was maintained with the greatest obstinacy on both, for an hour and a half, and within pistol shot distance. At the end of that time, the *Isis* had obtained so manifest a superiority in the action, that the French ship was glad to put before the wind, and call in the aid of all her sails, to escape from so determined an enemy. The *Isis* had suffered so much in her masts and rigging as to be incapable of attempting a pursuit.

It is not easy to determine whether to admire more, the gallantry exhibited in this singular action, or the modesty of the brave commander in his account of it. This was indeed so extreme, that his Admiral was obliged in some degree to supply the defect, by acquainting the Admiralty, that the honour of the day was not more owing to the resolution of the Captain, or the intrepidity of his officers and crew, than to the professional skill and ability of the former. The loss of men was considerable on the French side, and M. de Bougainville, the celebrated and philosophic navigator, who was their commander, is said to have lost an arm in the action. The loss in the *Isis* was very moderate. The high honour which the young Duke of Ancafter acquired as a volunteer in this ac-

tion, only serves to embitter the loss which his country has since sustained, by the premature death of a nobleman, who so early distinguished himself in her service, and from whom she had so much to expect.

Although the British squadron suffered much less in the storm than the French, yet their damage was so considerable, as unavoidably to cost some time at Sandy Hook or New York, in proportion to their wants, whether only to refit, or to repair. The French fleet returned to Rhode Island on the 20th, where they anchored without the harbour, and sailed from thence on the 22d for Boston, in order to repair their shattered ships. Lord Howe, having got his ships in condition with an expedition that surprized every body, pursued them with the greatest eagerness, hoping to overtake them by the way.

In the mean time, General Sullivan had landed on the north end of Rhode Island, by the way of Howland's Ferry, on the 9th of August, being the day that D'Estaing went out of the harbour to meet Lord Howe. The extreme badness of the weather, impeded for some days the bringing forward of his stores and artillery, and of course retarded the progress of his army. On the 17th, however, they broke ground on Honeyman's Hill, near the British works, and began to construct batteries, and to form lines of approach; the British forces being no less active, in throwing up new works, and constructing new batteries, to counteract theirs. We have already observed, that General Pigot was under no great apprehension of an attack in front; the



the general object of apprehension was the concurrent assault of D'Estaing on the town and works to the water; but the great point of danger was his landing a body of troops in the southern peninsula, which would have laid the garrison open in the rear, whilst they were desperately engaged on the front and flank in defence of their works.

The critical and most timely appearance of Lord Howe with the British squadron, happily obviated this apprehension and danger in the first instance; and D'Estaing's consequent departure, or flight to Boston, removed them entirely. His sailing out of the harbour to engage Lord Howe, does not seem by any means to have been a judicious measure. The nature of the port, the narrowness of the passage from the sea, with the means of defence afforded by the island of Conanicut, which was occupied by himself and his allies, held out, all together, so strong a security to his fleet, that scarcely any naval superiority, which, however, did not exist, could have justified any attempt upon it. In this state, it would seem, that he should first have secured his object, which appears to have been much within his reach, before he put out to sea, either to engage, or to seek for Lord Howe. But vanity seems here to have had some share in his determination. The glory of vanquishing a British squadron, and of obtaining a triumph over a commander of great name, and of a country which so seldom afforded such laurels, was a temptation not to be resisted by D'Estaing.

Yet, after all the ill consequences of this vain and ruinous pursuit,

if he had entered the harbour, and co-operated with the Americans, in conformity with their most earnest solicitations, when he anchored the second time before Rhode Island it would seem that the state of the garrison would have been extremely perilous, and that he had a fair prospect of retrieving, by a stroke of no small importance, the failure of success in his grand object. Such a successful co-operation would likewise have had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of his new allies, and in giving them an idea, which they were not very apt to entertain, of the vigour and efficacy of French councils and arms. It may indeed be objected, and truly, that his two dismasted ships could not have been repaired, nor, perhaps, the rest of his squadron refitted, at Rhode Island; but as they might have continued there in perfect security for any length of time, if he had succeeded in his object, this objection does not appear to be of sufficient weight for its being abandoned.

The American army in Rhode Island, and the people of the Northern Colonies in general, complained loudly of this conduct. They said, that they had been led into an expedition, of prodigious expence, labour, trouble, and danger, under the assurance, of the most effective co-operation of the French fleet. That, under this sanction, they had committed their lives and liberties on the invasion of an island, where, without a naval protection, they were likely to be enclosed like wild beasts in a toil; and that in this situation, they were first deserted, for a vain and fruitless pursuit, and then totally



totally abandoned, at the very time that they had brought the business on their side to the point of completion.

Under these discontents and apprehensions, Sullivan was deserted by the New England and Connecticut volunteers, who composed the better half of his army; and by this means, if we credit the American accounts, his numbers were so much reduced, as to be inferior, in point of force, to the garrison. In these circumstances, and under the immediate apprehension of his retreat being cut off, Sullivan extricated himself with a degree of prudence and ability, which would have done honour to an older General; nor would the behaviour of his troops have disgraced more veteran soldiers.

Having begun to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th of August, he retreated from his lines on the 29th; and though he was most vigorously pursued, and repeatedly attacked in every quarter wherever an opening was made, by the British forces, yet he took his measures so well, and had chosen his posts so judiciously, that although much honour was claimed and deserved on both sides, he gained the north end of the island without sustaining any considerable loss. Being there, from the nature of the ground, and the situation of his posts, in a state of security, he passed his army over by the way of Bristol and Hoyland ferries, on the night of the 30th, without interruption, to the continent. Nor was his good fortune inferior to his con-

duct, as Sir Henry Clinton arrived just after with such a force from New York, as would have left no doubt of the fate of his forces, if they had still continued on the island.

On the same day that Sullivan abandoned Rhode Island, Lord Howe entered the bay of Boston, where, to his great mortification, he found that D'Estaing was arrived before him. This was, however, increased, when upon a close inspection he discovered, that he was so effectually covered in Nantasket Road, by the batteries erected, and the measures of defence taken, by the Americans and French, on the adjacent points and islands, that an attack upon him, with any prospect of success, was utterly impracticable.

Thus, with great honour to himself, and advantage to his country, did that great naval commander, bring the campaign with his powerful adversary to a conclusion. With an inferiority of force, which held out mere preservation as the summit of hope, he, by a continued and rapid succession of the greatest possible exertions, masterly manœuvres, and wise measures, having first counteracted, and at length defeated, all the views and attempts of his enemy, obliged him to fly for refuge to those new allies whom he came to protect, and insulted him under that protection. Leaving him in a condition at parting, which rendered him incapable of any further service in those seas for the remainder of the year.



## C H R O N I C L E.

## J A N U A R Y.

1st. **I**N the course of last year there was imported into London, from Newcastle and Sunderland,  $69209\frac{3}{4}$  chalders of coals, which is  $5514\frac{3}{4}$  chalders short of the import for the preceding year. Of cinders and Scotch coals 7015 chalders were also imported there. During last year 4792 ships cleared at the Custom-house, 4390 of which coastwise, and 402 for foreign ports.

*Petersburg, Dec. 23.* The great Duchess was safely delivered of a Prince this morning, at half an hour past ten o'clock: Her Imperial Highness and the young Prince are as well as can be expected. This joyful event was announced to the public, at noon, by the firing of two hundred and one guns from the fortrefs and admiralty. The Empress gave the young Prince, immediately after his birth, the name of Alexander; but the day for the ceremony of his baptism is not yet fixed.

*Munich, Dec. 30.* His Serene Highness Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, who had been ill of the small-pox about three weeks, died at a quarter past one o'clock this afternoon, in the 51st year of his age,

On the same day that the above Prince died, the Elector Palatine was proclaimed his successor. It is  
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certain, however, that the Emperor will dispute his title. Near 20,000 Austrian troops have already marched to take possession of the Bavarian estates; and letters from Munich advise, that Mr. Kreffel, the Imperial Counsellor of State, arrived there with a notary and two scriveners to take possession of all, and regulate every thing, as it is in Austria.

This day as his Majesty was getting out of his chair in the 2d. passage, near the Friary, leading to the back stairs at St. James's, a woman suddenly rushed before the chair, and was going to lay hold on him, but he with difficulty avoided her. The King asked her "What she wanted?" To which she gave an impudent answer, and said her name was Queen Beck. She afterwards said that her name was Rebecca O'Hara, that she was born in Ireland, and had been in England five years, and that she lodged at a public-house near Red Lion-square. On enquiry this was found to be false, and in order to determine whether she was really out of her senses, Sir John Fielding committed her to Tothill-fields Bridewell for further examination. She has since proved to be a lunatic, and proper care is taken of her.

The following is a list of the new intended corps, sent 3d.  
[L] from



from the Secretary of State's office.

72d. The royal Manchester volunteers.

Col. William Gordon's (brother to Lord Aberdeen.)

Col M'Kenzie's (Lord M'Leod.)

Lieutenant Colonel Commandant John M'Donnel's, now Major in the 71st.

Col. Francis M'Lean's—assisted by the Duke of Hamilton.

Col. James Murray's—Athol Highlanders, (uncle to the Duke of Athol.)

Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell's—Argyleshire Highlanders.

Another battalion of 1000 men is forthwith to be added to Lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders.

7th. This day at a meeting of the Middlesex justices, held at Guildhall, Westminster, it was unanimously agreed, that Hicks's Hall be pulled down, and rebuilt on the same spot.

19th. At a meeting held about the latter end of December, for the purpose of relieving the distressed of the American prisoners, a subscription was entered into for immediately supplying them with cloathing and other necessaries, when the sum of 3,815 l. 17 s. 6 d. being subscribed, and that sum, with the collection in the country, being more than sufficient for their present necessities, the subscription was this day closed. The number of American prisoners now confined in the several gaols throughout the kingdom, according to the returns to government, is rated at 924 persons. The sum collected for them, if all paid in, will amount to upwards of 4l. per man.

14th. At a very numerous and respectable quarterly court

of the Society for Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts, the accompts were audited, when it appeared, that

218 { Debtors had been discharged since September 30,

who had 113 wives  
and 382 children

So that 713 distressed objects, probably, have been kept from becoming burthensome to their respective parishes, for the trifling sum of 399l. 19 s. 3 d. which is not quite 1 l. 17 s. 8 d. for each family, nor 11 s. 11 d. for each individual thereof; without taking into the accompt the benefit derived to the several plaintiffs, whose families are generally in as great distress as the several debtors.

A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, 16th. when a motion being made and question put, " That a subscription be forthwith opened, under the conduct of a committee of this court, for the paying bounties to such able-bodied men, who shall present (and enlist) themselves (before the said committee) to serve in his Majesty's sea or land service for the term of three years, or until the end of the present war;" the same was resolved in the negative by a majority of 3 to 1.

A motion being made and question put. " That it is the opinion of this court, that to give any countenance to, or to be in any manner instrumental in, the farther continuance of the present ruinous and destructive war, whilst offers of just and honourable terms are withheld from America, will reflect dishonour on their humanity, and in no wise advantage the commercial interests of this great city ;"



city ;" the same was resolved in the affirmative.

The same day was held a general meeting of the justices, grand jury, gentlemen, freeholders, and others of the county of Middlesex, at the court-house in Well close-square, when it was resolved, that a subscription he immediately opened for the raising of men within the Tower Hamlets, to serve his Majesty in America during the continuance of the present disturbances there.

The same evening a meeting was held at the London Tavern of several capital merchants, &c. when Mr. Cornwall being voted into the chair, a motion was made to open a subscription for raising a sum of money for the purpose of enlisting a number of men for the King's service ; when it was unanimously agreed to, and 14,000 l. has been since subscribed.

17th. This day in Newgate Market country provisions fold as follow ;—Beef 2 s. 4 d. to 2 s. 10 d. mutton 2 s. 2 d. to 2 s. 8 d. veal 2 s. 10 d. to 3 s. 6 d. pork 2 s. 8 d. to 3 s. 4 d. per stone ; butter 1 s. 7 d. to 1 s. 10 d. the lump : eggs 7 s. 6 d. to 9 s. the hundred ; barn-door fowls 1 s. 2 d. to 1 s. 6 d. each.

23d. This morning, a little past nine o'clock, the three following malefactors were brought out of Newgate, and put into one cart, from whence they proceeded to Tyburn, attended by the Under Sheriff, &c. viz. John Gagin, for breaking open the house of James M'Donald in Marybone, and stealing a 20 l. bank note, three guineas, and three half guineas, a silver watch &c. William Pollard, for breaking into the house of Richard Longworth, in the Old Bailey, and

stealing a black cloak, and other things ; and Benjamin Johnson, for breaking open the stables of Thomas Hull, in Chiswell-street, and stealing some bridles, saddles, &c.

A monument was opened in Westminster Abbey, in <sup>24th.</sup> the Poet's Corner, to the memory of the late Dr. Goldsmith.

We have an account of the following melancholy accident in a letter from Shrewsbury Two young gentlemen, sons of the Rev. Mr. Pratchet, of Hodnet, in this county, having spent a night at their uncle's in the neighbourhood, they went out together in the morning ; coming to a pit that was froze over, the Oxonian, as is supposed, being provided with skaits, went upon the ice to enjoy that healthful but dangerous exercise. The ice giving way, he sunk ; and his brother, in attempting to save him, (for he was found with his coat off, and his shirt rolled up to his shoulder) shared his unhappy fate.

At Edinburgh, on the 15th of this month, the Lords of Session, by a majority of ten to four, gave judgment in favour of the unlimited freedom of the Blacks in this country ; so that Scotland has the honour of giving the first general decision upon this great question. All the trials in England concerning the rights of Negroes, even that of Somerset in the King's bench, having been only upon special points, such as, whether the master of a Negro in Britain was entitled to take a legacy left to the Negro ? given against the master, with costs, by Lord Northington ; or whether the master could by his own authority put a Negro in fetters, and send him beyond seas ?

[L] 2.

given



given against the master in the case of Somerset. The four dissentient judges to-day were, the Lord President, and Lords Elliock, Monboddo, and Covington. Lord Alva was absent by indisposition.

25th. By the KING,  
A PROCLAMATION for a General Fast.

GEORGE R.

WE, taking into our most serious consideration the just and necessary measures of force which we are obliged to use against our rebellious subjects in our colonies and provinces in North America; and putting our trust in Almighty God, that he will vouchsafe a special blessing on our arms, both by sea and land, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of our privy council, hereby command, That a public fast and humiliation be observed throughout that part of our kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, upon Friday the 27th day of February next; that so both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of our sins; and may, in the most devout and solemn manner, send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for averting those heavy judgments, which our manifold sins and provocations have most justly deserved, and for imploring his intervention and blessing speedily to deliver our loyal subjects within our colonies and provinces in North America from the violence, injustice, and tyranny of those daring rebels who have assumed to themselves the exercise of arbitrary power, to open the eyes of those

who have been deluded by specious falsehoods into acts of treason and rebellion, to turn the hearts of the authors of these calamities, and finally to restore our people in those distracted provinces and colonies to the happy condition of being free subjects of a free state, under which heretofore they flourished so long and prospered so much: and we do strictly charge and command, that the said public fast be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation: and upon pain of such punishment as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn and neglect the performance of so religious a duty. And for the better and more orderly solemnizing the same, we have given directions to the most Reverend the Archbishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops of England, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship; and to take care the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 23d day of January, 1778, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

God save the King.

[A similar proclamation is published in the Gazette for a general fast in Scotland. on Thursday the 26th day of February next.]

*A singular Fraud.* On Monday last, at noon, a woman, most handsomely dressed, and affecting the woman of fashion, went into the shop of a hosier in the Strand, and appeared



appeared (being without a hat) as if she had just stepped out of a carriage; and indeed this was the case. She asked to look at some silk stockings; several pairs were shewn her; and presently in came a fellow in livery, who, with his hat off, said, "Sir Thomas is in the carriage, my Lady."—She replied, it was very well, she would be with him in a few minutes. She then paid for two pair of stockings, went away, and got into a post-chaise standing in the street, and the footman followed her into the chaise, which then drove off. This latter circumstance somewhat surprising the hosier, he examined the different loose parcels of stockings that he had opened, and discovered that "her Ladyship" had stolen nine pair.

DIED, at Brockmonton, near Leominster, Herefordshire, Edward Evans, in the 102d year of his age, retaining his understanding to the last. He had been ill near four months, and was threshing in a barn when he was first taken ill.

At Peckham, aged 101 years, Mr. Fryer, formerly purser of a man of war.

At Stroud, near Rochester, Mr. Adam Devaile, at the age of 102 years.

During the course of last year there have been born in the city of Paris, 11,445 boys, and 10,821 girls. The number of deaths amounts to 9101 men, and 8011 women; and during the same space of time 3411 boys, and 3294 girls were brought into the Foundling Hospital; so that there were 286 more foundling children, and 2725 burials less, than in the preceding year.

## F E B R U A R Y.

According to the accounts delivered by Sir Grey Cooper, <sup>1st.</sup> relative to the extraordinary expences of calling in the gold coin, it appears that the money deficient in weight, as delivered into the bank, under the different proclamations, was as follows:

|                   | £.         | s. | d. |
|-------------------|------------|----|----|
| 1st proclamation, | 3,806,435  | 7  | 2  |
| 2d proclamation,  | 4,876,171  | 18 | 3  |
| 3d proclamation,  | 6,880,986  | 5  | 3  |
|                   | <hr/>      |    |    |
|                   | 15,563,593 | 10 | 8  |
|                   | <hr/>      |    |    |

Dispatches were received at the India-house on Saturday <sup>2d.</sup> last from Madrafs, containing authentic advices of the death of Lord Pigot, on the 11th of May. The same dispatches mention the loss of the company's ship Marquis of Rockingham, Capt. Hamilton, in her voyage from Madras to Sadras, but that the crew, and the greatest part of the treasure, had been saved; only one chest of silver is said to be lost.

*Extract of a Letter from Fort Saint George, dated May 18, 1777.*

"It is with the deepest sorrow that I now acquaint you with the melancholy event of the death of Lord Pigot. Through the great care and skill of Mr. Paisley, he seemed to have got the better of the first illness which he laboured under, when I wrote to you by the French ships in March; but he relapsed, and Mr. Paisley (as well as Major Horne, under whose charge my Lord still remained a prisoner) represented to the people in the fort that there was a necessity for removing him, for the benefit of



the *sea air*; and he was (by the particular persuasion of Mr. Paisley and his own friends) accordingly brought, in a palanquin, on the 28th past, from the Mount to the Company's Garden House, which is about a mile from the fort, and not so far from the sea. The surgeons, on the 7th and 8th instant, declared, that he could not survive a few days: and on the 9th his friends perceived that he had himself determined to prepare for his approaching dissolution, by telling Mr. Russell, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Monckton (who were constantly with him) that he wished to write a letter to the Company. He then sat up in his bed, and dictated the letter with all possible propriety and recollection; and took occasion to tell them, that that would probably be the last letter that he should ever address to them! The next morning he called for several papers, relative to his own affairs; and having spoke of the subjects to which they related, with great precision, he dictated a codicil to his will (of some length) in the clearest manner. Though the force of his constitution, and the faculties of his mind, were overborne by his long confinement, and the insult and cruelty with which he had been treated, yet the powers of his understanding preserved their natural tone to the last moment, and gave the clearest proof of that recollection and firmness which has so much distinguished his character. He died on Sunday the 11th of May, having been kept a prisoner from the 23d of August, 1776, to the time of his death. As no guard had attended him (though he was accompanied by Major Horne) when he was removed from the

Mount, it was imagined that the people in the fort would take the opportunity of the situation he then was in, to drop that restraint, lest he should die in duress; but on the evening of the day that he was removed, Lieutenant Sydenham (who acts as Town Major) put the sepoy guards, which were round the Garden House, under the Command of Major Horne, who himself also soon appeared, and told Mr. Monckton, in the *presence of Sir Edward Hughes*, that *he had been called before the board* (after he had left Lord Pigot at the Garden House in the morning) *and found great fault with, for letting his Lordship come in without a guard*; and that *he was now again ordered to continue in the charge of his person, which he had complied with.*

“ In this situation, as soon as my Lord died, Mr. Monckton thought it proper to write to Major Horne, demanding the body, that it might be interred; and the Major wrote to him back, *that the guards had been taken off in the night*, (though this is doubted) and that there was no obstruction to the interment of the body.

“ Mr. Monckton saw it also proper to write to Mr. Ram, who was coroner at the time of the subversion of the government, and had ever since refused to resign his office; desiring him to repair to the Garden House, and hold an inquest on the body of Lord Pigot, his Lordship dying under confinement. The coroner immediately summoned a jury, and the inquest was opened over the body at four P. M. Mr. Paisley and three other surgeons attending; but it being necessary in this hot country to inter the corpse without delay,



the inquest was adjourned to the next day, and is not yet ended."

3d. On Saturday last, the policy business respecting the sex of Madame D'Eon, was solemnly argued before Lord Mansfield, in the court of King's bench, when the defendant pleaded a late act of parliament for the non-payment of the policy he had underwritten, which statute provides, That no insurance shall be valid, where the person insuring cannot prove an antecedent interest in the person or thing insured.—The Chief Justice admitted the statute to be binding in the present instance; by which decision all the insurers in the above transaction will now be deprived of the golden harvest they have so long expected.

By the above decision no less a sum than seventy-five thousand pounds will remain in this country, which otherwise must have been transmitted to Paris.

5th. The three petitions presented by the Sheriffs to the Lower Assembly on Monday from the city of London, were for the following purposes, viz. one petition for 15,000*l.* for the Session-house, and 6000*l.* spent in purchasing old houses to make avenues, &c. to the same. Another for raising 20,000*l.* for finishing the gaol of Newgate. Another for 20,000*l.* for making a new street from Bishopsgate to Barbican.

7th. A question reserved for the opinion of the judges was argued in the court of King's bench. An action was brought against the Post-master general to recover the value of a bank note of 100*l.* the same being taken out of a letter by Mitchel, a servant to the Post-master-general, who suf-

fered capitally for that crime. It was denied by the defendant, that the under officers of the post-office were the servants of the post-master-general; they were the servants of the public, and gave security to the King; and as no neglect was so much as alledged against the Post-master-general, there could be no reason in law or equity for making him responsible. The final determination of this weighty question, so important to the intercourse of trade, was adjourned.

A fatal accident happened 11th, to Dr. Sclater, as he was coming up St. Mary Hill between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, by a sack of carroway-seeds falling upon him from the slings, as they were craning into a grocer's warehouse, which killed him on the spot.

—Whitaker, for many 12th. years summoning officer of juries for the city and liberties of Westminster, was ordered into court to receive judgment upon conviction by attachment for corruption in his office. The interrogatories and answers were read by Sir James Burrows, when the court ordered him to pay a fine of 200*l.* and to remain a prisoner until the same was discharged. He was also disqualified from his employment. Mr. Cowper made a few observations in his behalf, but the judges expressed the utmost disgust at his conduct, and he was immediately taken into the custody of the tipstaff. By the delinquent's own answers it appeared, that for eleven years past he made upon an average, 50*l.* per annum, by receiving a certain fee from each person, whom he excused from serving the office of Juror.



17th. We are informed a scheme is in agitation, of making a navigable canal from this city by Fakenham to Lynn, whereby an easy conveyance of goods will be obtained, a communication opened with the several counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Rutland, Northampton, and Lincoln, and the floods so destructive to many of its inhabitants in a great measure prevented.

20th. This day was heard before Sir George Hay, LL.D. in the ecclesiastical court, Doctor's Commons, a cause, the Earl of Bristol against Elizabeth Chudleigh, late Dutches of Kingston, but now (by the late verdict of the House of Peers, convened at Westminster-hall) Countess of Bristol, to prove his marriage with the said Elizabeth, which proof was fully established in the same manner as before the Lords; and the court accordingly gave it as their opinion, that the marriage was strictly legal. This cause was brought against the Countess by the Earl, as an introduction to a divorce which he means to sue out against her on the score of adultery, and which he could not do prior to his proving his marriage with her, as she was, before the hearing above-mentioned, recognised in the ecclesiastical court as the wife of the late Duke of Kingston, and not of the Earl of Bristol.

Same day the report was made to his Majesty in council of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, when the six following were ordered for execution on Friday the 5th of March next, viz. William Stephens, Robert Griffiths, Thomas Dunn, John Pugh, Henry Green, for breaking into the house

of Mr. Wale, in Church-row, Chelsea, and stealing a great quantity of linen, value 50 l. and Francis Green, for robbing James Boulton in the Staines stage-coach on the highway, near the turnpike at Belfont, of a stop-watch, with silver cases, a guinea and a half, and some halfpence.

The following were respited during his Majesty's pleasure, viz. Thomas Cantrell, for breaking into the house of William Astell, with intent to steal; James Gable, for robbing Mary Overton on the highway near the French hospital in the City Road, of 4s. John Smith, for robbing Elizabeth Edwards on the highway in Wheeler-street, Spitalfields, of a red cardinal; and Joseph West, concerned with Francis Green, (mentioned in the preceding article) for robbing James Boulton in the Staines stage-coach.

The sessions ended at the 21st. Old Bailey, when, with eight others, the two following prisoners received sentence of death: Thomas Sherwood, for uttering and publishing as true, knowing it to be forged and counterfeited, a letter of attorney, purporting it to be the letter of the Rev. John Myoner, D. D. and the Rev. James French, to appoint him, Thomas Sherwood, to transfer 700 l. bank stock of 3 per cent. annuities: Peter Ceppi, alias Scipio, for forcibly entering the apartments of Harriet Knightley, and firing a loaded pistol at the said Harriet Knightley, which penetrated thro' the breast bone, and went a considerable way into the body, and was extracted from her right side.

The account of Mrs. Knightley was, that on the 18th of January



last Ceppi came into her room, she being in bed, locked the door, sat himself in a chair, and told her he was come to do her business, which she not understanding, asked him to let her get out of the bed, which he did; he then took out two pistols; she went towards the door in order to get out; he set his back against it; she to appease him, told him he might stay breakfast; he answered he would have none, but would give her a good one. She then called out to alarm the house, ran towards the bed, and said "Pray don't shoot me," and drew up close to the curtains: he followed, and discharged the pistol. During this, a washerwoman ran up stairs, and with a poker broke the bottom pannel of the door, through which Mrs. Knightley was drawn half-naked, and Ceppi following, ran down stairs, but was pursued and taken. In his defence, he said, he had proposed honourable terms of marriage to her, but that she had refused and deserted him; that he was overcome with grief and love, and that his design was not to hurt her, but shoot himself in her presence.

The device for the great seal of South-Carolina:—A palmetto tree supported by twelve spears, which, with the tree, are bound together in one hand, on which is written 'quis separebit?' On the tree are two shields, the one inscribed March 26, the other July 4, and at the foot of the palmetto, an English oak fallen, its root above the ground, and its branches lopt.

In the Exergue.

MELIOREM LAPSA LOCAVIT.

1776.

Legend, 'South Carolina.' Immediately over the palmetto, and

on the opposite part of the circle,  
'Animis ad fata paratis.'

R E V E R S E.

Hope advancing over a rock, which is rugged and steep behind her, but smooth and of a gentle ascent before. The way is strewn with the arms of an enemy. She holds a laurel flower in her right hand, and has a view of the sun rising in full splendour.

In the Exergue,

S P E S.

Legend, *Dum spiro spero.*

Madrid, June 19. The following particulars make part of the treaty of peace concluded in October last, between our court and that of Lisbon.

1. The island of St. Catharine is to be restored to Portugal, in the same state it was in when it was surrendered to the Spaniards; but it is expressly stipulated, that hereafter no foreign vessel shall be suffered to enter the ports of the island.

2. The colony of the blessed Sacrament is ceded for ever to Spain.

3. The Rio Grande is to be open to, and held in common by both nations: Portugal is to hold the northern shore, while the southern remains in the possession of Spain. All other nations are to be excluded from the navigation of the river.

4. Portugal is to restore to Spain the forts and possessions she seized during the contest; and the latter is to be at liberty to erect in her territories as many fortresses as she shall think proper.

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M A R C H.

The house of farmer Clewin, 1 ft. of Finchley, was suddenly surrounded



rounded in the dead of night by a gang of nine or ten ruffians, who broke open the doors, and after most inhumanly cutting and mangling several of the family, they robbed the house of plate, cash, linen, and other moveables to a great value, and then made off with their booty.

A few days ago was found, by some persons who were getting stone in a piece of ground near Critch, called the Cullen, in Derbyshire, an earthen pot full of copper coin, said to be coined in the year 326; they are not so large as a halfpenny, and are of various sorts; the impression on each side very plain. The weight of the coins all together was exactly nine pounds.

3d. At a court of common-council, a member moved, that an humble address and petition be presented to his Majesty, that such measures of reconciliation be adopted, as may put a speedy end to the ruinous war we are now engaged in; which was resolved in the affirmative.

8th. This morning, about two o'clock, a gang of eight villains broke into the house of Mr. Cuthbert, at Kentish-Town, and after behaving very inhumanly to him and his wife (whose leg they cut in a terrible manner), robbed them of East-India bonds, bank notes, and money, to the amount of 700 l. They staid upwards of two hours in the house; they had their faces blacked, and were otherwise disguised. They are supposed to be the same ruffians who robbed farmer Clewin, at Finchley.

9th. Last week a very melancholy accident happened to Miss Vane, daughter of the Hon.

Mr. Vane, of Beilby, in Yorkshire; being sitting by her fire, she dropped her keys within the fender, and stooping to take them up, her head-dress took fire, and she was burnt so dreadfully before it could be extinguished, that she expired in a few hours.

This evening, Mr. Banger, clerk to a merchant in Bush-lane, conceiving he had received an insult from Mr. Saunders, a haberdasher, in Cannon-street, sent for Mr. Saunders to the London-stone Tavern, where he produced a pair of pistols, and offering one to Mr. Saunders, demanded satisfaction. The latter declaring he thought his life too valuable to-risque it so, high words ensued, which the landlord overhearing, insisted the parties should quit his house. On this they adjourned to another tavern, where Mr. Banger still insisting on his fighting him, and Mr. Saunders declining, the epithets coward and scoundrel were thrown out; and Mr. Banger then proceeding to cudgel him, the tuck of the stick flew out and wounded Mr. Saunders so severely, that he died soon after. The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict wilful murder.

This evening, a house, in the upper part of Islington, 11th. was broke open by six or eight men, who stripped it of every thing of value. They gagged the family, except one girl about seven years of age, who hid herself under a bed, and escaped them, and by whose assistance the family were released. It is supposed to have been done by the gang who robbed Mr. Clewin.

This day was tried before Lord Mansfield, at Guild-

13th.  
hall,



hall, London, a cause which involved in it a question that the noble judge observed was of the highest import to commerce. The action was brought by a tradesman near the Mansion-house, against a merchant at Aberdeen, to recover the amount of some goods. The defendant insisted, that together with the money paid into court, and what had been otherwise received by a bill for 381. the whole of the demand was fully satisfied. The plaintiff denied that the bill was ever meant to be received at his own risk : he took it only to endeavour, as an act of friendship, to procure the money upon it of the acceptor ; but it turned out in proof, that a receipt was given for this bill by the plaintiff, without any exception ; and that the defendant said at the time, that though the drawer was insolvent, he believed the acceptor to be a very good man ; however, the reverse appeared, and the bill was dishonoured. The banker kept it three days after it became due, which was the 10th of July ;—on the 21st the plaintiff wrote to the defendant, and not before. The question was, “Whether this should be held sufficient notice ;” and the noble Lord on the bench pointed out this material doctrine as a rule in paper circulation : he said the law requires that reasonable notice should be given in all such cases ; that otherwise, the inconvenience would be terrible to traders, for this day that might be got, which to-morrow would be irrecoverable ; that three days was the extent of time allowed to be recoverable ; afterwards the holder of the bill must look to it as his own, and the plaintiff in this cause had neglected

to write to the defendant for thirteen days after the bill was due, which was ten days too late.

Wednesday, March 11, his Majesty went to the House of Peers, attended by the Duke of Ancafter and the Earl of Oxford, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to allow the exportation of a certain quantity of corn, peas, and biscuit, to Newfoundland, for a limited time.

The bill for the benefit of captors of prizes from the enemy.

The bill to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient powers, to treat and agree upon the means of quieting the disturbances now subsisting in certain of the American colonies.

The bill to declare the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of imposing taxes in the American colonies.

The bill to repeal an act that imposed a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any of the American colonies.

The bill to repeal an act for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay.

The bill to punish mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

The bill to apply the sum granted for the pay and cloathing of the militia for the service of the present year.

Also to such other bills as were ready.

This evening several villains broke open the house 14th. of Mr. John Keys, a farmer at Enfield, and after cutting and wounding a man servant in so dangerous a manner that he is since dead



dead of the wounds, plundered the house of 50 l. in cash, and plate to the amount of 200 l.

15th. A warrant under his Majesty's sign manual, was sent to Newgate for the discharge of Mr. Ebenezer Smith Platt, who about fifteen months since was committed for treason at Savannah, in the colony of Georgia.

16th. Admiral Keppel took leave of his Majesty, previous to his setting out for Portsmouth to command the fleet of observation.

17th. Yesterday an express arrived from the Hague, with authentic advice to our court, that the King of Prussia, with three armies had entered Austrian-Silesia; the first army was commanded by the King in person; the second by his brother, Prince Henry; and the third by the Prince of Brunswick (who married the Princess Augusta).

20th. This morning, at six o'clock, his Excellency the French Ambassador set out from his house at Whitehall, with all his retinue, on his return home, pursuant to orders from his court.

A general embargo was laid on all shipping in the ports of France, probably to secure an indemnification, should any stroke be suddenly struck by the English at sea.

25th. A woman in Queen-street, Holborn, sent her son, a boy about eleven years of age, for some potatoes, and suspecting that he had not brought the quantity which she sent for, went and enquired, and finding he had not, in order to deter him from doing so again, locked him up in a garret: after he had been there some time she went to release him,

when she found him hanging, and no signs of life in him.

James Elliot, tried last Summer assize for a forgery 26th. on the Bank, and on a motion by his counsel for an arrest of judgment, the word pounds being omitted on the counterfeit note, was called up and acquainted with the opinion of the judges, which was, that his motion was unanimously overruled; and that sentence of death was to be passed upon him accordingly.

An order was sent to the Custom-house to stop all the 27th. French ships in the river Thames. The like orders have been sent to all the sea-ports of the kingdom. But, it is said, the French, having received intelligence of what had been done in their own ports, had most of them withdrawn.

Lord Stormont arrived at the Hotel in Suffolk-street, from Paris, and waited upon his Majesty at the levee, where he had the honour of a private audience.

A certain Baronet (Sir G. C—e), formerly the Director, and for a considerable time the sole manager of the affairs of the East-India Company, is said to have petitioned that company, praying an annuity of 200 l. to enable him to live and maintain his family. The petition was referred to a committee for their consideration, and it is generally imagined the prayer of it will be complied with. The Baronet, a few years since, was in possession of three hundred thousand pounds, a seat in the House of Commons, and a considerable share of parliamentary interest.—A most striking instance of the mutability of human affairs!

28th. Yester-



28th. Yesterday the royal assent was given to the following bills, which were passed by commission :

The bill for the more effectually preventing the forging of acceptances of bills of exchange, or number of principal sums of acceptable receipts, for notes, bills, &c.

The bill for building a prison in the county of Cornwall.

The bill for payment of costs to parties on complaints determined before Justices of the Peace out of sessions, charges to constables in certain cases, &c.

The bill for enlarging the pier and harbour of Scarborough.

The lottery bill.

And to several navigable, road, and inclosure bills.

The embargo laid yesterday upon French vessels will be far from an equitable retort upon that nation for the manœuvre, as the number of vessels is very unequal. The Court of France's sole motive was to engross a number of our seamen into their own hands.

Yesterday orders were sent from the Secretary of State's office to the Lords Lieutenants of the different counties, to embody the militia of each county immediately.

Several clauses are added this year to the Lottery Bill ; the principal of which are as follow :

“ To oblige every Lottery-Office keeper to take out a licence at the expence of 50 l. and give security not to infringe any part of the Act.

“ That no person shall dispose of any part of a Ticket in any smaller share or proportion than a sixteenth, on 50 l. penalty.

“ And that any person selling

any goods, wares, or other merchandize, or who shall offer any sum or sums of money, upon any chance or event whatsoever, relating to the drawing of any Ticket, shall be liable to a penalty of 20 l.

“ To enable the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury to establish an Office—all Shares to be stamped at that Office—The original Tickets from which such Shares are to be taken, to be kept at that Office, till a certain time after drawing—Books of Entry to be regularly kept.—Persons carrying Shares to be stamped to pay a small sum specified in the Act—Penalties for persons not stamped, and a clause for punishing persons who shall forge the stamp of any Ticket.”

*Frankfort, March 6.* We have accounts from Vienna, that the camp equipages of the emperor and the lords of his train are ready; and it is said, that besides the 20,000 Croats who are marching towards Bohemia to form a line there to prevent desertion, 25,000 of the Imperial troops have orders to be in readiness to march at the first signal; which orders have also been sent to all the troops in Bohemia.

*Versailles, March 21.* Messrs. Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, deputies from the United States of North America, had the honour to be presented to the King the 20th of this month, by the Count de Vergennes, Minister and Secretary of State for the department of foreign affairs.

*Paris, March 21.* The day before yesterday the count d'Artois, the French king's youngest brother,



ther and the duke of Bourbon, son of the prince of Conde, met in the presence of six noblemen, among whom were the marquis of St. Hermine and count of Bourbon-Basset; when the two princes drawing their swords, attacked each other with such fury, that they would soon have put an end to the contest, had not the noblemen present interfered. The count d'Artois was slightly wounded in the sword arm, the duke of Bourbon being a much better swordsman than his highness. The occasion of the quarrel was owing to the duchess of Bourbon having had the imprudence at the masquerade to lift up the mask of the count, who was incognito with a lady that she had dismissed from amongst her ladies of honour. The young spirited lover was so much incensed at this liberty, that he wrung the duchess's nose, and put all the court in confusion on that account. The King having heard of his rencontre, has exiled him to Choisi.

DIED. The Rev. and learned Dr. Samuel Ogden, Rector of Lawford, Essex, Woodwardian Professor at Cambridge.

Lately, at Wednesfield, near Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, William Iven, aged 115 years; he retained all his mental faculties till the day of his death, was remarkably chearful, and frequently heard singing. He married 4 wives, the last in his 105th year, through principle, as he declared when interrogated by the clergyman, as he had always led a virtuous life, and always would.

## A P R I L.

The Oxford canal from 1st. Coventry was finished on Monday last, to Banbury, when several vessels came up there with coals, which were sold at one shilling per cwt.

On Thursday last, at the assizes on the Midland Circuit held at Warwick, a cause was heard, of no little importance to persons engaged in partnerships. An attorney of Coventry undertook to place out at interest the sum of 500 l. which a gentleman entrusted him with for that purpose. The above attorney, it seems, gave his client a bond, as a security, the validity of which never was suspected till after the attorney's decease, when many forgeries being proved against his estate, the gentleman who was plaintiff in the above cause, found on enquiry, the bond which he had in possession was also a forged one; but recollecting to have paid part of the above sum into the hands of the partner of the above attorney, who was totally ignorant of his fraudulent proceedings, and, on the discovery of the forgery, tendered the whole of the money he had received to the plaintiff; who refused it, and accordingly brought his action to recover the whole of the money advanced on the bond given by the attorney; when, after many learned and ingenious arguments, the jury gave a verdict against the partner in the whole sum claimed by the plaintiff.

This day was sold, for one 4th. thousand guineas, the celebrated marble statue of a dog, known to the



the virtuosi by the name of Alcibiades's dog, and supposed to be the most exquisite piece of sculpture of the kind in the known world. It is said to have been purchased at Rome for 70 guineas.

7th. On Monday night, about two o'clock, the debtors in one part of the old jail of Newgate which remains on the north-side of Newgate-street, attempted to make their escape, and would probably have effected it, if some persons in the neighbourhood, who were alarmed at the noise, had not sent notice of it to Mr. Akerman, who soon arrived with proper assistance, when it was found the prisoners had broke from their upper apartments, and got to the lower outward door. They were secured, and a guard left to prevent any future attempt.

9th. The town and neighbourhood of Birmingham were greatly alarmed with a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain; such an one as is not remembered to have happened before so early in the year, by the oldest inhabitant, and by which much damage has been sustained. A windmill, standing at Holloway Head, suffered severely. A body of fire, in a south-west direction, and in shape like a weaver's shuttle, was perceived, by a gentleman riding on the Bromsgrove road, to strike obliquely the main-beam of the mill, which immediately split asunder; one of its sails, and a cog-wheel, were shivered in pieces, and it was otherwise materially injured; the miller was struck down by the violence of the shock, and remained senseless for some time. At Barr, a ball of fire came down the kitchen chimney of the Blue Boar, filled the house instantly

with a sulphureous stench, and then forced its way through the window, carrying the casement along with it. From other places we hear of houses being unroofed, trees split, &c.

This day a declaration was made of the numbers, upon the ballot for six directors of the East-India Company, when the suffrages appeared to be as follows:

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| William James, Esq.      | 846 |
| Wm. George Freeman, Esq. | 838 |
| John Stables, Esq.       | 837 |
| John Woodhouse, Esq.     | 829 |
| Laurence Sullivan, Esq.  | 491 |
| William Mills, jun. Esq. | 457 |
| John Pardoe, Esq.        | 343 |
| Alexander Hume, Esq.     | 324 |

George Wombwell, Esq. was afterwards elected chairman, and William James, Esq. deputy chairman of the above company for the year ensuing.

A court of common-council was held at Guild-hall for the election by ballot of the Marshals of this city.—On the close of the ballot there appeared 107 for Mr. Gates, and 89 for Mr. Miller, they being the only candidates; whereupon Mr. Gates was declared duly elected upper, and Mr. Miller under Marshal. The salary of the former is fixed at 250*l.* and the latter at 200*l.* per annum. Both are subject to the orders and regulations of a committee of the court. Formerly, these places, with those of Marshalmen, were enjoyed by purchase; they are now placed on a footing suitable to the dignity and opulence of the metropolis of the British empire.

The court then proceeded to the election of a Marshalman, when Mr. Will. Payne was appointed to that office.

Also



Also this day a petition was presented to Lord George Germaine, signed by all the merchants of Canada, now in London. This petition, after reciting several grievances, concludes thus:

‘ We beg leave to assure your lordship, that these causes, originating chiefly from the Quebec act, have concurred to spread a general discontent throughout the province, without any advantage to the parent state, and so far to alienate the affections of his Majesty’s subjects, as to give great reason to apprehend a disposition in them to change their present form of government, should such an opportunity unhappily offer.

‘ We therefore humbly intreat your lordship to take into your consideration the dangerous and confused situation of this colony, and grant us your patronage and assistance in endeavouring to obtain a repeal of the Quebec Act, the source of these grievances, and an establishment in its stead of a free government, by an assembly or representation of the people, agreeable to his Majesty’s royal promise, contained in his proclamation made in the year 1763. This measure alone, which we are firmly persuaded is founded equally on the principles of justice and good policy, is adapted to conciliate the minds of a dissatisfied people, to confirm their wavering disposition, and to restore that mutual confidence between the governors and the governed, which is essentially necessary to the happiness of both.’

16th. This morning the Earl of Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and William Eden, Esq; (the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty to treat with the Americans) embarked at Portsmouth,

on board his Majesty’s ship *Trident*, Capt. Elliot, which immediately dropped down to St. Helen’s, and sailed for America on the 21st.

Same day his Majesty went in state to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to

The bill to enable his Majesty to make provision for the younger branches of the Royal Family by granting them annuities.

The bill for laying a tax on all inhabited houses.

The bill for laying additional duties on French and other wines imported into this kingdom.

The bill for laying a tax on servants residing in Scotland.

The bill to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments within the time limited, and allowing a farther time for that purpose.

The town of Whitehaven in Cumberland, opposite the 23d. Irish coast, was suddenly alarmed by a party from an American privateer, who landed in the night, and set fire to one of the ships in the harbour, with a design to burn the town, which, however, was providentially prevented by the exertion of the inhabitants, who extinguished the flames before they had reached the rigging. One of the party, who was left behind, on his examination declared, that the party landed consisted of 30 men, that they belonged to the *Ranger* privateer, fitted out at Piscataqua in New England, Capt. Jones, commander; that she mounted 18 guns besides swivels, and had on board between 140 and 150 men; that she had taken two prizes and had sent them into France. The same privateer has since landed some



some men on the western coast of Scotland, and pillaged the house of Lord Selkirk, near Kircudbright, of plate, jewels, and all the moveables that were of value. His lordship was in London, but his lady and family were in the house.

*Edinburgh, April 27.*

The following are the particulars of the plundering of Lord Selkirk's house by the crew of the *Ranger*, an American privateer.

On the 23d of April, about ten o'clock in the morning, 30 armed men came in a boat from a privateer of 20 guns, and pretending at first to be a press gang, the men surrounded the house, and the officers entered and desired to see the heads of the family. As Lord Selkirk was then at London, Lady Selkirk made her appearance. They soon made known to her who they really were; said they meant to have seized Lord Selkirk's person, had he been at home, and to have carried him off, but all they now asked was to have the plate of the house. As there could be no thought of resistance, this was at once complied with; and having taken possession of it they marched off and reembarked. They behaved civilly, and only the officers presumed to enter the house, and happily her ladyship did not suffer from the alarm. It is worth observing, that the master of the privateer was born at that place, his father having been gardener to the Selkirk family. His real name is Paul, though he assumes that of Jones, to veil in some measure his crimes, for he has been guilty of two or three capital and atrocious offences in different parts of the British dominions.

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*Berlin, April 12.* On the 5th instant, his Majesty reviewed all the regiments of our garrison on the plains of Charlottenburgh, and expressed the highest satisfaction at the appearance they made: after the review he addressed all the general officers present, among whom were his royal brothers, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, in the following manner.

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ Most of us have served together from our earliest days, and are grown grey in the service of our country; we consequently know each other perfectly well; we have borne our share in the fatigues and troubles of war, and I make no doubt but you are as unwilling to shed blood as I am. But my dominions are now threatened: my duty, as a King, obliges me to protect my subjects, and to take the most speedy and efficacious measures to disperse, if possible, the storm that hangs over them. To effect these important purposes, I rely upon that zeal for my service, and that attachment to my person, which you have always expressed, and which I never yet failed to experience at your hands; and you may rest assured, gentlemen, that I shall ever acknowledge, with a heart-felt satisfaction, the services that I am sure you will render to your King and country. But let me intreat you never to lose sight of humanity, even when your enemies are in your power; and to cause the most exact discipline to be observed by the troops under your command. For my part, I wish not to travel like a King: rich and gawdy equipages have no charms for me; but, infirm as I now am, I cannot

(M)

travel



travel as I formerly did, when in the vigour of youth. I shall be obliged to use a post-chaise, I leave you at liberty to do the same; but in the day of battle you shall see me on horseback, and I hope that my generals will not fail, in that, to imitate their King."

After his Majesty had finished this address, the minister of the war department, declared that the King had been graciously pleased to order presents to be made in the following proportion to all the officers of the army, to enable them to equip themselves for the camp:

To every General 500 rixdollars

To every Colonel 200

To every Major 150

To every Captain 100

To every Lieutenant 80.

To every Ensign 60.

And that the pay of all the troops, from the day they take the field, shall be augmented one fourth as well in money as in provisions.

*Francfort, April 28.* The King of Prussia has actually made a movement in person against the Emperor, at the head of 200,000 men. This motion was made with so much secrecy, that it was not known till carried into execution, as the following laconic card left in his cabinet, addressed to the minister, sufficiently testifies—"You will find money enough in the treasury for the public supplies; I trust in God I shan't be long absent, as I am only gone on a small excursion, in order to teach a young gentleman in the neighbourhood his military exercise.—FREDERICK."

*Vienna, April 20.* The great quantity of snow, which fell dur-

ing 24 hours in Hungary a few days after Easter, has occasioned very considerable losses. In one part of that kingdom, near our frontiers, 20,000 sheep, a considerable number of horned cattle, and some thousand of horses have perished.

## LENT ASSIZES.

At Reading, 2 were condemned, 1 of whom was reprieved.

At Winchester 10, 2 of whom being for murder, received sentence of death.

At Northampton, 2 were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Salisbury, 6 were condemned, but all reprieved.

At Worcester, 3 received sentence of death, but reprieved.

At Maidstone, 7 prisoners received sentence of death, amongst whom was James Elliot, for a forgery on the bank, who was found guilty the preceding assizes, but his case left for the twelve judges.

At Aylesbury, 5 were condemned, 3 of whom were ordered for execution.

At Lincoln, 4 received sentence of death.

At Gloucester, Elizabeth Grimmett was convicted of the murder of her bastard child, and hanged; 5 other prisoners received sentence of death, of whom three were reprieved.

Mr. Baron Eyre in his charge to the grand jury informed them, that a plan is in contemplation for the punishment of criminals, by confining them to hard labour in work-houses to be erected for that purpose.

At Dorchester, 4 received sentence of death.

At



At Cambridge, 3 were found guilty, and sentenced to three years labour on the Thames.

At Huntingdon, 1 was capitally convicted, but afterwards reprieved.

At the same assizes, Ann Stimson, aged 10, Mary Bosworth, aged 9, and Mary Male, aged 8 years, were tried on an indictment for the wilful murder of Sarah Bright, an infant not four years old: The manner in which they committed this horrid act was, by fixing three pins at the end of a stick, which they thrust into the child's body, which lacerated the private parts, and soon turned to a mortification, of which she languished a few days, and then died.—The court and jury, after a very long trial, thought they were *non capax doli*, and acquitted them.

At Leicester, Elizabeth Johnson (alias Ball) and her mother, were indicted for the murder of a female bastard child, of which Elizabeth, the daughter, was delivered on the 13th of January last. The mother of the infant was found guilty, and immediately received sentence to be hanged; her mother was acquitted.

At Kingston assizes, (for Surry) 16 were capitally convicted, 6 of whom (all for highway robbery) were executed.

A bill of indictment was found against a capital tradesman in Southwark, for feloniously receiving two puncheons of rum, knowing them to be stolen. The tradesman is decamped to France. He is a freeholder to the amount of 300 l. a year.

Alexander McKey, was likewise capitally convicted, for shooting a lieutenant in the navy, and his

sentence left for the decision of the twelve judges.

Joseph Agnus, an Italian musician, was also found guilty of an attempt to commit a rape on Elizabeth Weichsel, an infant of about 11 years of age, to whom he was godfather.

At Oxford, Robert Hitchcock, a farmer of considerable property, at Coombe, near Woodstock, Oxfordshire, was tried for the wilful murder of his own father, condemned, and hanged.

Derby assizes proved a maiden one.

At York, 3 were condemned.

At Exeter, 14 received sentence of death, but were all reprieved.

—— Philips, a midshipman, committed on suspicion of murdering —— Collier, at Torbay, was also tried; his sentence is to be determined by the twelve judges.

At Coventry, the assizes proved maiden.

At Shrewsbury, 7 were condemned.

At Warwick, 8 were capitally convicted.

At Stafford, 8 were condemned

At Bury, 2 were condemned.

At Taunton, 5 received sentence of death, but were all reprieved.

At Brecon assizes, one Howell, a blind butcher, was convicted of stealing table linen, grain, leather, &c. &c. and sentenced to be imprisoned seven years.

At Chelmsford, 2 were capitally convicted.

At Thetford, 2 were condemned.

DIED, Mrs. Ross (the late celebrated Miss Fanny Murray) wife of Mr. Ross the comedian.

[M] 2

Hugh



Hugh Galfoot, Esq; in the 93d year of his age, who failed round the world with Lord Anson.

At Newton Regis, near Tamworth, in Staffordshire, Mrs. Elizabeth Worthington, in the 117th year of her age.

### M A Y.

4th. Three officers of the Excise having received intelligence that a gang of smugglers would pass over Black-friars-bridge into Surry on Monday morning, between the hours of twelve and two, applied for the assistance of the military, in order to make a seizure of the goods; they were accordingly attended by a serjeant and 22 horse grenadiers, dismounted. One of the officers, with three grenadiers, secured the gate, while the remainder concealed themselves on the London side of the bridge, to cut off their retreat. Soon after two the smugglers came upon the bridge, to the number of 32, but found themselves stopped, by the gate being secured; and at the other end the grenadiers were drawn up in a line, with their firelocks and bayonets fixed. The smugglers, however, formed in two lines, placing their loaded horses in the rear, and rushing upon the soldiers bayonets, broke through, and got clear off, except one man, who was stopped, and his goods seized. One of the smuggler's horses dropped down in the Old Bailey, being pierced in several places with the bayonets. Many of the others were wounded, and one of the men had his leg cut in three places. The grenadiers were ordered to fire, but expecting

no resistance, their pieces were not loaded. Several of them were hurt, by being thrown down and trampled upon by the horses. The value of the goods was supposed to be about 1000l.

In the court of King's-bench, was argued, for the 8th. last time, the question respecting the post-office, whether the postmaster was responsible for any loss sustained in his department? The action on which this question arose, was brought by the proprietor of the bank-note for which Mitchel was tried, condemned, and executed: counsel for the post-office contended the action was not maintainable. The question was ordered to be argued, and had been once before ably spoke to in the last term. After counsel had yesterday finished their arguments, the Earl of Mansfield delivered the opinion of the court, who were unanimous that the action could not be maintained: that since 1699, there was no action brought of this nature, though it was notorious that losses frequently were sustained; that it was the opinion of the people in general, that they could not resort to the postmaster; to prove this to be the universal opinion, his lordship mentioned the mode pursued by merchants in transmitting bills, by dividing them into two or three pieces, and inclosing them in different covers.

There was a numerous meeting at Northumberland- 9th. house, of all the nobility and gentry of the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle upon Tyne, to consider of the defence of the coasts of those counties, from invasion. His grace opened the business by acquainting the



the company, that there was too much reason seriously to believe that the French intended to strike some serious blow in that particular part of the island; of this, he said, there was alarming intelligence; the mode of warding it off, and of preparing for defence, he submitted to the judgment of the meeting. After some slight conversation, it was proposed that application should be immediately made, by the Duke of Northumberland and Lord Darlington, the lord lieutenant, to government, for five regiments, three of militia, and two of regular regiments, besides a regiment of cavalry, to be stationed at Sunderland, Durham, Newcastle, Morpeth, and Alnwick, and a general officer to reside in as central a situation as possible, and two thousand supernumerary stand of arms, two sloops to cruize off the coast; and on a motion of Sir Charles Hardy, two large ships of war, one to be stationed at the mouth of the harbour of Shields, and the other at Sunderland. These measures were agreed to.

Same day a trial of the pyx of all the monies coined in the Tower since Midsummer 1774, was made at Westminster before the lords of his Majesty's most hon. privy-council; when the gold monies, amounting to above sixteen millions of pounds sterling, were reported to be perfectly agreeable in firmness to the standard trial plates kept in the Exchequer for that service. It appeared on inquiry, that twenty millions and a half of guineas and half guineas had been coined in his Majesty's mint since the beginning of the year 1772.

12th. This evening, about 7 o'clock, a small boat, with

a sail, in which were three young gentlemen of Westminster-school, was overset by a sudden squall of wind opposite Vauxhall, by which accident two of them were drowned: the other was with difficulty taken up by a waterman from Vauxhall stairs. They prove to be the sons of Sir Charles Whitworth and Mr. Fenton. Dr. Warren's son was in the boat, but was fortunately saved.

Yesterday the House of Lords heard counsel in the writ of error between John Horne, appellant, and the King, respondent.

The attorney and solicitor general having finished their arguments for the crown against Mr. Horne, Mr. Dunning was heard in reply for the appellant; after which the chancellor, by desire of the House, took the opinion of the twelve judges upon the case. It was delivered by Lord Chief Justice De Grey, who, in the name of the twelve, pronounced in favour of the sentence passed upon the appellant by the court of King's Bench.

On the chancellor's putting the question, that the sentence be reversed, the non-contents were 20, and the contents only 4.

Yesterday the report was made to his Majesty in 14th. council, of the convicts who received sentence of death last February sessions at the Old Bailey, when the seven following were ordered for execution on Friday the 22d instant, viz. Edward Lake, on three indictments, for robbing on the highway; Thomas Osborne, for robbing Teresa Barkham on the highway; Philip Ramsay and William Murray, for a burglary in the house of Joseph Field; Tho-



mas Hughes, for feloniously stealing in the house of the Countess Dowager-Morton, 48 guineas and some apparel; Thomas Sherwood, for forgery; and Peter Ceppi, alias Scipio, for forcibly entering the apartments of Harriet Knightley, and firing a loaded pistol at her

15th. *Admiralty Office.* Extract of intelligence received by the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, in relation to the French fleet lately sailed from Toulon, as laid before both houses of parliament.

Received 11th April, 1778.—Count D'Estaing is to sail from Toulon between the 12th and 15th of this month, with ten ships and five frigates; his destination is not known, but it is imagined he is to go to Brest.

Received 15th April.—Count D'Estaing arrived at Toulon the 27th past, with unlimited powers. He has added two ships to his squadron.

Received 21st April.—Since the arrival of Count D'Estaing at Toulon, they have redoubled their activity in order to complete the arming his squadron.

Received 27th April.—The whole of Count D'Estaing's squadron, of which the following is a list, is in the road, and will sail to-morrow.

Count D'Estaing's squadron.

| Ships. Guns. Commanders. |    |               |
|--------------------------|----|---------------|
| Le Languedoc             | 90 | Mr. D'Estaing |
| Le Tonnant               | 80 | Brumon        |
| Le Cesar                 | 70 | Broves        |
| Le Zele                  | 70 | Barras        |
| Le Hector                | 70 | Mories        |
| Le Protecteur            | 70 | D'Apchon      |
| Le Marseillois           | 70 | Virtrieux     |
| Le Guerrier              | 70 | Bougainville  |
| Le Vaillant              | 64 | Chabert       |

|               |    |            |
|---------------|----|------------|
| La Provence   | 64 | Champorcin |
| Le Fantasque  | 64 | Suffier    |
| Le Sagittaire | 50 | D'Albert   |

Frigates.

| Vessels.     | Guns. | Commanders.        |
|--------------|-------|--------------------|
| La Fleche    | 26    | M. de Castellannis |
| L'Aimable    | 26    | Sr. Cofine         |
| L'Alomene    | 26    | Bonneval           |
| La Chimere   | 26    | Sr. Cezair         |
| L'Engageante | 26    | Previll            |
| L'Eclair     | 16    | de l'otte.         |

Received 27th April.—An account is received from Toulon, by express, of Count D'Estaing's squadron having set sail the 13th at four in the afternoon, with a favourable wind.

Received 5th May.—By the latest intelligence the armament at Toulon consists of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and four large armed xebecs, which are fitting with all possible expedition. It is thought they may pass the Straits of Gibraltar for Cadiz the first easterly wind.

In the court of common-council, the following letter was read, which had been received by the chamberlain from the speaker of the House of Commons:

“ Sir, I desire you will return my thanks to the court of common-council, for the honour they have done me, by making me a freeman of the city of London, an honour far beyond my expectation.

“ I had no other motive for my late conduct, than the faithful discharge of my duty; and upon the most careful review of all that has passed upon that occasion, I cannot wish to have omitted one word of that speech which has attracted this extraordinary notice of the common-council; for, besides the satisfaction which I feel in having done what I then thought, and

still



still think to have been right, I have had (what will ever be to me the pride and honour of my life) my behaviour repeatedly approved by the general and almost unanimous voice of the House of Commons, who alone, by this constitution, have the right to call in question and decide upon the parliamentary conduct of their speaker. I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

F. NORTON."

The above letter, being read, was ordered to be entered in the proceedings of the court; and Sir Fletcher having politely declined accepting the gold box, it was ordered to be reserved till a proper person can be found to be presented with it.—*Vid. An. Reg. 1777, Chron. p. 181.*

16th. Yesterday, by virtue of a commission from his Majesty, the royal assent was given to the following bills, viz.

The bill to raise a certain sum by loans on exchequer bills for the service of 1778.

The bill to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices within the time limited, and allowing them a further time.

The bill to allow a further time for the inrollment of deeds and wills made by Papists, and for the relief of protestant purchasers.

The bill to continue and revive several expiring laws.

The bill to repeal such part of an act as relates to the manner of discharging bonds given on the exportation of goods to foreign parts.

The bill to amend an act for the relief of the poor, so far as relates to the apprenticing parish children.

The bill to enable the city of London to raise a sum of money for completing the building of Newgate, and for other public purposes within the city.

And to several other public and private bills.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dalhousie, his Majesty's 21st. Commissioner to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, delivered his commission to that assembly, together with his Majesty's letter and royal warrant for 1000 l. to be employed for the propagation of protestant schools in the Highlands of Scotland. A committee being appointed to draw up an answer to his Majesty's letter, it was debated, whether a clause should be inserted, expressing the assembly's concern on seeing a bill brought into parliament for repealing those laws that respect Roman Catholics, and praying his Majesty to discountenance the same, as tending to frustrate the very purpose for which the royal bounty was granted; but it passed in the negative.

This morning the following 22d. convicts were executed at Tyburn, according to their sentence, viz. Thomas Sherwood, for forgery; Edward Lake and Thomas Osborne, for highway robberies; Philip Ramsay, William Murray, and Thomas Hughes, for burglary; and Peter Ceppi, alias Scipio, for shooting at Harriet Knightley, and wounding her in a dangerous manner.

This day, by virtue of a commission from his Majesty, 28th. the royal assent was given to the following bills, viz.

The bill for granting to his Majesty a certain sum on a vote of credit, for the service of 1778.



The bill for granting to his Majesty a certain sum out of the sinking fund.

The bill for raising a certain sum by loans on exchequer bills.

The bill to prevent the clandestine conveyance of sugars from the American colonies.

The bill for the relief of insolvent debtors.

The bill for the more easy and speedy recruiting his Majesty's land forces.

The bill to enable the trustees for different turnpikes, to carry into execution such acts as relate to the tolls for horses, &c. employed by officers and soldiers on duty.

The bill to continue an act for punishing convicts by hard labour.

The bill to apply the sum granted for the pay and cloathing of the militia.

The bill for allowing the exportation of certain enumerated goods directly from Ireland, to any of the British plantations in America, or any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa.

The bill to allow the free importation of cotton yarn, manufactured in Ireland, into any of the British ports.

The bill for the relief of protestant purchasers of forfeited estates in Ireland.

The bill for relieving his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, from certain pains and penalties imposed on them by an act of King William.

And to several other public and private bills.

By the bill for the relief of Roman Catholics above mentioned, the clause in the act of William the Third for prosecuting of popish bishops, priests, or jesuits, is to

be repealed; also the clause for subjecting Papists keeping schools for the education of youth to perpetual imprisonment; also the clause that disables Papists to inherit lands by descent, and gives to the next of kin (being Protestants) a right to inherit such lands; also the clause that disables Papists from purchasing manors, lands, or hereditaments, in England or Wales; but leaves all lands in possession just as they were, and all causes in litigation, as if this act had never been made; and the benefits arising from it are, on condition of taking the oath of allegiance within six months after its passing into a law.

The coach-revenue of last year, amounting to 117,000 l. shews that 23,000 coaches had paid duty; allowing three horses to every coach, one with another, their number will amount to 69,000.

This evening three riding officers belonging to the 30th. customs, meeting a man, said to be a smuggler, near Epfom, endeavoured to stop him, when the latter made the best of his way to town; the officers pursued him, and during the pursuit, several shots were exchanged; at length arriving in Fetter-lane, Fleet-street, about ten o'clock, another skirmish ensued, when one of the officers, who had received several wounds, shot the smuggler in the body, who was immediately carried to an inn in Holborn, where he died soon after. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against the officers.

*Extract of a letter from Dublin, May 31.*

“ On the 11th instant an action, brought by the Rev. Edward Berwick,



wick, against the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of this college, for rejecting the plaintiff's vote at the late election for members to serve in parliament, was tried at the bar of the court of Common-pleas, by a special jury of respectable citizens; when, after hearing the plaintiff's evidence, and several of his counsel, the court, without hearing any witness on the part of the defendant, having unanimously declared that it appeared from the plaintiff's evidence that the defendant had acted by the advice of counsel, and that therefore no improper motive could be imputed to him, the jury found the defendant not guilty. The question of law relative to the plaintiff's right of voting, was not determined, nor was the charter of statutes on which that question depended, laid before the court. It appeared in the course of the trial, that the action was not supported at the expence of the plaintiff, but by contribution. This was the first action of that kind ever brought in Ireland."

DIED, Mrs. Catherine Wilson, at Carlisle, aged 97. Her two sons (Christopher and Joseph Philipson, Esqrs.) paid her a visit last summer, and found her in such high health, that she both danced and sang. It is remarkable, that she retained all her senses in full perfection to the last. She lived to see the fifth generation, and her eldest son is now said to be in his 82d year; so that she must have been married at *fourteen*.

Mrs. Sparrow, in the 100th year of her age, at Lymington.

John Lambart, at Kendal, aged 103. He lived a servant in one family near 70 years.

## J U N E.

A general embargo was laid on all shipping in the different 1st. sea-ports in Great Britain, on Saturday morning last:—The same morning early about fifty lieutenants and midshipmen drew up their gangs on Tower-hill, afterwards manned fifteen galleys, and then surrounded every tier of ships, so that no sailors could escape on shore. All the tenders were filled with men.

A large American privateer, mounting 16 carriage guns, and several swivels, landed at Foggyton, near Bamff, in the north of Scotland, and plundered Messrs. Gordon's house, carried off the plate and other portable effects; but the country being alarmed, they soon moved off.

The court of Common- 2d. Pleas, in the case of Mr. Swain (the man impressed from the service of the Navy Board, by a warrant from the Admiralty), have declared, that when a freeholder enters into the profession of a seaman, he gives up his right of protection from being impressed, because, by his knowledge, he becomes eligible to the service of the navy.

His Majesty went in state to the House of Peers, and put 3d. an end to the sessions.

Before his Majesty came to the House of Peers, Edward Thurlow, Esq; late Attorney-General, took his seat by the title of Lord Thurlow, Baron Ashfield; and after the parliament was prorogued, Earl Bathurst went to St. James's, and resigned the seals into his Majesty's hands, which were immediately presented to Lord Thurlow.

Tuesday



Tuesday was tried before Mr. Justice Blackstone, at Westminster, an action of trespass, brought by Mr. Davies, hosier, in New Bond-street, against Mess. Constable, Venables, and Burton, three custom-house officers, for having entered his house, and seized (as smuggled) divers goods to the saleable value of 172l. 10s. 6d. On the part of the defendants, who rested their case on the general issue, it was urged, that as they acted under an information, and had taken things, which (though not contraband, had all the appearance of being so) they were not trespasses under the act of 19 Geo. II. which excuses officers from damages when among the things they may seize any part of them be really prohibited; but as all the goods of the plaintiff in this case were proved to be legal, and as the information was not in *writing*, or *on oath*, but consisted only in conjecture, raised in the mind of some rival in trade of the plaintiff's, the jury, under the candid and constitutional direction of the judge, considered the defendants as trespassers on the common rights of Englishmen, and found a verdict against them for 300l. including the value of the goods.

*Oath, June 2.* On Tuesday last Mr. Hill, of Marlborough, had a wen extirpated from his shoulder, which had been growing many years, and weighed upwards of eleven pounds. Mr. Hill is in a very promising way of doing well.

4th. Passed the great seal commissions authorizing the Earl of Buckinghamshire, to give and declare the royal assent to the following acts of the Irish parliament:

An act for continuing an act for the further encouragement of tillage.

To explain a statute of Henry the VIIIth, intituled the Act of Faculties.

For the better preservation of fish, in rivers, lakes, and inland waters.

For the further encouragement of the whale fisheries carried on from Ireland.

For reviving and continuing several temporary statutes.

To amend an act to regulate the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in parliament.

For the relief of insolvent debtors.

For preventing the cutting or destroying of plain, stained, or printed linens, cottons, lawns, or muslins, or other manufactured goods.

For regulating the price and assize of bread, preventing frauds and impositions in the sale of flour, meal, beer, ale, potatoes, butcher's meat, and other articles sold by weight or measure in the county of Dublin.

To amend and continue an act for better regulating the baking trade in the city of Dublin, and for other purposes.

For enforcing a due execution of the laws, relative to turnpike roads in that kingdom.

To amend an act for amending the public roads.

To explain and amend the acts made for the encouragement of the fisheries of that kingdom.

For encouraging the planting of timber trees.

For preserving the health of prisoners in gaol, and for preventing the gaol distemper.

To oblige ships more effectually to perform quarantine, and for better preventing the plague being brought



brought from foreign parts into Ireland, and to hinder the spreading of infection.

And to five private bills.

5th. A motion for raising 300,000 l. by way of tontine, at seven and an half per cent. with increasing interest, was made and agreed to in the Irish House of Commons.

7th. Last week, at the sessions in the court of King's-bench, Westminster-hall, an action was tried by a special jury brought for a breach of marriage contract. The defendant was the son of an eminent weaver in Spitalfields, and the plaintiff a lady of some property in that neighbourhood. It appeared in evidence, that the acquaintance first commenced upon honourable terms, several years since; but the lady's father not being able to give a fortune equal to the expectations of the defendant's father, the defendant's father disapproved of the match; but the young couple liking each other, continued to keep company until after the death of the lady's father, who left her a fortune at her own disposal. Soon after her father's death, she went to live in one of her own houses separate from her mother, where she and the defendant soon became intimate, and lived several years as man and wife, in the opinion of all their acquaintances; nay, the young man's father dined at his son's, where the lady sat at the head of the table as the wife; but a disagreement arising between them, the gentleman availed himself of the lady's having no legal tie upon him, quitted her, leaving her with child. They soon came together again, at which time the contract proved upon trial was made. The only defence set

up by the defendant's counsel was, that his father did not consider the match prudent, and as he found his son was not married, never would give his consent. Earl Mansfield summed up the evidence with great precision, and the jury retired to consider of their verdict, and in half an hour returned into court, and gave the plaintiff 1200 l. damages.

An inquisition was taken 15th. on the bodies of two men near Leiton, who were suffocated in a subterraneous place, in which was concealed a large quantity of liquors. The men were master and servant, the former of whom first went in to take out some of the liquor, but not returning, the latter followed him, and he also not returning, a third person attempted to enter, but was happily prevented by touching the feet of the servant, who had fallen down dead close to his master, and near the entrance of the place, which, from the emission of prodigious damp and foul air, appeared not to have been opened for a considerable time past.

This evening one Lloyd, 21st. in Parker's-lane, Drury-lane, having had some words with his wife, pulled a knife from his pocket and stabbed her in the neck, at the back of her head, and afterwards struck her on the forehead: he then attempted to escape, but was apprehended, notwithstanding he made a stout resistance.—Next day the woman died in the Middlesex Hospital. The prisoner was on his examination touching the matter when the news of her death was brought. On being acquainted with it, he said, "I thought she could not have lived so long." During his examination it



it appeared that the prisoner and the deceased had dined together with some friends at their own room in Parker's-lane; that after dinner, one of them had taken the liberty to kiss the deceased, which was construed by the prisoner as too great freedom; that he stifled his revenge till the company were gone, and being somewhat intoxicated with liquor, which fomented the rage of jealousy, perpetrated the deed.

23d. This morning the following six malefactors were carried from Newgate and executed at Tyburn, viz. Francis Lewis Cromison, alias Grimison, for stealing out of the house of Colonel Edmonds, in Queen-square, Westminster, where he was butler, a large quantity of plate; Henry Jordan, William Turner, and Joseph Davis, for breaking open the house of Mrs. Errington, known by the name of Copenhagen house, near Islington, and stealing a quantity of wearing-apparel, silver plate, and cash; James Fryer and Thomas Horner, for breaking open the dwelling-house of Mr. Daniel Clewin, at Finchley, and stealing a silver cup, a silver watch, and several other things of value.

On Tuesday evening a warrant from the office of the Earl of Suffolk was sent to Newgate, respiting the execution of Thomas Condon (who was convicted with Fryer and Horner, of burglary in the house of Mr. Clewin, at Finchley) until the 1st day of July next; his companions having declared when they received the sacrament, that he was not concerned in the robbery.

Thomas Condon, who was to have been executed yesterday, obtained his reprieve through the

intercession of a magistrate, who received a letter from one of the unfortunate malefactors the day before, acquainting him in the most solemn manner, of the innocence of Condon, of the charge for which he was condemned.

The following is the substance of the confession of Horner and Fryer, which was laid before the privy council, and was the ground on which they granted Condon a respite.

That Horner, Fryer, Gentleman Harry, alias Sterne, Hartley, and Bean, were the only people concerned in the robbery at farmer Clewin's, and that Condon and Jordan were innocent; but they did not deny Jordan's being concerned in the robbery at Copenhagen house.—That in the robbery at Enfield-wash, where the servant was so terribly cut, the gang consisted of Fryer, Gentleman Harry, and Bean; that Horner was at the same time in Clerkenwell-bridewell, as a disorderly prisoner; and that Fryer brought him five guineas, being his share of the booty, as he was to have been concerned in the robbery; and that Fryer was the person who cut the servant.

Last week the purchase of the Opera House was completed; Messrs. Harris and Sheridan paying down 10,000*l.* to Messrs. Yates and Brookes, and giving security for the remaining twelve. 28th.

The following unfortunate accident happened lately at farmer French's, at Stanmore, in Middlesex: A number of hay-makers and labourers having taken their repose, as it is common in the country in hot weather, under the side of a hay-rick, containing about sixty



sixty loads, the rick, by over-weight at the top, overset upon them, and smothered them. Three women, one man, and a child, have been got out dead.

The following is an authentic account of the summer encampments :

*Salisbury.* 1st, 2d, 3d, and 6th dragoon guards.

*St. Edmundsbury.* 3d, 4th, 7th, and 10th dragoons.

*Coxheath, Kent.* 1st battalion of royals, 2d, 14th, 18th, 59th, and 65th regiments of foot, 1st regiment of dragoons, and twelve regiments of militia.

*Warley Common, Essex.* 6th, 25th, and 69th regiments of foot, and six regiments of militia, viz. the Somerset, Wilts, Kent, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke.

*Winchester* 30th regiment of foot, six regiments of militia.

Three regiments of militia at Plymouth, two ditto at Portsmouth, and one at Dover.

*Vienna, June 10.* By letters from Moldavia we learn, that the Hospodar of that principality, lately raised to that dignity, did not long enjoy it, the Grand Signior having sent a person to demand his head, which, it is said, was executed without any obstacle. The good understanding and harmony between that prince and Russia, has been the chief cause of his death.

DIED, at her apartments in Oxford-street, Miss Mary Lydia Lucrine, a maiden lady of genteel fortune, and who some years since meeting with a disappointment as to matrimony, made a vow " never to see the light of the sun again : " accordingly the windows of her apartments were closely shut up, and she strictly kept her resolution.—A few days ago, another

lady, who had resolved " never to see the light of day again," from a matrimonial disappointment, lived shut up in darkness (at least she had only a lamp or candle burning) in Charter-house-street; and this lady, like the above, rigidly kept her maiden vow.

The Rev. James Hampton, at Knightsbridge, Rector of More-Monkton, and of Folkton, in Yorkshire, and well known to the learned world for his translation of Polybius.

## J U L Y.

A court was held at the East-India House in Leaden-<sup>1st.</sup> hall-street, when, among other matters, it was moved and carried, that the next dividend be eight per cent. on the whole stock, subject to the determination of the proprietors.

The chairman was much pressed to read a copy of a letter from the Nabob of Arcot (the original of which was in the possession of Lauchlin Maclean, Esq; who, it is supposed, is gone to the bottom in the Swallow), but opposed the motion with all his power, and got the better of it. The purport of the letter is said to be a declaration of the Nabob to throw off the yoke of the Company, and submit himself as a tributary to the King of Great Britain, confessing no other superior, and determining in future to pay no price for the Company's protection.

Same day, at the final close of the poll at Guildhall for chamberlain, the numbers were, for Benjamin Hopkins, Esq; 1216; and for John Wilkes, Esq; 287; majority 929.



*Cambridge.* “The prizes of fifteen guineas each, given by the representatives in parliament for the university, for the best essays in Latin prose, are this year adjudged to Mr. Gretton of Trinity, and Mr. Wakefield of Jesus College, Senior Batchelors; and to Mr. Rennel of King’s, and Mr. Taylor of Bennet College, Middle-Batchelors.”

4th. The several depositions on the part of Earl P—cy, in a libel for a divorce against his lady, were read in the consistory court of Doctors Commons, when Dr. Bettsworth pronounced immediately for a divorce.

8th. Fahrenheit’s thermometer, on Sunday last, in town, and an eastern aspect in the shade, at half past one, was at  $78\frac{1}{4}$ ; at three was at 79, where it remained till the thunder storm, after which it fell about two degrees. These observations were made on a very correct instrument, which stood near a window which was open; the gusts of wind which occasionally entered, were as hot as if it had come from a furnace.

*Ipswich, July 11.* Tuesday the 23d ult. an exhibition was made at Lowestoff of the new invented lamp to give light to ships out at sea. It consists of above 1000 small mirrors, fed by oil, which reflect the light. It answered beyond expectation, and is much superior to the present light-houses. A ship was sent out to sea, when the people on board saw it many minutes before they could the light-house; at four leagues distance it appeared like a globe of fire in the air.

17th. Sir Alexander Leith, Bart. and member of parliament, surrendered himself at the bar of the Old Bailey, to take his trial

on a capital indictment on the prosecution of Benjamin Pope, Esq; before the Judges Nares and Buller. Mr. Pope being examined by Serjeant Davy, counsel for Sir Alexander Leith, kept the court in a continual laugh: it appeared from his own confession, that Sir Alexander Leith had instituted divers suits in law and equity against him, previous to his criminal complaint; and that those suits, or the dread of their consequence, gave birth to the present prosecution; for on his being asked, If he did not rely on Sir Alexander’s conviction as the only means of barring the several suits against him? he, to the astonishment of the whole court, calmly replied, That he had been told, if Sir Alexander was hanged, the suits would abate. Here the bench reprobated the prosecution in terms of the utmost severity, and mentioning something relative to the prosecution to Mr. Bearcroft, counsel for the prosecution, he instantly replied, “If I am asked the question by the bench, I declare there is not a shadow of cause for the prosecution.” Here the business closed, and the bench granted Sir Alexander a copy of his indictment.

[The indictment charged Sir Alexander with feloniously stealing, taking, and carrying away, a quantity of plate and household furniture. There was also a second count in the indictment, charging Sir Alexander with horse-stealing, viz. feloniously stealing, taking and carrying away three horses, the above plate, household furniture, and horses, being the property of Benjamin Pope, Esq;]

An indictment was tried in the court of King’s-bench, on the prosecution of Mr. Davis, against the Governor



Governor and Council of Bengal, for false imprisonment, and sending him home to England. He proved his case, and his authority from the company. The defence set up consisted of three parts; first, That he was concerned in a conspiracy in 1776; this was advanced by counsel, but not proved; the second, That his licence was to trade as a mariner only, and not to intermeddle in the inland trade; and the mistake in his licence was not a justification, as his petition was for liberty to trade as a mariner, and not to trade as a merchant; the third ground of justification was, the construction of the statute justified the company's servants taking up any Englishman in the dominions of an Indian prince, where we had no settlement; this the company's counsel insisted they had a right to do. Lord Mansfield said, That the last justification was of the utmost importance to the company, and if the jury found that the prosecutor had acted in India contrary to what he knew he should have done, then the question of construction should be reserved for the opinion of the judges. The jury found for the prosecution.

20th. The sessions ended at the

Old Bailey, when thirteen prisoners received judgment of death, twelve were sentenced to hard labour on the river Thames, twelve to hard labour in Bridewell, four to be imprisoned in Newgate, sixteen branded, twelve to be whipped, and fifteen discharged by act of parliament.

Lyon Lyons, convicted in January sessions of shooting at Thomas Goodall, received judgment of death.

A cause came on in the court of Common-Pleas, 21st. Guildhall, before Lord Chief Justice De Grey, wherein Capt. Nicholls was plaintiff, and Governor Verelst, and some inferior officers, defendants. The action was for false imprisoning the Captain at Calcutta, on charge of carrying on a trade which they deemed illegal. The trial began at nine o'clock in the morning, and lasted till after five in the evening. The jury withdrew about three quarters of an hour, when they returned with a verdict for the plaintiff.

At a burying-place called Ahade, in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, there was lately dug up a piece of flat stone, about three feet by two, the device on which was a figure of death, with a bow and arrow, shooting at a woman with a boy in her arms; and underneath was an inscription in Irish characters, of which the following is a just translation:

"Here are deposited, with a design of mingling them with the parent earth, from which the mortal part came, a mother who loved her son to the destruction of his death. She clasped him to her bosom with all the joy of a parent, the pulse of whose heart beat with maternal affection; and in the very moment whilst the gladness of joy danced in the pupil of the boy's eyes, and the mother's bosom swelled with transport—Death's arrow, in a flash of lightening, pierced them both in a vital part, and totally dissolving the entrails of the son, without injuring his skin, and burning to a cinder the liver of the mother, sent them out of this world at one and the same moment of time, in the year of Christ 1343."

23d. The



23d. The following are some of the mischiefs done by the late terrible storms of lightening, &c.—A barn belonging to the rectory farm at Rampton, in Cambridgeshire, was set on fire and consumed, together with twenty quarters of wheat, ten quarters of beans, a new cart, several ploughs, and other implements of husbandry.—A man was struck dead near Battle-bridge.—Four cows belonging to Mrs. Laycock, of Islington, grazing in a field near the New River reservoir, were all struck dead.—Seven sheep and a heifer were found dead on Hounslow Heath.—At Hanwell and at Laleham a great deal of damage was done, several barns being set on fire.—At Weybridge, in Surry, a man and his two daughters were struck dead.—The turret clock upon Mr. Green's house, brewer, at Pimlico, was set on fire and destroyed; but by the timely assistance of the engine on the premises, further mischief was prevented.—One Cheaphouse, a carpenter at Lambeth, driving a horse over St. George's Fields, in order to draw a piece of timber, was struck dead.—As Mr. Nelme, jeweller, at Clerkenwell, was crossing his own yard, he was struck speechless, and continued in that state about seven hours, when he began by degrees to recover, but remains exceeding weak by the violent shock he received.—A young woman big with child, going along Thames-street, was struck, and taken in labour in the street. Some people humanely put her into a coach, and went with her, in order to convey her home to Lambeth, but she died without being delivered, just before she reached the place of her

abode.—At Millington Hospital, near Shrewsbury, it entered the roof of an apartment where no person was, melted the pewter, broke all the earthen ware, &c.—We hear from Oswestry, that it entered the kitchen of a carrier of that town, and killed a maid who was rocking the cradle with a child in it; but though seven more people were in the same room, not one of them was hurt.—A barn belonging to a farmer at Shepperton, caught fire by a flash, and was consumed, as were several loads of hay.—A cottage, about half a mile from the above place, was also burnt down by the same accident.—A hay-stack belonging to a farmer on Epping-forest, was set on fire and entirely consumed.—A man, his wife, and two children, standing at the door of a house at Chigwell, in Essex, were all struck dead.

All deserters from any of the military corps, are infu- 25th.  
ture to be sent to the East Indies, or the coast of Africa, for life:—this new regulation has been read at the head of every regiment in Great Britain and Ireland, by his Majesty's order.

There is now growing in the garden of Charles Leigh, Esq; of Addington, in Lancashire, a serpent melon, which measures in length, five feet two inches and an half. The fruit of this curious plant, grew to the above length in fourteen days, and for a week past has continued increasing in thickness.

*Ipſwich, July 31.* On Saturday a gang of smugglers, consisting, as was reckoned, of 140 men, landed a large quantity of tea, and other dry goods, which they loaded into



27 carts, near Orford; they also had with the above carts two other carts, which contained 56 half-ankers of spirits. As they were on the road not far from, and leading to, Melton, they were overtaken by Mess. Planner, Brock, Burdett, and three other officers of excise, who began to seize the foremost carts, and a smart scuffle ensued; but the great superiority of the numbers of the smugglers, forced the officers soon to desist from their attempt to seize the dry goods, with which the smugglers got clear off. However, the two carts, and 56 half-ankers of spirits, fell into the officers hands, and are safely lodged in the Custom-house.

DIED, at a village near Reading, John Jackson, aged 93, and James Jackson, aged 87. These two brothers were old bachelors, and afforded a striking instance of the insufficiency of wealth to create happiness. Though these old men had been blest with great riches ever since they were 20 years of age, they absolutely denied themselves the common necessities of life; and lived in the village for fifty years past as poor men, and often accepted of charity from rich persons who resided near them; they never suffered any woman or man to come into their apartment; (which was only one shabby room) and about three weeks ago were both taken ill, and after languishing a short time, they expired on the same day, within an hour of each other. It is computed by their writings, that they have died worth an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

In his 130th year, John Watson, Keeper of Lime park, Cheshire.

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At Paris, aged 120, Henry d'Arcary de Beauconvoy, Lord of Co-vicmont, Knight of the order of St. Louis, Governor of Beauquesne, &c.

In the parish of Kinnes, in Scotland, Isabel Guthrie, aged 105; she had three husbands, the last of whom she saw christened in her second husband's time; she kept a public house in that parish ever since the year 1690.

*Letter from Smyrna, July 3.*

“ This day the city of Smyrna, the richest city in the Levant, after being kept in continual agitation by a succession of shocks from the 25th of June, was thrown into universal consternation by the most violent earthquake ever known in that part of the world. Many houses were destroyed, together with four mosques, and three public baths, and many people buried in the ruins; forty men were buried by the fall of one mosque, some of whom were dug out alive twenty-four hours after; between seven and ten in the morning were two more violent shocks, which were followed by twenty-four others; between that time and midnight the next day (the 4th) the earth shook again five or six times, but less violent than the day before: every shock was preceded by a subterraneous noise, like the report of cannon. The 5th was a more terrible day than the preceding ones. The earthquakes began on that morning at half an hour past one, and the earth was not still one moment till eight o'clock; during that space there were nine violent shocks, which threw down walls and houses, and caused a fire which lasted twenty-eight hours; and as there

[N]



there were thirteen other shocks before midnight, no succour could be given towards putting a stop to the progress of the flames; every one endeavoured to make his escape; many of those who staid to take away their effects were crushed in ruins of houses; every building was consumed as far as St. Venerando, when, there being nothing more to burn, the fire stopped in the mountains; more than half the city, and all the richest quarter of it, is burnt down; the houses of the French, English, Neapolitan, Venetian, and Ragu-san Consuls, were consumed among the rest; and, what was more terrible, three dervres, or places built on purpose to secure things from fire, were burnt down, which was never known to have happened before, and they were full of valuable effects; and many magazines were consumed. Notwithstanding these calamities, there were people who had villainy enough both to be incendiaries and thieves. The desolation is beyond conception, and the damage so great that it is much doubted whether this city will ever recover it. It is a most shocking sight to see the neighbouring mountains covered with people of all nations wanting the necessaries of life; and their situation is the more deplorable, as the magazines of wheat, rye, barley, coffee, &c. are burnt."

#### SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Northampton 1 condemned, but afterwards reprieved.

At Guildford 5,—2 of whom, viz. Joshua Crompton, for forgery; and R. Pendleton, for the murder of his wife, were executed.

At Abingdon 5,—2 reprieved.  
At Winchester 5,—3 reprieved.  
At Kingston upon Hull 1 for coining.

At Huntingdon 2; but reprieved.

At Salisbury 1—reprieved.

At York 1—reprieved.

At Maidstone 5,—2 reprieved.

At Lincoln 4—all reprieved.

At Nottingham 2—reprieved.

At Derby 1—reprieved.

At Shrewsbury 2,—1 reprieved.

At Exeter 1.

At Chelmsford 8,—4 of whom were executed.

At Warwick 5,—2 of whom (women) for the murder of their children, were executed.

At Gloucester 6—reprieved.

At Hereford 1 for murder executed.

Hertford, Leicester, and Worcester proved maiden.

#### AUGUST.

Friday last, about eleven<sup>1st</sup> o'clock, during a violent storm of thunder and lightning, as a team of six oxen belonging to farmer Pincott, of Saddlewood, in the parish of Hawkesbury, were at work in Treffam Field, the whole team in an instant was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The boy who was driving them had stopped the beasts, and was standing by way of shelter close by the middlemost ox; he was rendered insensible for some time, but afterwards recovered. One of the yokes was splintered, and it is supposed that the chain served as a conductor to the lightning. The boy's back was singularly marked; the lightning had perforated his coat in two different



different parts, and left five places in his back where the skin was crased, about the size of a shilling, and had the appearance of a burn from gunpowder.

3d. Came on before Earl Mansfield, at Guildhall, an action brought by the city against the fruit-people of Kent, Essex, Berkshire, &c. for refusing to pay 1s. 8d. for landing their goods at Blackfriars stairs; when after two hours hearing the city was nonsuited.

The court of session of Scotland have lately determined a cause of great importance to the public. The proprietors of the bank of Douglas, Heron, and Co. having lost their whole capital paid in, a demand was made upon them some time ago of 300l. more upon each share; this was refused to be paid by some of the proprietors, upon the grounds, that they were not liable for more than their stock, and that great part of their loss was occasioned by the directors borrowing money on annuities, which they had no power to do. To this it was replied, that the directors had full power to borrow money for the use of the company; but at any rate the creditors of the company must be paid, in whatever manner the directors and proprietors might settle the matter betwixt themselves afterwards. The court unanimously found the proprietors obliged to pay the additional call of 300l. each share, and also found them liable in costs of suit.

5th. Mr. Thomas Linley, a celebrated performer on the violin, and eldest son of Mr. Linley, one of the proprietors of Drury-lane Theatre, fell out of a boat into a lake belonging to his

Grace the Duke of Ancaster, at Grimsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, and was unfortunately drowned. He remained under water full forty minutes, so that every effort made use of to restore him to life proved ineffectual.

Last year there were upwards of 400 lottery-offices in and about London only; but the late act obliging the keepers of them to take out licences at the expence of 50l. the whole number at present for all England, as appears by the list published by authority, amounts to no more than 51.

This day died, raving mad, the only daughter of Mr. 7th. Grassing, a wine-merchant, in Thames-street; who was bit by a favourite cat about three weeks ago.

This morning about five o'clock, by virtue of an in- 9th. formation, some custom-house officers, assisted by a file of musqueteers, entered the Fleet Prison, in search of run goods, on which the prisoners were much alarmed, and some little resistance was made; but after the soldiers had knocked two or three of them down, they retired, and left them to search for the goods. Previous to their going, the officers had obtained leave from the Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, to enter with their arms to prevent any mischief being done to them by the prisoners. The seizure consisted of 2491 lb. weight of tea, 1874 lb. weight of coffee, several large bags of chocolate, weighing 1020 lb. and a large quantity of lace, worth about 1500l. The way these contraband articles were got into the above prison, was by ladders raised on the outside, and the goods let down on the inside, but not for the use or



benefit of any of the prisoners, except what they got for warehouse-room from the smugglers, who for a long time past have secreted articles in the above prison to a very large amount.

*Norwich, Aug. 11.* This day a very interesting cause, respecting common rights, was tried between Henry Wells, of Banham, plaintiff, and Thomas Watling, of Winfarthing, defendant, on an action brought by the plaintiff, on behalf of himself and the other inhabitants of Banham, against the defendant, for his keeping and depasturing upon the large waste called Banham Heath, a very considerable number of sheep more than he could keep levant and couchant upon the lands in his occupation; when, after a hearing of three hours, the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with damages and costs.

Same day passed the great seal a commission empowering the lords of the Admiralty to issue letters of marque, also authorizing them to send like powers to the Governors of the Leeward Islands, and in the West Indies.

The same time a commission passed the great seal empowering the High Court of Admiralty to condemn such prizes as shall be taken from the French.

*14th.* This morning a terrible fire broke out at farmer Auger's, at Walthambury Farm in Essex, occasioned by a stack of hay being put up too soon, which entirely consumed the same, together with the barns, stables, out-houses, granaries, all the waggons, carts, ploughs, &c. two horses, and the produce of 150 acres of corn unthreshed. The damage is com-

puted at 3000 l. and upwards. The dwelling-house and furniture are saved.

Lately the court of session of Scotland determined a *15th.* cause of great importance to the liberty of the subject. The law regarding recruiting, to prevent persons being trepanned, when drunk, &c. humanely gives a certain time for those who are enlisted to get off, upon returning the enlisting money, and what is called the smart money. It has been doubted whether the time allowed by act of parliament is twenty-four hours or four days. Three persons who had taken the enlisting money, had offered to return it, with the smart money, on the third day, which was refused, as it was alledged it ought to have been returned within twenty-four hours. This gave rise to the present action. The court unanimously gave the cause in favour of the three men, and established this important point, that any person enlisted may be set at liberty, upon returning the money within four days.

On Saturday a French *17th.* signalment, or hue and cry was received at the Public office in Bow-street, from the Lieutenant-general of the police at Paris, giving an account of a most horrid murder, committed by a fellow whose surname is Richard, and a woman whose name is Serard, or Suer, with a particular description of their persons. The murder they committed is perhaps beyond example; after having poisoned her husband, in concert with the above Richard, in order to put him out of the way, that he might not be an interruption to their criminal correspondence; he had scarcely been buried



buried before they formed the hellish design of poisoning five children, the offspring of the above Richard. This infernal purpose they completed, and poisoned every one, with so strong a potion, that they swelled instantly beyond credibility, and died in a few hours in the most excruciating torments; the eldest was a fine young girl of about seventeen, and the youngest about three years of age, all of whom were buried together in one grave, at Lalande upon Maine. Although the strictest search has been made all over France, and the conquered countries, yet these detestable beings have escaped that justice due to crimes as accumulated as they are monstrous.

18th. Last week Mrs. Johnson, of Thames-street, coming over Moorfields, found a pocket-book containing bank notes to the amount of 1000l. which she carried to Mr. Drummond, banker, at Charing-cross, when he generously gave her 50l. for her honesty. And the next morning the same gentlewoman found a gold watch belonging to Mr. Drummond's brother, which she carried home, and received a reward of 20l.

25th. In the West-India islands there has been some disturbance about the King's duty, which stands thus: four and a half per cent. is to be paid to the crown out of all sugars and rum exported from the islands. The usual method has always been, to pay in rum and sugar, the former of which was usually sold on the island, and the latter sent to England to be disposed of. Hogsheds of sugar are esteemed at 12 cwt. though some run as far as 13, 14, and sometimes 15 cwt. yet the duty was al-

ways paid reckoning them at 12 cwt. Sometimes the sugar was not so good as that for which it was paid, and on the passage to England accidents have happened by weather and leakage; to prevent any loss in future, and to make the utmost of the duty, a collector on a certain island has refused to accept the sugars, as formerly, at an estimate, but insists upon a full four and a half per cent. agreeable to what is shipped. The planters have therefore agreed not to ship any till the matter is settled on the old foundation and usage; and we are happy to hear that this matter will be shortly settled, as Admiral Barrington carried over instructions to receive the duty as heretofore it has been accustomed to be received.

There is now growing in a gentleman's garden at Spondon, near Derby, a cucumber that measures 19 inches in length, and 30 in circumference. It is supposed to weigh near 20 pounds, and is still in a thriving state. There are others on the same bed, which, though not so large, are nevertheless of an amazing size.

There is also now growing in a garden belonging to Mr. Richard Hobcraft, in the parish of Bucknall, in the county of Oxford, a thistle called the *Carduus Benedictus*, which measures above seven yards in circumference, is upwards of seven feet high, and has upon it more than 120 heads.

A remarkable instance of the fury of disappointed love manifested itself in the desperate attempt of one Empson, a footman to Dr. Bell, on the life of a maid-servant belonging to Lord Spencer. The fellow, having courted her for some



time in vain, at last caused the banns to be put up in church, without her consent, which she forbade. Being thus disappointed, he meditated revenge; and having got a person to write a letter to her appointing a meeting, he contrived to way-lay her and surprize her in Lords Spencer's park: on her screaming, he discharged a loaded pistol with intent to kill her, and then made his escape. The ball wounded her, but not mortally.

The following are the particulars of the evidence on which Mary Knight was convicted of the wilful murder of her eldest son. The only witness was a younger brother. The story the boy told was credible: That the deceased was sent into a field to glean; that when he came home his mother beat him with a great stick, for not bringing more corn; that he cried sadly, and she shut him up in the pantry; that some time after the witness called him to come to play, but he made no answer; that he opened the pantry door, and took hold of his hand; that it felt cold; that he told his mother that Roger (the deceased) felt cold, and asked her to let him come to the fire; that his mother went into the pantry, brought Roger wrapped up in her apron, and carried him out of doors; that he looked under the door, and saw her throw him into the well; that when she came in again she put the stick she had beat him with into the fire; that before it was burnt out the neighbours came in, and took the deceased out of the well, and the stick out of the fire, which last was produced in court. On this evidence, and these circumstances, the woman

is said to have been convicted and executed.

*Copy of a letter from the French King to the Count d'Orvilliers.*

*Versailles, Aug. 1.*

“ I have received, Sir, with the greatest joy, the news of the combat which you have sustained against the English fleet; and am exceedingly pleased to find that by your prudent conduct, and excellent *manœuvres*, you have justified the choice I have made of your naval abilities. I desire you will let the officers, and all your seamen in general know, that their gallant behaviour has met with my full approbation. I sincerely feel for the wound of Mr. Duchaffault, but I hope that it will have no dangerous consequence, and that he will soon be able to prosecute his good services. I have given strict orders that every proper care should be taken of the wounded, and I desire you to assure the widows, as well as the relations of the deceased, that I am extremely grieved for their loss.

“ M. de Sartine shall impart you my further orders, and I have every reason to believe that they will be executed with success.

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”

*Paris, Aug. 21.* This day the pregnancy of the Queen of France was publicly declared, and received with all the usual rejoicings and demonstrations of joy.

DIED, at his house in Chiswell-street, Mr. William Caslon, to whose skill and ability, added to the ingenuity and invention of his father, (dead twenty years since,) Great Britain is indebted for the superiority she enjoys over every country



country on the face of the globe in the art of letter-founding; an art obviously and essentially important to a nation, whose great and glorious characteristic is the freedom of its press! Letter founding was first practised with reputation and success in England, by Mr. Caslon's father; since his death it has been brought to wonderful perfection by his son. Before the art was discovered by Mr. Caslon's father, we had all our printing types from Holland, and other parts of the continent; since his discovery, the most elegant editions of our most valuable authors, as well as those of other countries, have been printed at home and abroad on English letter; and of late years it has been universally confessed that the most beautiful types the world has produced, have been cast in the foundery in Chiswell-street.

Capt. Maurice Suckling: he commanded the Dreadnought in that very memorable engagement, when three English men of war, under the command of Commodore Forrest, defeated a squadron of seven French men of war off Cape François, in October, 1757.

William Lee, Esq; chief clerk on the pleas side in the court of King's Bench, by whose death a place of 4000*l.* a year is become vacant, the appointment to which, for two lives, rests with the Earl of Mansfield.

At York, aged 87 years, Mr. Thomas Gent, printer, citizen of London, York, and Dublin, author of the Antiquities of York, Hull, Ripon, &c.

The Rev. Dr. Barnardiston, master of Bennet College, Cambridge, principal librarian of that university, rector of Folmeston,

in Norfolk, and one of the prebendaries of Lincoln.

## SEPTEMBER.

The following singular transaction happened last 1st. week in the city:—One Watts, a clerk to Mess. Bartlett and Co. at Edinburgh, having got 1600*l.* in his possession, the property of his master, 1000*l.* of which was a draft on Messrs. Hog and Co. of Foster-lane, Cheapside, London, payable on sight, to a Mr. Montgomery, sat off from Edinburgh on Wednesday last, with the cash and draft, and arrived in town on Saturday morning. When he got to the corner of Foster-lane, he accosted a person with ‘Sir, will you be so good as to direct me the straight gait to Maister Hog’s,’ pulling a paper out of his pocket. I don’t rightly understand you, Sir, said the person; you seem to be a foreigner; let me see the paper. On reading it, he said, Oh, Sir, you want Mr. Hog’s, in Foster-lane? ‘Yes, Sir, (said Watts) it is Maister Hog’s; do you ken the house?’ I’ll shew you, Sir, said the man, and directly took him to the house, while Watts presented the draft for 1000*l.* and said his name was Montgomery. His kind conductor, however, happened to be Charles Jealous, one of Sir John Fielding’s men, who was waiting in the street with others, in hopes of meeting with the raw Scotchman, which he, luckily for Messrs. Bartlett and Co. did, and on searching him, found the other 600*l.* all but 9*l.* spent in travelling expences. This, being in law called a breach of trust, the



note and cash was taken from Maister Watts, in the presence of his master Mr. Bartlett, who happily got to town time enough to give proper information at Bow-street, and thereby saved his property.

*Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, September 7.*

“ Early on Monday morning it was discovered at Forton prison, near Gosport, that fifty-seven prisoners, all Americans, had effected their escape in the night. Immediately the picquet guard from Weovill camp, scoured the coast and country, and the alarm was made as general as possible, so that it is hoped they will soon be retaken. The black-hole in which the refractory have been confined, is immediately under the room where the other prisoners sleep; those in the dungeon had for several days undermined and worked a subterraneous passage, which led beyond the wall that incloses the prison, so that they had only to open the ground upwards into the country, where they knew there was no guard to discover them. A hole sufficient to admit a man through, was made from the ceiling of their bed-room down to the black hole; by which they had conveyed up the rubbish brought from the working below, some of which they had put into their beds, and some into the chimney, and the hole was easily covered over with a bed when any person came into the room, to prevent any suspicion of their intention. The prison is by no means adequate to the purposes, and, if continued, ought to be inclosed with a very high wall, some distance from the house.

*The following is a Copy of the Letter sent by Mr. Oliver, in answer to*

*the Request of his Friends, to stand for the Mayoralty for the ensuing Year.*

“ Gentlemen,

“ I AM extremely sorry that the situation to which extreme misconduct, and extreme infatuation, have at length reduced this country, constrains me to return your obliging compliment an absolute and firm refusal of the honour you propose, by your intended nomination of me at Michaelmas.

“ Instead of taking upon me any further trust, I must propose to resign back into the hands of my fellow-citizens, those trusts with which they have already honoured me;—I mean my gown as an alderman of London, and my delegation as one of their representatives in parliament. The greatest part of my property is vested in the once flourishing West-India Islands, a part of the remaining colonies, which still, I hope, continue to belong to the crown of Great Britain. But in whatever possession they may now or hereafter be, the precarious state of that much injured property, will speedily demand my presence, and it never was my intention to hold an office, and neglect the duties by absence. My case in this respect, is only similar to that of many persons more, whose property is situated as mine is; and those who seem least willing to admit it, will find at last that there is a reciprocal duty, and that allegiance will always go together with protection and justice.

“ In every part of the world I shall always carry with me a grateful remembrance of the honour conferred upon me by the good opinion and confidence of my fellow-citizens, and shall quit a coun-  
try



try in which I have been so honoured, with the deepest regret—a regret which receives no alleviation, but what is furnished by those who have caused the necessity of quitting it.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest esteem and gratitude,

Your much obliged,

and faithful humble servant,

*Margate, RICHARD OLIVER."*

*Sept. 6, 1778.*

*Camp at Coxheath.* This 11th. day was appointed for the execution of Bryant Sheridan, who was sentenced to be shot. The picquet guard of every regiment, marched early in the morning to the right of the dragoons, and formed two battalions about 200 yards from each other, with their flanks against a small wood; parties of dragoons paraded to keep persons from entering the wood, and about ten o'clock every regiment formed in the front of their lines; the soldiers on the quarter-guards were drawn out on the rear of their guard, by which means there was a lane of soldiers from one end of the camp to the other. About twelve o'clock the procession began from the bottom of the left wing, as follows:—

Ten pioneers.

Major on horseback.

Grenadier company.

Provost on horseback.

Chaplain on horseback.

Prisoner.

Six men appointed to shoot him.

Cart to receive the body.

Colonel.

The royal Irish regiment, forming a hollow square, with the drums (muffled) and fifes playing the dead march in Saul, in the centre.

Adjutant.

They marched up the centre of the parade, and round the end of the dragoons, at which place the Welch regiment were formed. When the procession reached the place where the piquet guards were drawn out, it wheeled, and marched up between the two battalions, and halted in the centre. The prisoner then had a cap put on; and the chaplain began praying to him: after a small time spent in prayer, General Keppel arrived, and immediately spoke aloud, to the following purport: "The prisoner, Bryant Sheridan, has been tried for desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot; but his Majesty has been graciously pleased to pardon him, on condition that he do, as soon as possible, transport himself to Senegal, and there serve his Majesty for the remainder of his life." The prisoner immediately kneeled down, returned thanks, and was directly conducted to the Provost's.

The prisoner marched with great fortitude, and we hope the procession had a good effect on the minds of the men in general.

A few days since, as some labourers were at work in a bean-field at Sudbury green, near Thrapstone, in Northamptonshire, they discovered a great quantity of small coin scattered over the surface of the ground, and in digging found many more buried beneath it. On examination, they proved to be silver pieces, of a penny and a halfpenny value each, and to have been coined in the reigns of Edward I. and II. at London, York, Canterbury, and divers other parts of the kingdom, particularly at Hadley, in Suffolk, and at



at Chester, the coinage of which latter place is scarce. There were amongst them a considerable number of Scotch pennies in silver, the coin of Alexander, and John Baliol, Kings of Scotland, and several Irish pieces of the same value, which appear to have been made at Dublin and Waterford, in the reigns of the before-mentioned Kings of England.

21st. The sessions, which began at the Old Bailey on the 16th, ended, when the following convicts received sentence of death: Fr. De Lile, for stealing jewels, &c. to a considerable amount, in the dwelling-house of the Hon. Henry Neville, Esq. George Goodwin, and Joseph Green, for a robbery in the Five Fields, Chelsea; James Durham, for horse-stealing; John Frederick Ludovick Giebelhansen, for shop lifting; John Jones, a brick-maker, for a rape on a girl not ten years of age, who worked with him; Margaret Fillstone, for stealing divers articles from the dwelling-house of Thomas Hunt, in Spital-fields; Patrick Boyle, for a robbery near Shadwell Workhouse; James Farmer, for a burglary at Chelsea; Francis M'Cawley, for street robbery.

At the above sessions, Thomas Robinson was convicted of feloniously killing and slaying Frances Pickwell, a woman with whom he cohabited, and in a sudden quarrel threw at her a pair of scissars, which penetrated an artery in the left side of the neck, of which she died in a very short time.

22d. The grand dock at Hull, said to be the largest in England, was opened for the reception of ships.

Came on at the palace of Holyrood-house, in Scotland, the election of a peer of that kingdom in parliament, in the room of Lord Viscount Irvine, deceased; when John Marquis of Lothian, was unanimously chosen.

Near 500 of Lord Seaforth's Highland regiment, who had deserted, had taken possession of Arthur's Hill, near Edinburgh, with a design to defend themselves to the last extremity; but the prudent application of Gen. Oughton, and other leading officers, persuaded them to return to their duty, on promise of free pardon. They had been led to believe that they were to be sold to the East-India company.

This day the lord mayor and court of aldermen met at Guildhall, to swear into the office of sheriffs for the city of London and county of Middlesex, John Burnell, Esq. and Henry Kitchen, Esq.

Yesterday being Michaelmas Day, the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, &c. met in the council-chamber at Guildhall, when the common serjeant came forward, and opened the business which called them together that day.

Sir Watkin Lewes then came forward on the Hustings, and addressed the livery to the following purport:

"Gentlemen, and fellow citizens, "I was called on this day, by a very respectable body of the livery, to offer myself to this great and important city, which is in a very dangerous situation at this time, as we are engaged in a war with two powers, and that things grow worse and worse every day, which makes



it necessary for you to be very cautious in your choice."

After which Mr. Baker came forward, and addressed the livery, assuring them, that should Mr. Oliver resign his seat in parliament, his intentions were to offer himself a candidate to represent this city; and if he should be honoured with their choice, would pay the greatest attention to the welfare of this city in particular, and the nation in general; which was received with shouts of joy throughout the hall. He then made a motion, that an address of thanks be delivered to Frederick Bull, Esq. John Sawbridge, Esq. Richard Oliver, Esq. and George Haley, Esq. representatives of this city, for the diligent and upright attention they have paid, during their seats in parliament, to the duties of their office.

All the aldermen below the chair, who had served the office of sheriff, were then put up, to serve the high office of lord mayor, when the show of hands appeared for Alderman Plumb, and Alderman Kennet, who were returned to the court of aldermen for their election of one of them, when they made choice of Alderman Plumb, and he was declared duly elected: being invested with the chain, &c. he made a short speech to the livery, thanking them for the honour they had conferred upon him, and assuring them that he would, to the utmost of his abilities, execute the duties of his office with honour and integrity.

*Constantinople, Aug. 3.* The plague continues to render our situation in this capital very disagreeable, which has induced most of the merchants to go into the country, so that trade here is en-

tirely at a stand. This disorder rages as violently as it did in the year 1751, and is computed to have carried off upwards of 80,000 people in this capital.

DIED, Thomas Towers, Esq. of the Inner Temple, who has, by his last will, left a legacy of 1500 l. to the corporation of the Marine Society, in Bishopsgate-street, by which that truly patriotic body will be enabled to pursue the great object of their designs: their finances being much reduced by their having clothed near 1500 landmen volunteers, and near 400 distressed boys for his Majesty's navy, since the month of April last, renders this assistance peculiarly serviceable.

## O C T O B E R.

The parliament, which stood prorogued to Thursday 1st. the first of October, is further prorogued to Thursday the 26th of November next, then to sit for the dispatch of business.

A letter from Plymouth, dated Sept. 29, says, "This day arrived the Porcupine man of war, Capt. Finch, and has taken and brought in *La Modeste*, a French East-Indiaman of 1000 tons, richly laden from China."

*La Modeste* was parted in a gale of wind from three other French East-Indiamen, about four days before she was taken. As the frigates belonging to Admiral Keppel's fleet were all out cruising for them, their escape would be an almost impossibility.—The Porcupine sloop was on her voyage from Lisbon for England, when she fell in with the above ship. Her lading chiefly consists of tea, and her value is estimated at 300,000 l.



300,000l. sterling; 150,000l. of which money has been underwrote by the English underwriters.

*The following is the Motion made by Mr. Baker, at the Common-Hall, held on Michaelmas Day last.*

“ That the thanks of this common-hall be given to John Sawbridge, Geo. Hayley, Richard Oliver, and Frederick Bull, Esquires, the representatives of this city in parliament, for their steady and uniform opposition to the measures of a weak and wicked administration, whose injustice, obstinacy and folly, have rent the empire, and lost to Great Britain her most valuable possessions in America; who have diffused discord and distrust at home, and tarnished the glory which English virtue and English valour, had acquired in every quarter of the globe; and who (in the hope of escaping punishment in the general calamities of their country), to the miseries of an unnatural civil contest, which they fomented, have added those of a foreign war.

“ That under these unhappy circumstances, the representatives of this city, on whose spirit, probity, and judgment, we have the most firm reliance, be requested to continue their honest endeavours for the reformation of those abuses which have boldly invaded, and now make a part in the management of our public affairs; and that they will prosecute to shame and punishment, the authors of our present disgraceful councils, wisely remembering, that it is by such critical exertions alone, of the individual citizen, in times like these, that what remains of our empire and constitution, can be preserved from utter ruin.”

Which question the lord mayor refused should be put; and after a long altercation on the subject, in which the sense of the livery appeared to be nearly unanimous for putting the question, Alderman Lewes was voted into the chair, when a liveryman proposed it again, as well as the following resolution; both of which being put, were voted unanimously:

1st, “ That Sir James Esdaile, the lord mayor of this city, deserves the *censure* of the livery of London, for refusing to put to the vote the thanks of the livery to their representatives in parliament, for their steady and uniform good conduct in opposing the measures of the present administration.”

2dly, “ That the thanks of the livery be given to Sir Watkin Lewes, and to Wm. Baker, Esq.”

*Portsmouth, Oct. 4.* “ This morning arrived at the Mother Bank, two Liverpool privateers, with a French homeward-bound East-Indiaman, taken by them; she is called the *Gaston*, with a French general on board. She is said to be valued at 500,000 l.

The reason of the above ship proving so very valuable is, that besides her own cargo, she has on board the most valuable part of another Indiaman lately wrecked there.

*Dublin, October 6.* This harbour is now perfectly secured from any attempts which might be made against our shipping by the enemy; two floating batteries are now moored at the entrance into Poolbeg; they are two large Newcastle cats, one of them mounting 20 eighteen pounders, and the other 24 twelve pounders.

Late one evening last week, as a young gentle-

8th.  
man



man was passing by Scotland-yard, in a heavy shower of rain, a woman decently dressed begged the favour of him to hold a child she had in her arms whilst she shook the water off her cloak: the gentleman good-naturedly complied with her request. She then took off her cloak and shook it, and retired a little way up the gateway, which the gentleman imagining to be occasioned by a circumstance she did not chuse to mention, waited contentedly with his face to the road, and the child in his arms, till he thought a sufficient time elapsed; and then turned round to re-deliver the child to her, but no woman was to be found. The watch coming up, the gentleman informed him of the trick, and he with his companions made a diligent search for the woman, but in vain; and the unwary young fellow was obliged to carry the child himself to the workhouse in St. Martin's lane, none of the watchmen choosing to relieve him from his burthen. It is remarkable the infant continued in a sound sleep till brought to the workhouse, where, on examining it, it proved a fine boy, supposed to be about half a year old, very neatly dressed, and with a supply of all the necessaries for a child of that age.

This evening, about a quarter past seven o'clock, their Majesties set out from St. James's, to stand sponsors to the new-born daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Chandos. Her Majesty was dressed in white silk flounced with silver, and a superb diamond stomacher. The Countess of Hertford, as lady of the bed-chamber in waiting, attended on the occasion, as did the maids of honour,

all dressed in white. His Majesty was attended by Lord Hertford and the Earl of Winchelsea. The Princess Royal did not go from St. James's, as expected.

The canopy, gold fringe and tassels, and illumination of lamps in the hall, at the entrance of the house of his Grace the Duke of Chandos, for the reception of their Majesties and the Princess Royal, the rich canopy under which they sat, the new chairs and cushions for the christening of his grace's new born daughter, with the chandelier and other decorations, are said to have cost upwards of 3000*l.* besides the apparel of the child during the ceremony, being of the richest laces, to the amount of 700*l.*

This night, about twelve o'clock, died the new-born 9th. daughter of his Grace the Duke of Chandos; and on Saturday morning, a messenger was dispatched to Windsor to acquaint their Majesties and the Princess Royal of the death of the child.

The case of Mr. Chapman, the ingenious painter, 12th. who died lately, was as singular as it was dreadful. About a fortnight ago he was overtaken in the park by a fellow, who asked him if he had any money? Mr. Chapman said, "'Tis an odd question—but I have four or five shillings." "Shillings! (said the other) If you had said guineas, it might have done." "What do you mean?" (said Chapman) "Why (cried the villain) you have attempted an unnatural crime, and I shall swear it." This he did before a magistrate, and Mr. Chapman was obliged to give bail to answer the complaint; which so affected him that he lost all memory and recollection, being reduced to the condition



condition of an ideot; and dying suddenly, a jury sat on the body, and brought in their verdict "*died of a fright!*"

14th. This day the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following convicts received sentence of death:

William Holloway, for feloniously assaulting William Proffitt in a field near the highway on Chelsea common, and robbing him of an ink-case, a tobacco-box, and 14s. 6d. in money; George Graham, for feloniously forging and uttering a certain order, purporting to be the order of John Miller, Esq; one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, for the payment, by the treasurer of the said county, of a certain sum of money as and for a reward for apprehending a vagrant; Mary Lightbourn and Mary Grove, alias Penticrofs, for feloniously assaulting Ann Rawlinson, an infant about nine years of age, in a field leading from Sadlers-wells to Bagnigge-wells, and robbing her of about fifteen ounces of silk, the property of Samuel Cluen, and a cloak, the property of Elizabeth Rawlinson; and Michael Swift, late a convict on board the ballastlighter.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 17.* On Tuesday last, the synod of Glasgow and Ayr appointed a day of public fasting and humiliation to be held within their bounds on the second Thursday of December, on account of the various evils which at present much abound, but particularly on account of the rapid progress of infidelity, and the encouragement given to Popery. The synod likewise appointed a committee to wait upon the Lord Ad-

vocate, to inform him of the spirit of the people in that part of the country respecting the relaxation of the Popish penal laws, and requesting his lordship, if any motion is brought into parliament for extending that relaxation to Scotland, to give it all the opposition in his power. They also recommended it to all the ministers of the synod to revive the study of the Popish controversy, and preach frequently against it.

An odd kind of robbery 18th. was committed last Monday night in Petty France, Westminster. One woman robbed another of a child. She took it forcibly away from her, and almost in an instant was out of both sight and reach. In about an hour the child was found, naked as when born.

The British channel is now so covered with our men of war, privateers, and letters of marque that it is scarcely possible for any of the French merchant ships to escape. The Lisbon packet was spoke to and boarded by upwards of forty different cruizers in coming across the channel.

John Holt and Andrew Carleton, for breaking open 19th. the warehouse belonging to the White Horse, and stealing plate to a very considerable value; John Meadows, for a highway robbery; John Milbourn and Rob. Allen, for a burglary in Holborn; Henry Scott, for a robbery in the Green-park; and Lyon Lyons, for burglary; were executed at Tyburn pursuant to their several sentences at the Old Bailey. Lyon Lyons was attended by a Jew Rabbi, and behaved becoming his melancholy situation.



22d. It is computed that upwards of forty sail of French West-Indiamen have been taken, since the commencement of the present disputes, which, at an average, considering each ship at 15,000 l. value, amounts to the sum of 600,000 l.

The distemper among the horned cattle having broke out on the Ukraine, the importation of horned cattle, and every article relating to them, was prohibited from Russia.

27th. Sarah Drake, house-keeper to the Rev. Mr. Cayley, at Brompton-low Hall, near Leeds in Yorkshire, in crossing the Derwent, had the misfortune to fall off her horse into the river, and would have infallibly been drowned, but for the sagacity of a dog, who getting hold of her cloaths, brought her so near the bank, that she was drawn out by the butler, who was in company with her, and soon after recovered.

28th. The river Iser, which rises in Dauphine, swelled to such a height by an almost incessant rain of several days, that it overflowed the whole low country, from Grativordan to the frontiers at Savoy. The damage is immense.

The Moselle in Germany rose, at the same time, two feet and a half higher than in the inundation in 1774.

29th. The Jew priest of the Hamburgh Synagogue, in Fenchurch-Street, was divorced from his priestess. The ceremony observed on this occasion was very solemn; there were four Jew Rabbins; two attended each party. After the parties had stated

their complaints and objections to each other, they asked the priestess if she was willing to part with her husband; she replied "Yes;" the priest then spit in her face, to shew his contempt for her; she in return did the same; the priest threw the bill of divorcement at the priestess; she with open arms, and hands expanded, received it with such avidity as convinced the whole assembly with what satisfaction she was willing to separate from her husband. That done, they again spit in each other's face, and exclaimed, "Curfed be they who ever wish to bring us two together again."

There was lately buried at the parish-church of St. Giles in the fields a publican near Bloomsbury-square, whose death was occasioned by the following deep-laid fraud practised upon his wife. About a fortnight ago four men, genteelly dressed (having, as supposed, watched the husband out) went to the wife, and enquired whether they could have a dinner dressed, and have a room to themselves? being told they might, they ordered a handsome dinner, and were shewn to a room up one pair of stairs. After they had dined, they drank pretty plentifully, and seemed to be passing their time in a very merry and friendly manner. About the usual time for tea, one of them came down, and begged the landlady to favour him with a dish, saying his friends above stairs were men for whom he had the sincerest regard, but that they were very hard drinkers, and were continually jeering him, because he could not keep up with them. The landlady and he then sat down together,



ther, and when it was over, the rest came down; and after ridiculing the other as a milk sop, paid the reckoning (which amounted to near thirty shillings), and all went off together in a coach. But the landlady, having occasion soon after to go up stairs, discovered that, while one of the pretended gentlemen was amusing her at tea, the others had broke open the bed-chamber and a bureau in it, from whence they had stolen near 200*l*. When the husband returned, and was informed of what had happened, it had such an effect upon him, that it bereaved him of his senses, and he remained in a state of insanity till his death.

**DIED**, Peter Plympton, Esq. aged 101, at his house near Uxbridge, worth 20,000*l*. in cash, besides a large landed estate, which descends to two maiden sisters; one of whom is aged 99, and the other 95, and at their decease the whole devolves to a third cousin, who is a soldier in the guards.

## NOVEMBER.

**1st.** The greatest seizure was made of smuggled goods between Lymington and Christ-Church, that has been known for many years. Twelve loaded waggon, and 50 horses were brought to the custom-house at Southampton. The whole are valued at 5000*l*.

Dr. Carpenter, titular Archbishop of Dublin, at the head of 70 of his clergy, and several hundred Roman Catholic laity, attended at the court of K. B. in that city, and took the oaths pre-

scribed by the late act for the relief of Roman Catholics in that kingdom.

On Wednesday a model of a statue to be erected to the 2*d*. memory of the Earl of Chatham done by the same artist who executed that of Alderman Beckford, now placed at the bottom of Guildhall, was produced before the committee appointed by the city to consider thereof, when the committee approved of the same, and ordered it to be prepared with all expedition, and to be erected, when finished, on the upper husting in the hall.

Tuesday last the principal 3*d*. body of merchants, trading to, and who have property in the Leeward islands, waited on Lords North, Germaine, and Sandwich, acquainting them, “that, since the last remonstrance relative to the protection of their properties in the Leeward islands, they had been roused to a more immediate sense of their danger by the capture of Dominica; a capture, the suddenness of which, and the easy manner it was effected, that cannot but give them the strongest fears about many more of the islands, where they have a property (including Jamaica) of no less than fifty millions of money; they therefore prayed their lordships, particularly the first lord of the Admiralty, that they would take such measures as to them seemed most fitting for the further security and protection of those islands.”

Lord Sandwich answered them, “that the board of Admiralty no doubt, had the general protection of commerce much at heart, but that the Compté D’Estaing’s fleet had so deranged the purposes of the

the



the board, that a home defence was to be their first object.'

Upon this they asked his lordship, 'whether he had any positive information that the Compté D'Estaing had gone again to the West-Indies.' To which he answered, 'he did not at present positively know, but that, if he had, Admiral Byron had orders to pursue him whither he went, and he hoped would soon be able to give a good account of him.' Here the conference ended for that day. When

On Friday last the same body renewed their application for the protection of their property with greater earnestness, on account of some fresh advices they had received in the interim, but received the same answer; they then called upon the first lord of the Admiralty to take notice, that they had discharged the duty they owed themselves, and the public, and retired.

*Extract of a Letter from Bath,  
Nov. 3.*

"Yesterday, according to septennial custom, the tomb of Thomas Fletcher, who was lutenist to Queen Elizabeth, was opened in the Abbey Church, and the bodies of him and his wife exposed to such as had tickets to enter the church, during the hours of one and two. The bones of Mrs. Fletcher are all in their proper place, and she appears a complete skeleton, in the form she was laid out at the time of her death. The body of Thomas is inclosed in a paste, not unlike that composition which surrounds the Egyptian Mummies, and his

bones would be quite invisible had not a little bit of the upper crust been broken in. It is said that he gave directions in his will to be thus exposed at certain stated times. There is no inscription on the monument, but if I mistake not, there is an epitaph on this musician, in Music's monument, by Mace, a lutenist of Cambridge, who, I believe, was living when Fletcher died."

The synod of Dumfries, after the example of that of 4th. Glasgow and Ayr, met on the 20th ult. and appointed a solemn fast on the first Thursday of December, on account of abounding sin, and present melancholy state of public affairs. The synod also appointed their moderator to write to the lord advocate, requesting him to oppose any alteration in the Roman Catholic laws in Scotland.

A question of importance to the mercantile part of 10th. this country was argued and determined by the Judges of the court of King's Bench. An action was brought on an agreement entered into to pay a sum of money at a period expressly mentioned; before the time of payment came, the defendant took the benefit of an Act of Insolvency, which was pleaded by him in bar to the action. This being a question of law, and of great consequence to the subject, it was left on trial for the judgment of the court, and after a very solemn argument, it was the opinion of the Judges, that the defendant could not plead the Act of Insolvency, as the plaintiff at that time could not claim a distributive share of his assets, his



debt not being legally due until the expiration of the time specified in the agreement.

11th. Mr. Recorder made his report to his Majesty of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, when Michael Swift was ordered for execution on Wednesday the 25th instant.

The following were respited, viz. William Holloway; George Graham; Mary Lightbourne, and Mary Graves.

This afternoon Mr. Powell, the noted walker, started from Lee-Bridge, to run two miles in ten minutes for a wager, which he lost by only half a minute.

One day last week a gentleman who was passenger on board the Carnatic French East-Indiaman, lately taken by the Mentor, Capt. Dawson, arrived in town, and went in a hackney coach to the chambers of an attorney to enquire for a near relation. After staying a short time with his friend, he came down stairs; but was greatly chagrined to find the coach gone, and the more so, as he had unadvisedly left a trunk in it, containing near 3000*l.*—2300*l.* in bills of exchange, and the rest in pagodas. On consulting his friend how to act, they agreed to go to the street where the coach was taken, and there fortunately found a watchman who remembered the coachman, and directed them to the inn where he put up. They then went to the inn, but the man was not to be heard of; however, the gentleman found all his property within 50*l.* in his room.

19th. At a court of common council held at Guildhall, it was moved, that the thanks of

the court be given to the Right Hon. Sir James Esdaile, late lord mayor, for his constant attendance, and impartial administration of justice, during his continuance in that high and important office: after warm debates it passed in the negative.

A motion being then made, and question put, that the late lord mayor having refused to call a common council, on the most important public business, at the requisition of the four representatives of this city in parliament, and many other respectable gentlemen, members of this court, and having refused to put a question in common hall, of great consequence to the rights and privileges of this city; a warm altercation took place on the reading this motion; but, after the spirit of debate had subsided, it was carried in the affirmative, nearly two to one.

At the same time it was resolved,

“That the thanks of this court be given to Frederick Bull, John Sawbridge, Richard Oliver, and George Hayley, Esqrs. our present worthy representatives, for their upright and steady conduct in parliament, for their strenuous endeavours to prevent the loss of our colonies, and the shame and distress of this unhappy country.”

Mr. Wise, of Bishopsgate ward, moved the court, that in consideration of the recorder's bad state of health, a deputy should be appointed him by that court, to transact the city business at those times when Serjeant Glynn should be rendered incapable of giving his attendance. The recorder thanked the gentleman who made the motion



motion in the most polite terms, and begged the court at large to comply with his request, as it would be considered by him (the recorder) as a very great favour conferred on him. This motion was also carried in the affirmative.

At a court of aldermen 25th. held at Guildhall, a motion was made, that the thanks of this court be given to Sir James Esdaile, late lord mayor, for his careful, prudent, and impartial discharge of that high office during his mayoralty; which after debate was carried in the affirmative. At this court Mr. Alderman Oliver resigned his gown, and received the thanks of the court unanimously.

Bath, Nov. 23. " On Tuesday the 17th instant, Count Rice, and Viscount du Barry, being together in the latter's house, a question arose between them, about which they disagreed; and in the heat of the dispute, upon an assertion of Count Rice, Viscount du Barry said, *Ce'a n'est pas vrai*; to which Count Rice immediately observed, You do not probably observe the idea that expression conveys in the language you speak in, and that it admits but of one very disagreeable interpretation; upon which the other replied, You may interpret it as you please. This ungentlemanlike treatment having provoked the resentment of Count Rice, and Viscount du Barry offering no satisfaction, they immediately sent for seconds, who did not quit them till they got to Claverton Down, where they remained together, with a surgeon, till day light, when they took the

field, each armed with two pistols and a sword. The ground being marked out by the seconds, the Viscount du Barry fired first, and lodged a ball in Count Rice's thigh, which penetrated as far as the bone: Count Rice fired his pistol, and wounded the Viscount in the breast. He went back two or three steps; then came forward again, and both, at the same time, presented their pistols to each other; the pistols flashed together in the pan, though one only was discharged. Then they threw away their pistols, and took to their swords; when Count Rice had advanced within a few yards of the Viscount he saw him fall, and heard him cry out, *Je vous demande ma Vie*; to which Count Rice answered, *Je vous la donne*; but in a few seconds the Viscount fell back, and expired. Count Rice was brought with difficulty to Bath, being dangerously wounded, though now he is in a fair way of recovery.

The coroner's inquest sat on the Viscount's body last Saturday, and after a mature examination of the witnesses, and the Viscount's servants, brought in their verdict manslaughter.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the poll for Al- 27th. derman of Billingsgate-ward finally closed, by consent of both the candidates. Upon casting up the books, the numbers were, for Thomas Sainsbury, Esq. 112, and for Josiah Dornford, Esq. 70; upon which Mr. Sainsbury was declared duly elected.

Being St. Andrew's day, 30th. was held the anniversary election of the president, council, and



officers of the Royal Society, when Joseph Banks, Esq. was elected president, Sir John Pringle having resigned.

*Stockholm, Nov. 3.* The morning before yesterday, the Queen was happily delivered of a prince, which agreeable event was immediately announced to the public by the discharge of 256 guns four times. The king then went in state to the cathedral of St. Nicholas, with all the royal family, to return thanks to heaven; after which Te Deum was sung under the discharge of 1024 guns. The birth of this prince gives the more pleasure, as none of the heirs to the crown have been born in Sweden since Charles XII. in 1668,

DIED, at Stebbing, in Essex, Farmer Beauchamp, aged 105.

At a lodging-house in St. Giles's, Jonathan Williams, aged 113, who was a soldier in the reign of Queen Anne. He has left, in children, grand-children, and great grand-children, one hundred and thirty-seven.

## DECEMBER.

1st. Yesterday morning, about three o'clock, a terrible fire broke out near Pearce's lottery office, Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill, and soon consumed the same, with several other offices, and Seymour's Coffee-house over them, and all the houses on that side the way; it also consumed the Pope's Head Eating-house, Johnson's lottery office, and Mr. Ogier's office; a notary public's, a cabinet-maker's, the corner of the Alley, and Mr. Fourdrinier, a stationer's

adjoining, in Lombard-street, were entirely consumed; the back part of Mess. Lee and Co. bankers, in Lombard-street, was much damaged; it burnt through into Change-alley, consumed the house of Mr. Webster, watch-maker, Mr. Aubury, breeches-maker, Mr. Wilkinfon, cabinet-maker, late Sam's Coffee-house, with all the furniture, and stock in trade of the several houses. The flames reached the lottery office, late Jonathan's Coffee-house, which was consumed, and part of the house adjoining, late the King's Arms Tavern. It likewise damaged Baker's Coffee-house, and the house adjoining, late a hatter's; the back parts of several houses in Cornhill were much damaged. The aunt and maid-servant of a gentleman, and his wife, perished in the flames, and others narrowly escaped. Two firemen are missing. The damage done is very considerable.—The great fire which happened on the 25th of March, 1748, was partly on the same spot.

One William Smithson, a hackney coachman, driver of 2d. No. 253, was brought before Justice Addington in Bow-street, charged by Mr. M'Sween with the following capital offence: On Monday night Mr. M'Sween ordered the boy of the shop where he lodged, to call a coach (Mr. M'Sween living in Warwick court, Holborn) and put his trunks and things into the coach: Matthew Wilson, the boy, went and called a coach from the stand at Fulwood's rents, and then helped the coachman to put the trunks into the coach. Wilson then called  
Mr.



Mr. M'Sween, who immediately came out, but the coachman had driven off with the trunks. The boy, fortunately knowing the owner of the number, Thomas Earle, of Purpool-lane, Mr. M'Sween ran immediately there, when Earle abused them with a number of oaths, denied his knowledge of the man, and disbelieved Mr. M'Sween's loss. In consequence of this treatment, Mr. M'Sween came to Bow-street, when proper officers were dispatched, who soon found out the prisoner, and happily the trunks, broken up and rummaged, though all the property was safe, which was to a large amount, with a bank-note of 50 l. Smithson said he was drunk when he did it. He was committed, the proper parties bound over to prosecute for a capital felony, and the magistrates recommended it to Mr. M'Sween to complain to the commissioners of hackney coaches of the conduct of the master.

4th. Yesterday a court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when the court agreed that thanks be given to Richard Oliver, Esq. for his uniform conduct in the administration of justice, &c.

The court took into consideration the report of the committee to perpetuate the memory of the late Lord Chatham, when painting was fixed on as the best method to perpetuate his memory, and the committee were desired to meet for the purpose of receiving designs for that purpose.

6th. The Lisbon letters are full of commendation of a most gallant action which happened on the 20th of October, between his

Majesty's ships the Jupiter, of 50 guns, Capt. Reynolds, and the Medea, of 28, Capt. James Montagu, with a French 80 gun ship, off Cape Finisterre: Capt. Reynolds and Capt. Montagu conceiving her to be an Indiaman, got so close to her, without apprehensions of danger, that it was too late to escape it; they therefore attacked her like Englishmen. Capt. Reynolds at once laid alongside of her to windward, at five o'clock P. M. the Medea placed herself on the lee-quarter, and continued for some time giving her broadsides, but from the inferiority of her force could do very little execution, and was soon driven to leeward with an 18 pounder between wind and water, and never after able to recover her station, so as to be of any service to the Jupiter. Capt. Reynolds continued close engaged till eight o'clock, when the French ship gave way, took the advantage of a very dark night, and escaped to Ferrol, with the loss of her Captain, and about 200 men. The Jupiter is arrived at Lisbon in a shattered condition to refit, and found the Medea there on the same business.

His Majesty having been pleased to comply with the request of the King of Sweden, to invest the Right Honourable Lord Macleod with the ensigns of the order of the Sword, of which order his Swedish Majesty has been pleased to nominate him a commander; his lordship had accordingly an audience of his Majesty this day, to which he was introduced by the Earl of Suffolk, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state; and after having made the usual



reverences on entering the royal presence, he kneeled down before the King; his Majesty then took the sword of state, and performed the ceremony of knighting him therewith; after which his Majesty took the ribbon of the order, and invested him with it; this being done, Lord Macleod rose up, and his Majesty was graciously pleased to congratulate him on this distinguished mark of his Swedish Majesty's approbation: Lord Macleod then returned his thanks in the most respectful manner to his Majesty, and retired, observing the same ceremony as on entering into his Majesty's presence.

10th. This day being the anniversary of the institution of the Royal Academy, a general assembly of the academicians was held at Somerset-house, when the following premiums were given:

A gold medal to Mr. Charles Rubens Ryley, for the best composition in oil colours; the subject of which was the Sacrifice of Iphigenia.

A gold medal was given to Mr. John Hickey, for the best model of a bas-relief; the subject of which was the Slaughter of the Innocents.

A gold medal was likewise given to Mr. William Moss, for the best design in architecture, being the plan, elevation, and section, of a church of the Corinthian order, in form of a Grecian cross, finishing with a dome.

Three silver medals were given for the best drawings of academy figures to Messrs. A. W. Devis, James Cook and John Hoppner.

A silver medal was given to Mr. Joseph Wright, for the best model of an academy figure.

After the medals were given, the President, as usual, delivered to the students a discourse; the subject of which was, an inquiry into the connection between the rules of art, and the passions and affections of the mind; such an inquiry, he observed, was going to the fountain head of criticism. He gave many instances of difficulties in the painter's art, from which this knowledge alone can extricate the artist. He concluded, making some observations on the conduct of the students in the prize pictures: he observed, that every candidate had carefully followed the invention of Timanthes in hiding the face of Agamemnon in his mantle; he examined whether this artifice (of leaving to the imagination a grief supposed to be too great to be expressed) was within the province of the painter's art.

After the President had finished his discourse, the assembly proceeded to elect the officers for the year ensuing.

The following act of female heroism was exercised 11th. this evening:—A milliner's apprentice, with a box of lace, going along the Strand, a fellow snatched it from her, and ran up Southampton-street, but by some means or other fell down. The girl immediately got up to him, laid hold of him, and taking off one of her pattens, struck him over the face with it several times; but the fellow being too powerful for her, got off, but left the box, the contents of which were worth at least forty pounds.

This day the sessions ended 12th. at the Old Bailey, when Samuel Bonner was capitally convicted for sending an incendiary letter



letter to Mrs. Teshmaker, at Winchmore-hill, threatening to burn her estate to ashes, and murder her, unless she relieved with one guinea and a half three poor people in her neighbourhood named in the letter, of whom Bonner was one. At the time of his receiving sentence he begged for mercy, and said it was done through ignorance, and not knowing the severe punishment allotted for such an offence.

Rowland Ridgley was tried on an indictment for high treason, in having in his possession a punch, on which was made and impressed the figure, similitude, and resemblance of the head side of a shilling; and after a long trial, and the jury being out some time, a verdict was returned that they found him guilty, having the punches, &c. in his custody; but from some circumstances submitted to the court, whether or not they were proper for coining: his judgment was respited for the opinion of the judges.

Late the same night judgment of death was passed upon nine capital convicts: six were sentenced to hard labour on the Thames; nine to be branded and imprisoned in Newgate; nine to be branded and kept to hard labour in the house of correction; five to be whipped, and twenty four discharged by proclamation.

On Thursday night last, 13<sup>th</sup>. as Mr. Sharp, chymist, stopped in his carriage at his door in Bishopsgate-street, five villains observed a box in the coach, and whilst Mr. Sharp was getting out, they took the opportunity on the opposite side to take it away, with

which they got clear off. The contents of the box were mercurial pills, lozenges, sugar plumbs, &c. of which the thieves had fed so plentifully, besides several others they had given them to, that, finding themselves strangely affected by the pills, and apprehending they were all poisoned, they yesterday sent a boy to Mr. Williams, chymist, in Smock-alley, Petticoat-lane, with the box, pills, &c. Mr. Williams, being acquainted with the affair from Mr. Sharp, very properly detained the boy, who impeached his companions; and a sufficient number of constables being obtained, they went into Petticoat-lane, and secured as desperate a covey of thieves as perhaps ever herded together, who were, from the large doses they had swallowed, in as wretched a condition as ever were a nest of poisoned rats. Seven of them were yesterday committed to prison.

Sir Hugh Palliser exhibited on Wednesday last, at the Admiralty Board, an accusation, consisting of five articles, or separate specific charges against Admiral Keppel; a copy of which was sent by the said board to the Admiral, accompanied with a notice to prepare for his speedy trial by a court martial, on the several charges of neglect, incapacity, &c.

*Extract of a Letter from Oxford,  
December 19.*

“ About two o'clock yesterday morning a fire was discover'd in the attick story at Queen's College, in this university, supposed to have begun in the staircase, which raged with great violence till about seven o'clock, when the whole roof, and most of the floors, wainscoting, &c.



of the west wing were consumed to the first party wall, where the roof having been previously cut away to stop the progress of the flames towards the hall and library, together with the assistance of many fire-engines, the rest of the college was saved. This part of that noble edifice is reduced to a mere shell, nothing remaining except the bare walls. No lives were lost.

*Bristol, Dec. 26.* Tuesday, about six o'clock in the evening part of a cask of gunpowder being brought into the house of Mr. Deake, in Queen-square, and set down in the passage, the servant girl passing by with a candle in her hand, and seeing a strange cask, stooped down the candle to see what it was, when it unfortunately dropped into the powder, which took fire, and killed the girl on the spot. There was a little child by at the same time, which had her cap blown off, but providentially received no harm, notwithstanding the servant was thrown a considerable distance, and the greatest part of her clothes torn to pieces. The poor creature's head and face were burnt to a cinder, and the flesh of her breast and arms lacerated in a manner that may be more easily conceived than described. The adjacent houses were shaken by the explosion, and the air for a considerable distance much agitated.

A Spanish merchant in the city has received a letter from Spain, which gives a melancholy account of a fire breaking out in the play-house in the city of Saragosa, in the province of Arragon, whilst the

company was performing; that the flames were so rapid but few of the audience escaped; and that upwards of 400 of the principal people of that city had perished in the flames.

DIED, at his house in Queen's-square, Ormond-street, the Rev. Mr. William Hetherington, who a few years since vested 20,000 l. in the South-Sea Company, for the support of a charity which he founded, of 500 l. to be distributed annually, in the month of December, in sums of 10 l. each, to fifty blind persons, under the direction of the Treasurer and Committee of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, of which he was one.

At Bletchingley, in Surry, in the 132d year of his age, Thomas Cockey, a poor labouring man. He constantly went to daily labour till within three months of his death.

Mrs. Gostling, of St. George, Southelmham, Suffolk, in the 105th year of her age.

Mrs. Priscilla Panxton, at Hackney, whose death was occasioned by excess of joy and surprize, on seeing a brother, who had been in slavery at Algiers several years.

At Llanrwille, in South Wales, Mr. Rice Morgan, in his 103d year.

This year, the literary world has sustained great loss by the death of two of its first ornaments, the illustrious Dr. Linnæus, who died aged 71, at Upsal in Sweden; and the celebrated Dr. Haller, who died, aged 75, at Berne in Switzerland.



*General Bill of all the Christenings and Burials from December 16, 1777, to December 15, 1778.*

| Christened.  | Buried.       |
|--------------|---------------|
| Males 8793   | Males 10235   |
| Females 8507 | Females 10164 |

| In all 17300                | In all 20399 |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Died under two years of age | 7355         |
| Between 2 and 5             | 1994         |
| 5 and 10                    | 789          |
| 10 and 20                   | 702          |
| 20 and 30                   | 1381         |
| 30 and 40                   | 1743         |
| 40 and 50                   | 1965         |
| 50 and 60                   | 1616         |
| 60 and 70                   | 1416         |
| 70 and 80                   | 995          |
| 80 and 90                   | 398          |
| 90 and 100                  | 42           |
| 100                         | 1            |
| 100 and 1                   | 1            |
| 100 and 2                   | 0            |
| 100 and 3                   | 0            |
| 100 and 4                   | 0            |
| 100 and 7                   | 1            |

Decreased in the Burials this year 2045.

A treatise has lately been published in France, in which a calculation is made of the population of the most remarkable cities in the world, the inhabitants of which the author computes to be as follow :

|                |               |            |
|----------------|---------------|------------|
| Paris          | about 823,276 | increasing |
| Madrid         | 340,000       | ditto      |
| London         | 930,000       | decreasing |
| Amsterdam      | 360,000       | increasing |
| Lisbon         | 200,000       | ditto      |
| Constantinople | 700,000       | decreasing |
| Venice         | 160,000       | ditto      |
| Dantzic        | 240,000       | ditto      |
| Petersburg     | 300,000       | increasing |
| Koninsburg     | 300,000       | ditto      |
| Copenhagen     | 100,000       | ditto      |

|                |         |            |
|----------------|---------|------------|
| Stockholm      | 95,000  | ditto      |
| Naples         | 230,000 | decreasing |
| Pekin in China | 900,000 | ditto      |
| Rome           | 700,000 | ditto      |
| Moscow         | 400,000 | increasing |
| Babylon        | 540,000 | decreasing |
| Alexandria     | 670,000 | ditto      |

BIRTHS for the Year 1778.

Jan. 1. Right Hon. Lady Mary Hinchinbroke, of a son.

3. Right Hon. the Marchioness of Granby, of a son.

16. Right Hon. Lady Grimston, of a daughter.

The Lady of Sir James Pennyman, Bart. of twins.

The Countess D'Artois, of a Prince, to whom his most Christian Majesty has given the title of Duc de Berry.

Lady of the late Sir Griffith Boyntun, Bart. of a son.

Feb.— The Lady of the Hon. and Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Worcester, of a son.

March 12. Dutches of Portland, of a daughter.

21. Lady Harriet Ackland, sister of the Earl of Ilchester, of a son and heir.

30. Right Hon. Countess of Carlisle, of a daughter.

April 14. Lady of Sir James Lake, of a daughter.

Right Hon. Countess of Radnor, of a daughter.

Lady of Sir M. White Ridley, of a son.

May—. Right Hon. Countess Cowper,



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- Cowper, of a second son, at Florence.
- Right Hon. Countess of Kinnaird, of a son.
- Right Hon. Countess of Bellamont, of a son.
- Right Hon. Lady Viscountess Weymouth, of a daughter.
- June—. Right Hon. Lady Cadogan, of a daughter.
- Right Hon. Lady Willoughby de Broke, of a daughter.
- July—. Right Hon. Lady 'Algeron Percy, of a son.
22. The Lady of Chaloner Arcedeckne, Esq; Harley Street, of a daughter.
- Aug.— The Lady of Sir Harry Goring, Bart. of a son.
- Sep. 7. Right Hon Lady Townshend, of a son.
- Her Grace the Duchess of Chandos, of a daughter.
- Right Hon. the Countess of Suffolk, of a son.
8. Lady of Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart. of a daughter.
- Oct. 2. Lady of the Hon. Sir William Henry Ashurst, one of the Judges of the King's-bench, of a son.
- Right Hon. Lady Mary Fitzmaurice, of a son, who is heir to the title of Earl of Orkney.
- Lady of the Hon. Mr. Baron Hotham, of a daughter.
- Nov. 1. Her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, of a Prince.
- Right Hon. Lady Paget, of a son.
- Hon. Lady Bridget Bouverie, of a son.
- Dec. 1. Right Hon. Lady Mountstewart, of a son and heir.
- Right Hon. the Countess of Tankerville, of a son.
- Right Hon. Lady de Ferrers, of a son.
19. The Queen of France, of a Princess, baptized the same day, and named Maria Theresa-Charlotta.
- Right Hon. Countess of Dumfries and Stair, of a daughter.

## MARRIAGES. 1778.

- Jan. 8. Sir George Smyth, Bart. to Miss Curzon, neice to Lord Scarfsdale.
12. Hon Mr. Fane, to Miss Batson, of Dalish, in Dorsetshire.
- Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart. to Miss Beauchamp; and at the same time, John Cusance, Esq. to Miss F. Beauchamp, both daughters of the late Sir William Beauchamp, Bt.
20. Henry John Kearney, Esq. to Lady Augusta Brydges, sister to the Duke of Chandos.
29. Right Hon. the Earl of Suffex, to Miss Vaughan, of Bristol.
30. Right Hon, Earl Winton, to Miss Eliz. Armstrong, of Godalmin, Surry
- Feb. 2. James Fenton Esq. of Leeds, to Miss Thomazine Ibbetson, daughter



ter of the late Sir Harry Ibbetson, Bart.

6. Lieut. Gen. Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart. to Miss Heathcote, sister of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart.

17. William Drake Junior, Esq. member for Amer-  
sham, to Miss Hufsey,  
only daughter of William  
Hufsey, Esq. member  
for Salisbury.

22. Philip, eldest son of Sir  
John Anstruther, Bart.  
to Miss Paterfon, daugh-  
ter of Sir John Paterfon,  
Bart.

March 1. Lately Thomas Hooper,  
Esq. to Miss Newton,  
daughter of Sir Gilbert  
Newton, Bart.

5. Sir Thomas Beauchamp  
Proctor, Bart. to the se-  
cond daughter of Robert  
Palmer, Esq.

6. The Lord Chief Baron of  
the Exchequer, to Miss  
Burn.

24. John Lewis, Esq. of Harp-  
ton Court, Radnorshire,  
to Miss Ann Frankland,  
one of the daughters of  
Admiral Sir Thomas  
Frankland, Bart.

April 4. Duke of Hamilton and  
Brandon, to Miss Eliz.  
Ann Burrel, youngest  
daughter to the late Peter  
Burrel, Esq.

16. Hon. Lionel Damer, Esq. to  
Miss Willinza Janssen.

Robert Pope Blackford,  
Esq. of the isle of Wight,  
to the daughter of Sir  
Fitzwilliams Barrington,  
Bart. of the same island.

Sir Arch. Edmonstone, Bt.  
to Miss Heathcote.

Sir Harry Trelawney, Bart.  
to Miss Ann Brown.

Hon. Charles Sutton, to  
Miss Thornton, of Bel-  
voir.

17. William Strickland, Esq.  
eldest son to Sir Wil-  
liam Strickland, Bart. to  
Miss Cholmley, of How-  
sham.

19. Hon. Mr. Stuart, second  
son to the Earl of Bute,  
to the Hon. Miss Ber-  
tie.

26. Hon. Hugh Somerville, to  
Miss Mary Digby.

27. Hon. Temple Luttrell,  
member for Milbourn-  
Port, and second son to  
Lord Ingham, to Miss  
Gould, daughter of Sir  
Henry Gould, one of the  
Judges of the Common-  
Pleas.

May—. Robert Nicholes, Esq.  
to Miss Charlotte Frank-  
land, daughter of Admi-  
ral Sir Thomas Frank-  
land, Bart.

Nich. Loftus Tottenham,  
Esq. a member in the  
Irish parliament, to Miss  
May, daughter of Sir  
James May, Bart.

June 3. Sir Watts Horton, Bart. to  
the Hon. Miss Harriet  
Stanley, sister to the Earl  
of Derby.

4. —Smith, Esq. of Heath,  
near Wakefield, to Lady  
Georgiana Fitzroy, eldest  
daughter to the Duke  
of Grafton.

27. At Dublin, Sir Cornwallis  
Maude, Bart. to Miss Isa-  
bella Monk.

July 2. William Bacon Forster,  
Esq. to Lady Catherine  
Tournér,



Tourner, second daughter to Lord Winterton.

22. Sir George Osborne, Bart. to Lady Heneage Finch, daughter to the late Earl of Winchelsea.

Hugh Montgomery, Esq. of the County of Fermanagh, in Ireland, to the Hon. Miss Acheson, daughter to Lord Gofford.

Sir Hector Mackenzie, of Gairlock, Bart. to Miss Chalmers.

- Sept. 16. John Stuart, Esq. eldest son of Sir John Stuart, Bart. to Miss Coutts.

21. The Hon. Col. Harcourt, only brother of Earl Harcourt, to Mrs. Lockhart, relict of Thomas Lockhart, Esq. of Craig-House, in Scotland, and eldest daughter of William Danby, Esq. of Brompton.

Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Norwich, to the Hon. Miss Louisa Fortescue.

- Oct. 20. Edward Foley, Esq. brother to Lord Foley, to Lady Ann Margaret Coventry, youngest daughter of the Earl of Coventry.

- Nov.—. Hon. Capt. James Ross, son of the Earl of Ross, to Miss Rhoda Tradgold, of Warwickshire.

John Milnes, Esq. of Wakefield, to Lady Rachel Bruce daughter to the late Lord Elgin.

George Powell, Esq. to the Right Hon. Lady Ann Stratford, daughter of the late Earl of Aldborough.

Lieut. Col. Woodford, of the first regiment of foot guards, to the Countess Dowager of Westmoreland.

- Dec. 3. The Right Hon. George Viscount Middleton, of Ireland, to the Hon Frances Pelham, daughter of the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Pelham, of Stanmer, in Suffex.

17. The Hon. Mr. Finch, brother to the Earl of Aylesford, to Miss Jane Wynne, of Voynass, in Denbighshire.

Sir John Tayler, Bart. of St. George's Hanoversquare, to Miss Eliz. Goodin Haughton, of Mary-le-bone.

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*Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1778.*

Jan. 6. The King has been pleased to order his Congé d'Elire to the dean and chapter of Exeter, for the election of a bishop for that see, the same being void by the death of Dr. Frederick Keppel, late bishop thereof, and to recommend the Rev. Dr. John Ross to be by them elected.—Rev. Robert Foley, D. D. Dean of Worcester, void by the promotion of the Hon. and Rev. William Digby, to the Deanery of Durham.—Hon. and Rev. John Harley, D. D. Dean of Windsor, with the Deanery of Wolverhampton and registry of the Garter annexed; void by the death of the late Bishop of Exeter.—Mr. Arch. Campbell, one of the clerks of session, appointed sole clerk of the registers, &c. in room of Mr. William



William Kirkpatrick, deceased.—His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, keeper of Linlithgow-palace, and Blackness-castle, in Scotland, with the power of appointing deputies.—George Heathcote, Esq. a commissioner of taxes, vice Thomas Wyndham, Esq. deceased.

*Admiralty Office, Jan. 23.* His Majesty was this day pleased to order the following promotions of flag officers of his Majesty's fleet. John Reynolds, Esq. Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Hon. John Byron, and the Right Hon. Augustus John Earl of Bristol, Rear Admirals of the White, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.—George Mackenzie, Esq. Matthew Barton, Esq. and Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the White.—And the following Captains were also appointed Flag Officers of his Majesty's fleet, viz. Hon. Samuel Barrington, Marriot Arbuthnot, Esq. Robert Roddam, Esq. and George Darby, Esq. to be Rear Admirals of the White.—John Campbell, Esq. Christopher Hill, Esq. James Gambier, Esq. William Lloyd, Esq. Francis William Drake, Esq. Sir Edward Hughes, Knt. and Hyde Parker, sen. Esq. to be Rear Admirals of the Blue.

*Admiralty Office, Jan. 29.* His Majesty was this day pleased to order the following promotion of Flag Officers of his Majesty's fleet, viz.—Sir Charles Hardy, Knt. Right Hon. George Earl of Northesk, Sir Thomas Pye, Knt. Francis Geary, Esq. Admirals of the Blue, to be Admirals of the White.—Sir George Bridges Rodney, Bart. James Young, Esq. Vice Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the White.—Sir Piercy

Brett, Knt. Sir John Moore, Bart. and K. B. Sir James Douglass, Knt. Right Hon. George Lord Edgecumbe, Samuel Graves, Esq. William Parry, Esq. Hon. Augustus Keppel, John Amherst, Esq. his Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, Vice Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.—Sir Peter Dennis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Esq. Robert Man, Esq. Clark Gayton, Esq. John Montagu, Esq. Vice Admirals of the White, to be Vice Admirals of the Red.—Right Hon. Washington Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Esq. Right Hon. Molineaux Lord Shuldham, Vice Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice Admirals of the White.—John Vaughan, Esq. Rear Admiral of the Red, to be Vice Admiral of the White.—John Lloyd, Esq. Robert Duff, Esq. Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.—John Reynolds, Esq. Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Hon. John Byron, Right Hon. Augustus John Earl of Bristol, Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.—George Mackenzie, Esq. Matthew Barton, Esq. Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Hon. Samuel Barrington, Rear Admirals of the White, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.—John Campbell, Esq. Christopher Hill, Esq. Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the White.

Feb. —. John Durbin, Esq. Mayor of Bristol, to the honour of Knighthood.—Thomas Dampier, clerk, to the twelfth prebend in the cathedral church of Christ and the blessed Virgin Mary in Durham.—John Charles Brooke, Esq. to be Somerset-herald.—Samuel Hood, Esq. to be one of the Com-



Commissioners of his Majesty's yard at Portsmouth.

April 5. Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Thistle, Richard Lord Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, Knight of the Bath, Lieut. Gen. of his Majesty's forces in North America only, William Eden, Esq. one of the Commissioners for trade and plantations, and George Johnstone, Esq. Captain in the royal navy, to be his Majesty's Commissioners to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of his Majesty's colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America.

— 20. Sir John Griffin Griffin, K. B. appointed Adjut. Gen. of his Majesty's forces, in the room of Gen. Hervey.—Lord Adam Gordon, Governor of Tinmouth.—Sir John Williams, Knt. and Edw. Hunt, Esq. Surveyors of the navy.—Lieut. Gen. Rt. Monckton, Governor of Portsmouth.—Lieut. Gen. Alexander Mackay, Governor of Landguard-fort.—Francis Buller, Esq. to be one of the Judges in the court of King's-bench.—Samuel Hood, of Catherington, in the county of Southampton, Esq. to the dignity of a Baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain.—Sir Richard Bickerton, Knt. Captain in his Majesty's navy, to the dignity of a Baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain.—Hon. Daines Barrington, to be second Justice of Chester.—James Hayes, Esq. to be first Justice of Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merionethshire.—Thomas Potter, Esq. to be second Justice of the aforesaid counties.

*War Office, April 21.* Lieut. Gen. Frederick Haldimand, is ap-

pointed Lieut. Gov. of Quebec, vice Sir Guy Carleton.—Captain William Browne, of the Invalids, to be Governor of Upnor, vice James Murray.—Gen. Sir John Mordaunt, to be Governor of Berwick, vice Sir John Clavering.—Lieut. Gen. Francis Craig to be Governor at Sheerness, vice Sir John Mordaunt.

May 28. The following officers were appointed to the Staff, viz. Gen. Amherst, Lieut. Generals Pierfon and James Johnson; with Major Generals Sir David Lindsey, Amherst, Sloper, Ward, and Calcraft.—Lieut. Gen. Sir James Adolphus Oughton, to be commander of the forces in North Britain, and also of the castles, forts, and barracks there.

June 1. Rev. William Courtenay, of Ken, in Devonshire, and William Courtenay the younger, Esq. to the office of making, writing, and engrossing, all writs of subpœna issuing out of the high court of Chancery, commonly called the subpœna office in Chancery.—Edward Thurlow, Esq. to the dignity of a Baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Thurlow, of Ashfield, in the county of Suffolk.—Right Hon. Edward Lord Thurlow, to be one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy council, and Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

4. Yesterday a chapter of the Knights of the Garter, was held at St. James's, to fill up the vacancies therein by the death of the Duke of Kingston, Lord Albemarle, and Lord Chesterfield, when the Earls of Suffolk and Rochford, and Lord Viscount Weymouth, were appointed.

Lord



Lord North to the office of Constable of his Majesty's castle of Dover; and also the office of warden and keeper of his Majesty's Cinque Ports; and the office of admiralty within the said Cinque Ports, and their Members; and likewise all wrecks of sea whatsoever.

— 10. Alex. Wedderburne, Esq. to be his Majesty's Attorney-general. — James Wallace, Esq. to be his Majesty's Solicitor-general. — Walter Pye, and William Buller, Esqrs. to the office of Chafe Wax in Chancery. — Daniel de Laval, Esq. to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the court of Copenhagen. — Thomas Wroughton, Esq. to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the court of Stockholm. — Richard Oakes, Esq. to be his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of Warsaw. — Benjamin Langlois, Esq. to be Keeper of his Majesty's stores, ordnance, and ammunition of war. — Henry Strachey, Esq. to be clerk of the delivery and deliverance of all manner of artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries whatsoever appertaining to his Majesty's office of ordnance.

July 7. Martin Whish, Esq. to be Commissioner of the Stamp Office, vice — Blair, Esq. resigned. — Marquis of Carmarthen, to be Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the East Riding of Yorkshire. — Dr. Colman, Master of Bennet-college, Cambridge, vice Dr. Barnardiston, deceased. — Dr. Farmer, Master of Emanuel-college, Principal Librarian of the University of Cambridge, vice Dr. Barnardiston, deceased.

— 2. The dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain, unto the

following gentlemen, and to their heirs-male, viz. the Right Hon. Richard Heron, youngest son of Robert Heron, of Newark upon Trent, in the county of Nottingham, Esq. and in default of issue, to Thomas Heron, of Chilham-Castle, in the county of Kent, Esq. eldest surviving son and heir-male of the said Robert Heron, and to his heirs male. George Wombwell, of Wombwell, in the county of York, Esq. William James, of Park Farm Place, Eltham, in the county of Kent, Esq. Edward Lloyd, of Pengwern, in the county of Flint, Esq. and in default of issue to Bell Lloyd, of Bodfack, in the county of Montgomery, Esq. and to his heirs male. John Coghill, of Coghill-hall, in the West-Riding of the county of York, Esq. John Taylor, of Lysson Hall, in the island of Jamaica, Esq. James Riddell, of Ardnamorchan and Sunark, in the shire of Argyll, Doctor of Laws. Cæsar Hawkins, of Kelfton, in the county of Somerset, Esq. Richard Jebb, of Trent Place, near East Barnet, in the county of Middlesex, Doctor of Physick. Sir John Elliott, of Peebles, Knt. Doctor of Physick. Henry Lipencot, of Stoke Bithop, Gloucestershire, Esq. — Rev. Mr. Fawcett, to be a Prebend of Durham. Rev. Mr. Fotheringham, to be Archdeacon of Coventry. Rev. Mr. Arnold, to be Precentor of Litchfield. Rev. Mr. Heslop, to be a Prebend of Lincoln.

Aug. 18. Charles Middleton, Esq. to be Comptroller of his Majesty's Navy, in the room of Maurice Suckling, Esq. deceased. — Charles Winstone, Esq. to be Attorney General of and in his Majesty's island



island of Dominica. — Thomas Yeo, Esq. to be Solicitor General of and in the said island of Dominica. — The dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain unto Joseph Copley, of Sprotbrough, in the county of York, Esq. grandson and heir of the late Sir Godfrey Copley, Bart. and to his heirs male.

Oct. 3. William John, Marquis of Lothian, elected one of the sixteen peers to vote in the British parliament for Scotland, in the room of Charles, Lord Viscount Irwine. — Thomas Allan, Esq. to be a Commissioner of the Customs, in the room of Corbyn Morris, Esq.

— 17. James Marriott, D. L. Official Principal Commissary General, and Special Lieutenant, President and Judge, of the High Court of Admiralty, vice Sir George Hay, deceased. He was at the same time knighted. — Peter Calvert, LL. D. Dean of the Arches, and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, vice Dr. Hay. — William Wynne, LL. D. Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury, vice Dr. Calvert. He is likewise appointed his Majesty's Advocate General in all matters ecclesiastical and marine. — Rev. Robert Clive, M. A. Prebendary of St. Peter's, Westminster, vice Dr. Thomas Patrick Young, deceased.

— 27. Dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain, to Sir Robert Gunning, K. B. of Eltham, in Kent, and to his issue.

Nov. 20. Laurence Hill, Esq. deputy to the Clerk of his Majesty's Rolls, and Register of Seafines, &c. within the regalities of Glasgow and Paisly. — William Frazer, Esq. Commissary of the Commissariat of Inverness. — Lord

Visc. Stormont, Justice General of Scotland, vice D. of Queensberry. — John Flockart, Esq. Keeper of the General Register of the Hornings, vice Sir Archibald Grant, deceased. — William Fawkenner, one of the Clerks of the Privy-council, vice W. Blair, Esq. resigned. — Thomas Percy, D. D. Dean of Carlisle, vice Dr. Thomas Wilson, deceased. — John Larpent, Junior, Esq. Examiner of all Plays, &c. vice William Chetwynd, Esq. deceased.

— 29. The Right Hon. Lord Visc. Stormont, and John Way, of Lincoln's-inn-fields, Esq. to the office of Chief Clerk of the King's bench, &c. in the room of William Lee, Esq. and John Antonie, Esq. both deceased.

Dec. —. Duke of Northumberland, Master of the Horse, vice Duke of Ancafter, deceased. — Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson, to be his Majesty's Secretary at war. — James Crauford, Esq. to be his Majesty's Agent for Rotterdam, Dordrecht, &c. in Holland. — Right Rev. Robert, Bishop of Killaloe, to the Archbishoprick of Dublin. — Rev. Dr. George Chinnery, to the Bishopricks of Killaloe and Kilfenora. — Duke of Ancafter, Lieutenant of the county and city of Lincoln, in room of the late Duke. — Rear Adm. Sir Edw. Hughes, invested with the Order of the Bath.

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## DEATHS, 1778.

Jan. 1. Last month, His Serene Highness Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, of the small pox, in the 51st year of his age.

12. Last



12. Last week the Hon. Lady Catherine Lowther, relict of the late Sir William Lowther, Bart.

Sir Griffith Boyntun, Bart.

15. Right Hon. Lady George Germaine.

27. Hon. Mr. Fitzmaurice, youngest son of the Earl of Shelburne.

At Tunis, the Consort of Side Mullapha Coggia, and daughter of the Bey.

Right Hon. the Countess of Eglington.

Sir Hanson Berney, of Norfolk, Bart.

Feb. —, Lately, Hon. Richard Dawson, eldest son of Lord Dartrey, at Cambridge.

5. Lady Augusta Corbet, daughter of the Earl of Bute.

Right Hon. Dowager Lady Abergavenny.

6. Lady of Sir Walden Hammer, Bart.

7. Lieut Gen Vernon, Lieut. Governor of the Tower.

12. Admiral Amherst, brother of Lord Amherst.

In Italy, Lady Louisa Mann.

Lord Mexborough.

25 Right Hon. Andrew, Lord Archer, recorder of Coventry. His Lordship married Sarah, eldest daughter of the late James West, Esq; of Alscott, and has left four daughters.—Dying without male issue, the title is extinct.

March 1. Sir Richard Aston, Knt. one of the Judges of the King's-bench.

Right Hon. the Countess of Wemys.

Sir John Elwyll, Bart.

4. Sir Thomas Hesketh, Bart.

11. Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bt.

27. Hon. Lieut. Gen. Hervey, Governor of Portsmouth, and member for Harwich.

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Right Hon. Lady Viscountess Mountgarret, at Paris.

April 5. Marmaduke Lord Langdale, the fifth of that title, who having no male issue, the title becomes extinct.

Right Hon. Charles Ingram, Viscount Irwin, Lord Ingram, of Irvine, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland.

Sir William Fownes, Bart. of the kingdom of Ireland.

The Right Hon. Thomas Cochran, Earl of Dundonald and Lord Cochran, at Lamancha in Scotland.

10. Sir John Clavering, K. B. Lieut. General of his Majesty's forces, Colonel of the 52d regiment of foot, second in council, and commander in chief of the forces in Bengal.

30. Hon. Mrs. Wrottesley, mother to the Dukes of Grafton.

May 10. The Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Viscount Pitt, of Burton Pynsent, in Somersetshire, at his seat at Hayes, in Kent. [*See the Appendix.*]

12. Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Traquair.

13. Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Strathmore.

16. Right Hon. Robert D'Arcy, Earl of Holderneffe, Lord D'Arcy, Lord Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dovercastle, Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and Vice Admiral of the same, Keeper of the Liberty and Forest of Richmond, Constable of Middlehamcastle in Yorkshire, and a Governor of the Charterhouse.

24. Sir Conyers Jocelyn, Bart.

At Florence, the Archduke Maximilian, the fifth of the Princes of the house of Tuscany.

[P]

Right



Right Hon Countess Dowager of Granard.

June 3. Right Hon. James Earl of Errol, hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland. He was the eldest son of Lord Kilmar-nock, beheaded in 1746 for high treason, and succeeded to the Earldom of Errol in right of his mother.

6. Mr. Lowth, eldest son to the Bishop of London.

Right Hon. Lady Dowager Waltham.

14. Sir Peter Dennis, Bart. Vice Admiral of the Red.

15. Sir Cecil Bishop, Bart.

17. Miss Maria Catherine Williams Wynne, youngest daughter of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart.

George Earl Marshal, Governor of Neufchatel, and elder brother of Field Marshal Keith, who fell in the Prussian service, October 14, 1758.

July—. Her Serene Highness the Dutchess of Brunswick Lunenburg.

Princess Amelia D'Este, sister to the Duke of Modena.

Francisco Salvitius de Conti Guido, Archbishop of Pisa, Primate of Sardinia, Corsica, &c. aged 85 years.

29. Right Hon. William Lord Cranston.

Lewis Charles Otto, reigning Prince of Salm Salm. He is succeeded by his nephew.

Aug 3. Right Hon. Patrick Lord Elibank.

7. Sir Thomas Hay, Bart.

Sir Lionel Pilkington, Bart.

Right Hon. Dowager Countess of Westmoreland.

Right Hon. Dowager Viscountess Grimestone.

Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.

Lord Maxwell, son of the Right Hon. Earl Farnham.

Hon. Thomas Chambers Cecil, brother to the Earl of Exeter.

12. The most noble Peregrine Bertie, Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, Marquis and Earl of Lindsay, Baron Willoughby of Eresby, and Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England, in the 65th year of his age. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of William Blundell, of Basingstoke, Esq; and widow of Sir Charles Gunter Nicol, with whom he had an immense fortune; but by her had no issue. By his second wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Panton, Esq. he had six children, three of whom are now alive, namely, Robert (now Duke of Ancaster), Aid-de-camp to Gen Clinton, now in America, Lady Priscilla Barbara Elizabeth, and Lady Georgina Charlotte.

13. Sir George Lockhart, Bart. at Bomington, Scotland.

22. At Bath, Sir Charles Whitworth, Knt. Lieut. Gov. of Tilbury-fort, and member for Saltaish, chairman of the committee of ways and means, &c.

23. Sir Charles Sedley, Bart.

Sept. 16. Lady Dowager Chesterfield.

Lady Downing.

17. Sir Francis Mannock, Bart.

The Hon. Lieut. Francis Anfruther, at Madras.

The Right Hon. Lady Holland, at Old-Windsor.

Lady Wolseley, at Dublin, relict of the late Sir Richard Wolseley Bart. sister of the Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux, Bart.

The



The Countess of Thanet, at her seat near Canterbury.

Lord William Campbell, third brother to his Grace the Duke of Argyle.

Prince Lewis of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, brother to the reigning duke.

Sir Archibald Grant, Bart. at his seat at Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire.

24. The Right Hon the Countess of Lauderdale.

Lady of Sir William Draper, K. B.

Lady of Sir Charlton Leigh, Bt. Sir William Elwes, Bart.

Lady of Sir William Codrington, Bart.

Right Hon. the Earl of Cavan, Lieut. General of his Majesty's forces.

The only son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Oct. 1. The Hon. Ann Arundel, at Rawden-hill, near Chippenham, relict of the Hon. Thomas Arundel, count of the sacred Roman Empire, and great aunt to the present Henry Lord Arundel, of Wardour-castle.

2. The Right Hon. Washington Shirley, Earl Ferrers, Viscount Tamworth, vice admiral of the blue squadron, and F. R. S.

Hon. Miss Amelia Wilhelmina Malefina Sparre, only daughter of the late Baron Sparre, who was Ambassador from the Court of Sweden to that of Great Britain.

6. Sir George Hay, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Dean of the Arches, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and President of the College of Doctors of Law, exercent in the

Ecclesiastical and Admiralty : he was likewise member for the borough of Newcastle under Line, in Staffordshire.

22. The Right Hon. the Earl of Lincoln, eldest son to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

The most noble Charles Douglas, Duke of Queensberry, in Scotland, also Duke of Dover, and Marquis of Beverley, in England, and Lord Justice General in Scotland.

30. Hon. Mrs. Burges, daughter to Lord Wentworth.

Right Hon. the Countess of Thanet.

Right Hon. Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, late Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

The only daughter of his Excellency Count Almadovar, the Spanish Ambassador at this court.

31. The Hon. Lieut. Col. John Gordon, of the 81st regiment of foot, at Kinsale in Ireland.

Colonel Ackland, eldest son of Sir Thomas Ackland, Bart. brother-in law to the Earl of Ilchester, Major of the 20th regiment of foot, Colonel of the first battalion of the Devonshire militia, and Member of Parliament for Callington, in Cornwall.

Nov—. Right Hon. the Marchioness of Lothian.

Sir John Douglas, of Killhead, Bart.

Hon. Miss Mary Eliz. Napier, third daughter of the late Lord.

Rev. Sir John Peshel, Bart.

The Hon. Mrs. Charlotte Digby, at Thames Ditton, Surry, relict of the Hon. Edward Digby, Esq; mother to the present Lord Digby, Baron of Sberborne, last surviving child of Sir Stephen Fox,



&c. sister to the late Earl of Ilchester and Lord Holland.

The Right. Rev. Dr. John Cradock, Archbishop of Dublin, and Primate of Ireland.

Dec. 6. Sir Francis Skipwith, Bt. Her Grace the Duchess of St. Albans.

The infant Charles Francis, Prince of Naples, and of the Two Sicilies, and heir of that crown, in his 4th year, at Naples.

The reigning Landgrave of Hesse Rhinfels Rothembourg, at Cassel, field marshal in the service of their Imperial Majesties.

The Sultan Mehmet, second son of the Grand Signior, at Constantinople.

The lady of Lord Deerhurst, at Ledbury, in Herefordshire, in childbirth.



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Abstract of the Act for granting to his Majesty certain Duties upon all inhabited Houses within the Kingdom of Great Britain.*

**T**HIS Act sets forth, that, from and after the 5th day of July, 1778, the several duties upon houses shall be charged and paid unto his Majesty by the occupiers thereof respectively; (that is to say) upon and for every dwelling-house inhabited, together with the household offices therewith occupied, which now are, or shall hereafter be, erected within the kingdom of Great Britain, and which are, or for the time being shall be, worth the yearly rent of five pounds and upwards, and under the yearly rent of fifty pounds, the yearly sum of sixpence in the pound; and upon and for every dwelling house inhabited, together with the household offices therewith occupied, which now are, or hereafter shall be, erected within the kingdom of Great Britain, and which are, or for the time being shall be, worth the yearly rent of fifty pounds and upwards, the yearly sum of one shilling in the pound, to be estimated and ascertained in manner hereinafter expressed.

The duties in England and Wales to be paid quarterly; and in Scotland half-yearly.

And be it further enacted, that the duties granted by this act shall be charged only upon the inhabitants or occupiers for the time being of the houses or tenements, and not on the landlord or landlords who let or demise the same.

Warehouses, &c. not liable to the new duty; nor persons who are not rated to church and poor.

It is further enacted, that no farm-house shall be assessed or rated for the purpose of raising the duty herein mentioned.

And, for the better understanding what is hereby meant as a farm-house, it is further declared, that all houses bona fide used or occupied, for the purposes of husbandry only, shall be deemed and taken to be farm-houses, and no other.

Provided always, that no such farm-house, which shall be occupied by the owner thereof, shall be intitled to such exemption, which shall be valued under this act at more than ten pounds per annum, distinct from the land therewith occupied.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or



be construed to extend, to charge or make liable any hospital, or house provided for the reception and relief of poor persons to the payment of the rate or duty to be laid by virtue of this act.

*Abstract of an Act of Parliament for the better recruiting his Majesty's Land Forces.*

THE Justices of Peace, and Commissioners of the land tax, are appointed to put this act in execution, and are empowered, within their several jurisdictions, to raise and levy all able-bodied, idle, and disorderly persons, who cannot, upon examination, prove themselves to exercise and industriously follow some lawful trade and employment, for their support and maintenance, to serve his Majesty as soldiers, and they are to order a general search within their parishes for all persons answering such descriptions; and all persons convicted of smuggling, to the value not exceeding forty pounds, may be raised and levied in like manner for soldiers, in lieu of the present punishments they are liable to. Able-bodied men only to be enlisted, and none under 17, or above 45 years of age. It is strictly enjoined, that the inhabitants of the different parishes shall be assisting to the Commissioners, in putting in force this act. And, as an encouragement to the inhabitants, they are to receive a premium of 10 s. for giving information of any able-bodied man, who shall be in consequence thereof apprehended and enlisted. The chief magistrates of cities to enforce

this act upon notice from the Secretary at war.

*Amendments of the Laws relating to Forgeries.*

IN consequence of the opinion of the Judges in the case of Mr. Harrison, lately discharged from Newgate, after conviction for forgery, the legislature have thought it necessary to pass an act this present sessions, to explain the former laws on the subject of forgeries. The new act declares, "that if any person, from and after the 25th day of March, 1778, shall falsely make, alter, forge, or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be falsely made, altered, forged or counterfeited, or willingly aid or assist in the false making, altering, forging, or counterfeiting, any acceptance of any bill of exchange, or the number or principal sum of any accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other security for payment of money, or any warrant or order for payment of money or delivery of goods, with intention to defraud any corporation whatsoever; or shall utter or publish as true any false, altered, forged, or counterfeited acceptance of any bill of exchange, or accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other security for payment of money, or warrant or order for payment of money or delivery of goods, with intention to defraud any corporation whatsoever, knowing the same to be false, altered, forged, or counterfeited; every such person, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and shall



shall suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy.

*Abstract of an Act for regulating Lottery-Offices.*

THE new act for regulating the conduct of the lottery, and the lottery-office-keepers, restrains any persons from keeping an office for the sale of tickets, shares, or chances, or for buying, selling, insuring, or registering, without a licence; for which licence each office-keeper must pay 50l. to continue in force for one year, and the produce to be applied towards defraying the expences of the lottery. And no person is to be allowed to sell any share or chance less than a sixteenth, on the penalty of 50l. All tickets divided into shares or chances, are to be deposited in an office to be established in London by the commissioners of the treasury, who are to appoint a person to conduct the business thereof; and all shares are to be stamped by the said officer, who is to give a receipt for every ticket deposited with him. The numbers of all tickets so deposited are to be entered in a book with the names of the owners, and the number of shares into which they are divided, and two-pence for each share is to be paid to the officer on depositing such tickets, who is therewith to pay all expences incident to the office. All tickets deposited in the office to remain there three days after drawing. And any person keeping an office, or selling shares, or who shall publish any scheme for receiving monies in consideration of any interest to be granted in

any ticket in the said lottery, &c. without being in possession of such ticket, shall forfeit 500l. and suffer three months imprisonment. And no business is to be transacted at any of the offices after eight in the evening, except on the evening of the Saturday preceding the drawing. No person to keep any office for the sale of tickets, &c. in Oxford or Cambridge, on penalty of 20l.

*Account of the Gold Coin brought into the Mint from Great Britain and Ireland, by the Proclamations in 1773, 1774, and 1776.*

FIRST proclamation brought in 3,806,435 l. 7 s. 2 d. deficient more than six grains in a guinea.

Second proclamation brought in 4,876,171 l. 18 s. 3 d. deficient between three and six grains.

Third proclamation brought in 6,880,986 l. 5 s. 3 d. deficient between one and three grains.

Total 15,563,593 l. 10 s. 8 d.

*Account of the Expence of calling in and recoinning all the Gold Coin deficient more than a Grain in a Guinea.*

|                                                                       | l.      | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----|----|
| EXPENCE to                                                            |         |    |    |
| the Bank for melting                                                  | 16,785  | 14 | 6  |
| Deficiency in melting                                                 | 317,314 | 6  | 11 |
| Interest of money advanced to the holders of gold coin                | 231,982 | 17 | 7  |
| To master of the mint, for the charge of recoinning and other charges | 115,452 | 12 | 9  |
| [P]                                                                   | 4       |    | 0  |



To several persons who were appointed in the several counties to take in and exchange the gold coin, and for other charges and expences — 72,476 8 0

Total 754,019 19 9

N. B. The loss from the deficiency in the coin brought in by the first proclamation (amounting nearly to 300,000 l.) was thrown on the holders of the coin; and therefore could not be included in this account.

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*Account of the King's visits to Chatham, Portsmouth, Winchester, Salisbury, Warley, and Coxheath. Extracted from the London Gazettes.*

#### CHATHAM.

ON the 24th of April, his Majesty, attended by the Earl of Sandwich, &c. embarked on board the Augusta Yacht at Greenwich, and arrived at Chatham on the 25th, amidst a full chorus of shipwrights, who welcomed his Majesty with the song of "God save the King." After taking a survey of the works as far as time would permit, he returned to his yacht to dinner, afterwards proceeded on his survey till near dark. Next day he reviewed the first regiment of royals; held a public levee at the Commissioner's house, where he received the officers and neighbouring gentry; and

where the Mayor and corporation of Rochester, in their formalities, made their compliments in a short speech.

His Majesty the same evening went in his barge on board the Victory; upon his entering the ship, the royal standard was hoisted, and his Majesty, after having spent upwards of two hours in examining the same, returned to the yacht about seven o'clock, being saluted, upon his leaving the ship, with a royal salute of twenty-one guns.

*Monday, April 27.* At nine o'clock his Majesty went again on board the Victory, where he had a levee, when the captains and officers of his ships at Sheerness and the Nore, were presented to him. His Majesty, after continuing on board about three quarters of an hour, went into his barge, preceded by Rear Admiral Campbell as before, rowed down to Sheerness, and landed in the dock-yard at ten o'clock, where he was received by Lord Amherst, the Commissioners of the navy, and officers of the yard.

His Majesty afterwards examined the ships fitting in the docks, the batteries, and the naval and ordnance store-houses. At twelve o'clock his Majesty left the yard, and rowed to the yacht at Black-stakes; and as soon as the tide was made, at half-past one o'clock weighed and sailed, being saluted by the Victory, the garrison of Sheerness, the ships at the Nore, and the forts, as he passed. The wind being fair from the Nore, his Majesty landed at Greenwich at twelve at night, where his carriages and escort were ready to receive him; and arrived in about three



three quarters of an hour at St. James's.

#### PORTSMOUTH.

*Saturday, May 2.* His Majesty and the Queen set out at six in the morning from the Queen's house, and arrived at Portsmouth about three quarters past twelve, when they were saluted by all the guns round the works and the garrison.

Their Majesties got to the Commissioner's house about one o'clock, escorted by a party of the third or Queen's regiment of dragoon guards. His Majesty was attended by the Marquis of Lothian, Gold Stick in waiting; the Honourable Colonels St. John and Harcourt, two of his Aid de Camps; and Lieut. Gen. Carpenter, his Equerry in waiting; and her Majesty by the Marquis of Caermarthen, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's household; and the Countess of Egremont, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber. The standard was immediately hoisted in the dock-yard, and the workmen assembled, and gave their Majesties several cheers as they passed. Their Majesties were received at the door of the Commissioner's house by the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Amherst, Lieut. Gen. Monckton, the Commissioners of the navy, and the Commissioners and Officers of the yard. His Majesty left the house at half past five o'clock in the afternoon, to visit the yard; and after viewing the ships in docks, the smith's-shop and boat-house, returned to the Commissioner's house about seven o'clock.

*Sunday, May 3.* At ten o'clock their Majesties went to the Garrison Chapel, where they heard divine service. After which their

Majesties had a public levee at the Governor's house, and were waited on by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation of Portsmouth, with their Addresses.

*Monday, May 4.* The King left the yard at seven this morning, and went to the gun-wharf; viewed the ordnance-stores, and store-houses; and returned to the yard about eight o'clock. At a quarter past nine, the Queen went in the barge to the yacht, which lay half way to Spithead. The barge was preceded by Admiral Pye, with his flag flying, and followed by the other Admirals and Captains in their boats, drawn up in four regular lines, and amounting to fifty boats. The ships in the harbour were manned, and on getting out of the harbour, the guns of the platform, the Blockhouse Fort, and South-sea Castle, saluted her Majesty as she passed. Her Majesty got on board the yacht at half past nine. All the ships at Spithead were manned, and the fleet saluted her Majesty with twenty-one guns each. At a quarter past ten the barge returned to the dock yard, and his Majesty embarked on board her, attended by the Admirals and Captains in their boats, in the same manner as her Majesty.

On the King's arrival at Spithead, all the ships were manned, and saluted his Majesty. His Majesty was rowed through the fleet, and received three cheers as he passed each ship. At half past eleven, the King went on board the Prince George of 90 guns, (Admiral Keppel) where the standard was immediately hoisted, the fleet saluting with twenty-one guns each.

The



The yacht with her Majesty on board, sailed round the fleet; the ships were all manned, and gave three cheers as the yacht passed.

At half past twelve the fleet saluted the Queen with twenty-one guns each ship, as her Majesty passed by the Prince George. His Majesty, during his stay on board, saw the men at their quarters, when they performed their several exercises of the great guns and small arms; after which his Majesty received all the Captains of the fleet upon the quarter deck. At one o'clock the King left the Prince George, and went into the barge, receiving three cheers. The barge was preceded by Admiral Pye in his barge, and followed by the Admirals and Captains in the fleet in their barges, and went on board the yacht, which lay at anchor to windward of the fleet, at half past one, where their Majesties dined, the King under an awning on the quarter-deck, the Flag-officers, Generals, and those of his Majesty's suite, having the honour to dine at his table.

At half past four the Queen's health was drank, followed by a general salute from the fleet of twenty-one guns each. The same salute was repeated a few minutes after, when his Majesty drank to the prosperity of the navy, and to all his good subjects by sea and land.

The King went into his barge at six o'clock, and rowed round the fleet; and afterwards returned in his yacht into the harbour, being saluted by the whole fleet, and the several forts as before, and by a number of cannon from the shores of Portsmouth and Gosport. Their Majesties left the

yacht at half past eight, landed at the dock-yard, and went to the Commissioner's house.

The day being very fine, an incredible number of vessels, pleasure yachts and boats, attended their Majesties; and, on their return in the evening, all the houses of Portsmouth and Gosport were illuminated, as they had been the preceding evening.

*Tuesday, May 5.* At nine o'clock their Majesties left the yard, and went to the glacis near South-sea Common, where his Majesty reviewed the 25th regiment of foot, commanded by Lieut. Gen. Lord George Lennox.

His Majesty went from the review to see the new fortifications erected round the common, for the better protection of the dock-yard, and returned about half past one.

At six o'clock his Majesty saw the rope houses, and several other store-houses, and the academy. He afterwards walked through the yard to the new ground, went into the St. George of 90 guns, whose frame is nearly completed, and returned to the Commissioner's house at a quarter past eight o'clock.

*Wednesday, May 6.* Their Majesties, at half past nine this morning, went into the rope-house, and saw every branch of that manufacture. Her Majesty returned immediately, and the King went in the barge to the victualling brew-house at Weevill, viewed the whole carrying on there, and returned to the yard at half past twelve.

His Majesty then walked into the town of Portsmouth, to inspect the victualling-office and store-houses; which having thoroughly



roughly examined, he proceeded to the marine barracks, and then came back to the yard; went into the rigging-house, and returned to the Commissioner's house at half past one o'clock.

*Thursday, May 7.* Their Majesties set out at half past eleven this morning for the seat of the late Earl of Hallifax, at Stanstead, in Suffex, about twelve miles off, and returned at a quarter past three to dinner.

His Majesty went about six in the evening, in his barge up the harbour, on board the *Britannia*, of 100 guns, and the *Royal William* of 84, looked into every part of these ships, and returned to the yard about eight o'clock.

*Friday, May 8.* His Majesty went about half past six this morning under the bottom of a frigate of 28 guns, to see the workmen sheathe her with copper, where his Majesty staid near half an hour.

At ten o'clock their Majesties went in the barge on board the *Princess Augusta* yacht, and sailed in her through the fleet at Spithead to St. Helen's, and returned to the Mother-bank, where she came to an anchor.

About six in the evening the yacht, with their Majesties on board, sailed through the merchant-ships in Stokes-bay, and left Spithead about half past seven to go into the harbour; then parting with the fleet, they received a royal salute from every ship, of twenty-one guns, and the same from South sea Castle, Blockhouse-fort, and the saluting battery of the town, as they passed them in their way into the harbour. Their Majesties landed at eight o'clock,

and went to the Commissioner's house, before which the workmen were assembled, who gave three cheers, and then dispersed.

*St. James's, May 9.* This morning, about half past eight o'clock, their Majesties got into their post-chaise at Portsmouth, and arrived at the Queen's house at half an hour past four o'clock.

His Majesty has created the Commissioner, and Sir Richard Bickerton, who steered their Majesties the last and the present time, Baronets; and Digby Dent, Captain to the senior Flag, Knt. Edward Linzee, Esq. the Mayor, desired to be excused the honour.

#### WINCHESTER and SALISBURY.

THE King and Queen set out on Monday the 28th of September, at one in the afternoon, from Windsor Castle, and arrived at Winchester about half past five in the afternoon, and alighted at Mr. Penton's house, where they were waited on by the Mayor and Corporation, who addressed the King in a loyal speech, as did the master and fellows of the college, and received most gracious answers.

Their Majesties supped and slept at East-gate-house during their stay. Her Majesty held her levees there, and the King at St. John's house.

The next morning his Majesty reviewed the troops, and after the review ended, the King went to the tent prepared for his reception, where he afterwards dined, as did the Queen in another tent prepared for her Majesty. On the 30th their Majesties were pleased



to take a view of the cathedral, its antiquities, architecture, &c. and afterwards to visit the college, where their Majesties were addressed in a Latin speech \* by Mr. Chamberlayne, son of William Chamberlayne, Esq; Solicitor of the Treasury, the senior scholar on the foundation, and fellow elect of New College, Oxford; and in English by the Earl of Shaftesbury †. As soon as they returned, they set off instantly for Salisbury. They ordered sums of money to be left for the poor, at the disposal of the Mayor; for the three senior boys on the foundation, for the debtors in the prisons, and for other charitable purposes.

\* Mr. Chamberlayne's speech. "Regum antiquorum (Rex augustissime) morem revocas, qui literatorum sodalitiis interesse, oculisque et aspectu doctrinarum studia comprobare non indignum putabant amplitudine sua. Et profecto, complures regios hospites, Henricos, Edvardos, Carolos, olim excepit vetus hoc inclytumque Musarum domicilium: nullum, qui bonas literas te (Pater illustrissime) vel magis amaverit, vel auxerit, vel ornaverit. Quin et animum tuum propensamque in literas voluntatem vel hoc abunde testari possit, quod vicina castra tot tantisque procerum Britannicorum pro patria militantium prædiis instructissima bellicis spectaculis te non penitus occupatum tenere, quo minus ut togatam juventutem respiceres, et ex armorum strepitu remissionem quandam literati hujus otii captares. Ut diu vivas et valeas, in utriusque Minervæ perennem gloriam, tibi fausta et felicia comprecantur omnia, voventque Wiccamici tui."

† Lord Shaftesbury's verses.

"Forgive th' officious Muse, that with weak voice,  
And trembling accents rude, attempts to hail  
Her Royal Guest! who, from yon tented field,  
Britain's defence and boast, has deign'd to smile  
On Wickham's sons; the gentler arts of peace  
And science, ever prompt to praise, and Mars  
To join with Pallas! 'Tis the Muse's task  
And office best to consecrate to Fame,  
Heroes and virtuous Kings: the generous youths,  
My lov'd compeers, hence with redoubled toils,  
Shall strive to merit such auspicious smiles;  
And through life's various walks, in arts or arms,  
Or tuneful numbers, with their country's love,  
And with true loyalty enflam'd t' adorn  
This happy realm; while thy paternal care  
To time remote, and distant lands, shall spread  
Peace, justice, riches, science, freedom, fame."



His Majesty was pleased to express his entire approbation of the appearance, discipline, and good order of the regiments, and about four returned with the Queen to Wilton-house.

At half past nine o'clock on Friday morning their Majesties, attended by their suites, and the Earl and Countess of Pembroke, left Wilton-house on their way to Stonehenge, which their Majesties examined very attentively. Their Majesties arrived at the Duke of Queensberry's house at Ambresbury at eleven o'clock, where they staid a little more than an hour, and then proceeded on their return to Windsor, where their Majesties arrived at six o'clock in the evening.

#### *Camp at WARLEY.*

**O**N Monday the 19th instant, at half past twelve o'clock, their Majesties set out from the Queen's house, and arrived at Thornden Place, in Essex, the seat of the Right Honourable the Lord Petre, at three o'clock.

On Tuesday morning, at three quarters past nine o'clock, his Majesty on horseback, attended by his suite, and also by General Lord Amherst, reviewed the troops. He beheld the whole from a stand erected by Lord Petre in the centre of the scene. The several manœuvres being over a little before three o'clock, the King went towards the stand, where a circle being formed by the horse and grenadier guards, the several officers of the regiments were introduced, regimentally, to his Majesty, and had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand. The King was graciously pleased to

express great satisfaction at the appearance, discipline, and good order of the several regiments, and the royal artillery; and likewise his approbation of the manœuvres which were performed: and mounting his horse again, a royal salute was fired on his Majesty's leaving the field.

The King returned to Lord Petre's house, where his Majesty, and likewise the Queen, arrived a little after four o'clock.

After ten o'clock on Wednesday morning, the avenue from Lord Petre's Park, and the road and streets of Brentwood, being lined by the light infantry, the 6th and Liverpool regiments of foot, the North Gloucester and North Lincolnshire regiments of militia, under the command of Major General Hall, their Majesties, attended by their suites, and Lord and Lady Petre, left Thornden Place, on their way to Navestock, the seat of the Earl Waldegrave, where their Majesties arrived a little before eleven; and having continued there till near three, their Majesties set out on their return to the Queen's house, where their Majesties arrived at about a quarter past five.

The King and Queen and their suite, during their stay at Thornden, were most magnificently entertained by my Lord Petre, at an expence it is said of upwards of 12,000*l*.

#### *Camp at COXHEATH.*

**T**HE King and Queen, attended as before, set out on Monday the 22d of November, at eleven o'clock, from Kew, and arrived at Montreal in Kent, the seat



seat of Lord Amherst, a little after two.

On Tuesday morning, at nine o'clock, the King and Queen left Lord Amherst's house in their chaise, attended by their suites, and also by Lord and Lady Amherst, on their way to the camp at Coxheath; and, passing through the town of Sevenoaks, their Majesties were pleased to stop their carriage at the door of the school there, which is of royal institution, and were addressed in a short speech by the Master thereof.

His Majesty then proceeded to the camp, where, having reviewed the troops, he remained till the evening gun had fired, when his Majesty, mounting his horse, proceeded to Leeds Castle, the seat of the Hon. Mr. Fairfax, where his Majesty arrived, as did also the Queen, at seven o'clock. The castle and the approaches to it were elegantly illuminated in honour of their Majesties: and the several General Officers and Colonels in camp had the honour of dining with his Majesty.

At nine o'clock on Wednesday morning, the Mayor and Corporation of the town of Maidstone waited on his Majesty with an address, which was very graciously received by his Majesty; and the Mayor, deputy Recorder, Jurats, and Common Council, had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand.

His Majesty was at the same time pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on William Bishop Esq. the Mayor of the town of Maidstone.

The corporation also waited with an address to the Queen.

During the whole of these excursions the King was pleased to leave sums of money for the poor of the several parishes through which their Majesties passed; and to direct a return and state of all the persons confined for debt in the prisons at Maidstone, in order that such of them as shall appear proper objects may receive his Majesty's royal bounty for their enlargement.

At eleven o'clock their Majesties, attended by their suites, left Leeds Castle on their return to the Queen's house, where their Majesties arrived at four o'clock.

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*Account of the Death of the Earl of Chatham, with the Proceedings of the House of Commons, and of the City of London, thereon.*

ON Monday May the 11th, died the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Viscount Pitt, of Burton Pynsent, in the county of Somerset. He was born November 15, 1708. He married Lady Hester, only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq; by the late Countess Temple, and sister to the present Richard Earl Temple, who was created a Baroness, Dec. 4, 1761. By her he has left issue, 1. John, Lord Viscount Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, born Oct. 9, 1756. 2. William, born May 28, 1759. 3. James-Charles, born April 24, 1761. 4. Lady Hester, born Oct. 18, 1755. 5. Lady Harriot, born April 14, 1758.

The news of his death having reached the House of Commons, whilst it was sitting, Col. Barré rose, and made a motion that an address should be presented to his Majesty,



Majesty, to request he would give orders that the remains of the Earl of Chatham should be buried at the public expence, as a testimony of the just sense of the nation upon the loss of so great a man, and so able a statesman. An alteration was proposed by Mr. Rigby, that, in order to perpetuate his memory, a monument would be a more eligible, as well as a more lasting testimony, than the defraying his funeral expences.

Mr. Dunning said he supposed there could not be two opinions in the house on such a motion, and therefore thought the two propositions were in no degree opposite, and that as an amendment, the monument should be included as an object of the address to his Majesty: the motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

The words of it were as follow:

“That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, be interred at the public expence; and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that great and excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss, and to assure his Majesty that this house would make good the expence attending the same.”

On the 13th of May the following motion was made by Lord John Cavendish, and the question being put, was carried unanimously.

“That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, to return him thanks for his gracious

message to their address; and to request that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to make such a lasting provision for the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as his Majesty in his wisdom and liberality should think fit, as a mark of the sense the nation entertains of the services done to the kingdom by that able statesman; and to assure his Majesty that the house would make good the same.”

Wednesday, May 20, Lord North presented to the House of Commons the following message from his Majesty:

‘GEORGE R.

‘His Majesty having considered the address of this House, that he will be graciously pleased to confer some signal and lasting mark of his royal favour on the family of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and being desirous to comply as speedily as possible with the request of his faithful Commons, has given directions for granting to the present Earl of Chatham, and to the heirs of the body of the late William Pitt, to whom the earldom of Chatham may descend, an annuity of 4000*l.* per annum, payable out of the civil list revenue; but his Majesty, not having it in his power to extend the effects of the said grant beyond the term of his own life, recommends it to the House to consider of a proper method of extending, securing, and annexing the same to the earldom of Chatham, in such a manner as shall be thought most effectual for the benefit of the family of the said William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

GEORGE R.  
Friday,



Friday, May 22. Sir George Saville made a report of the proceedings of the Committee on his Majesty's message; and the House agreed unanimously to the resolution of the Committee, that the sum of 4000*l.* per annum be granted to his Majesty out of the aggregate fund, to enable him to make a permanent settlement on the present Lord Chatham, and the descendants of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, to whom the earldom shall descend.

In a Committee voted an address to his Majesty, 'that he will be graciously pleased to give orders that 20,000*l.* be issued for the payment of the debts of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and to assure his Majesty that this House will make good the same.'

The city of London were not less forward in testifying their regard to the memory of their once favourite minister.

May 20th, a court of common council was held at Guildhall, when the first business that came on was a motion that a Committee be appointed to draw up a petition to the House of Commons, praying that the remains of the late Earl of Chatham, may be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the Committee being appointed, withdrew, and returning produced a petition, which being read was approved, and ordered to be signed by the Town-clerk, and presented to the honourable House of Commons.

Resolved, That this court is desirous of attending the funeral of Lord Chatham in their gowns.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draw up a letter to the proper officer of the crown,

requesting that their desire of attending Lord Chatham's funeral, may be humbly made known to his Majesty, and praying that his Majesty will order the proper officer to give them timely notice and instructions for regulating their attendance (if his Majesty should be graciously pleased to acquiesce); which letter being drawn up, was read and agreed to, and ordered to be forwarded by Mr. Remembrancer.

The humble Petition of the city of London, in common-council assembled,

Sheweth,

"That your petitioners humbly beg leave to return their grateful thanks to this honourable house, for the noble and generous testimony which it has borne to the services and merits of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

"And your petitioners, with all humility, desire that their zeal may not seem unpleasing to this honourable house, or be interpreted as a wish in your petitioners to vary from the general sense of their country, as expressed in the late votes of this honourable house, by their requesting that the remains of the Earl of Chatham be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

"Your petitioners farther represent to this honourable house, that they entirely feel the delicacy of their situation, in consequence of the several measures taken by this honourable house; but hope that a favourable interpretation will be put upon any particular marks of gratitude and veneration which the first commercial city in the empire, is earnest to express towards the statesman, whose vigour  
and



and counfels had fo much contributed to the protection and extension of its commerce.

By order of the court,  
RIX."

The faid petition was ordered by the Houfe to lie on the table.

May 26. A motion was made, feconded, and it was unanimously refolved,

That the Court do prefent an humble addrefs to his Majefty, returning thanks for his ready and moft gracious acquiefcence in the wifhes of the Commons of Great Britain in parliament affembled, to fhew gratitude to the memory of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and humbly intreating that his Majefty would graciously condefcend to grant permiffion that the remains of the faid Earl be interred in the cathedral church of St. Paul.

The following petition was prefented to his Majefty by the Corporation of London, in their formalities :

Moft gracious Sovereign,

" We, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in common council affembled, beg leave to return your Majefty our moft humble and dutiful thanks for the repeated and fignal marks of your royal attention to the public fense of gratitude due to the memory of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as truly expreffed by the refolutions of the Commons of Great Britain in parliament affembled.

" And we humbly hope for your Majefty's moft gracious indulgence when the testimonies thus paid to the public virtues of this illuftrious ftatefman, encourage your moft faithful corporation to intreat that

the metropolis of your empire may be admitted to a fhare in the expreffions of public veneration to a minifter fo exemplary for his integrity, ability, and virtue.

" For this purpofe we humbly befeech that your Majefty, in your royal condefcencion, would give permiffion that the remains of the faid Earl of Chatham be depofited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

" We hope that we are not guilty of unwarrantable prefumption in conceiving that our wifhes on this fubject are not inconfiftent with thofe of the Hon. Houfe of Commons. And we flatter ourfelves that, if your Majefty fhould graciously acquiefce in this our humble prayer, it cannot fail to be agreeable to the family of the deceased, whose attention to us, on all proper occafions, it is our pride to remember, who condefcended to become our fellow-citizen, and to whom, could he have forefeen it, we are convinced this attempt to cherish his memory would not have been unacceptable.

" And we beg leave farther humbly to reprefent to your Majefty, that we feel ourfelves fingularly happy in thinking, that in this, our humble petition, we fhew our duty and attachment to our moft gracious Sovereign, and the illuftrious Houfe of Brunfwick, by our refpect to one of their moft zealous and faithful fervants ; at the fame time that we exprefs our gratitude as a commercial body, to a man who fo fignally fupported its interefts ; and humbly pray that the nobleft edifice in your Majefty's dominions, may become the depofitary of the remains of one among the nobleft of your fubjects."

[2]

His



His Majesty's answer was in substance, That, as the parliament had ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of the deceased Earl in Westminster Abbey, his Lordship's remains are to be interred there.

June 6. At a court of Common-Council, held at Guildhall, after the Lord Mayor had acquainted the court with the King's answer to their address and petition, presented on Friday last, a warm debate ensued, in consequence of Lord Hertford's letter to the Remembrancer, in answer to a message from the court; the copies of which are as follow:

" My Lord,

" His Majesty's faithful Corporation of London, wishing to shew every proper respect in their power to the memory of his Majesty's late zealous and most disinterested servant and subject, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and wishing to express their own particular gratitude to the memory of that illustrious statesman, who so gloriously protected the commerce of this country, desire your Lordship humbly to request his Majesty, that his faithful Corporation may receive timely notice from the proper officers of such his Majesty's gracious acquiescence, together with the necessary instructions for regulating their attendance.

I am, my Lord, &c.

PETER ROBERTS."

*Lord HERTFORD'S Letter.*

" Sir,

" Having, through your hands, received the request of the Corporation of London, praying his Majesty to permit them to attend the

funeral of the late Earl of Chatham, I am to acquaint you, that I have laid the same before his Majesty, who is pleased to comply with the said request, and has directed me to give public and timely notice of the said funeral, that all such gentlemen of the corporation who purpose it, may have an opportunity of attending, as they desired. I am, Sir, &c.

HERTFORD."

*Grosvenor-street, May 25.*

ESDAILE, MAYOR.

A Common-council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Saturday the 6th day of June, 1778.

This court not having yet received any answer to their desire of having timely notice to attend the funeral of the late Earl of Chatham, and information having been given by a member of this court, that that solemnity is ordered for Tuesday next, it is therefore now resolved, that the former resolution for attending the funeral of the said Earl be rescinded.

His Majesty having refused to comply with the request of this court, on their humble desire to have the remains of the late Earl of Chatham buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, Resolved unanimously, nevertheless, that a committee be now appointed to consider what further mark of respect is most fit to perpetuate the memory of that excellent and disinterested statesman, in the time of whose administration the citizens of London never returned from the throne dissatisfied.

When Mr. Sheriff Clarke waited on his Majesty, to know his royal pleasure



pleasure when he would receive the petition of the Common-council, respecting Lord Chatham's funeral, his Majesty asked, "What is the subject matter of the petition?"

—This unexpected circumstance disconcerted the Sheriff; but after a momentary pause, he recollected himself, and with great presence of mind informed the Great Personage, "That he himself was only an official agent, to know when the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council may have the honour of presenting a petition to his Majesty; the contents he had nothing at all to do with." Upon which the answer given was, "Well, then, let it be Friday se'nnight."

The same court came to the following resolution:

"In consequence of the Remembrancer having been called upon by this court to state what passed in the King's closet when the Sheriff last attended at St. James's; and it appearing that an unusual question had been asked, to which the Sheriff declined giving an answer: Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to Mr. Sheriff Clarke, for his very prudent conduct on this occasion."

In consequence of the address of the House of Commons of the 11th of May, the body lay in state in the painted Chamber the 7th and 8th of June.

Tuesday, June 9, at two o'clock, the funeral procession began from the Painted Chamber, through Westminster-hall, New Palace-yard, part of Parliament-street, Bridge-street, and King-street, the Broad Sanctuary, to the West door of Westminster-abbey.

High Constable of Westminster.  
Messenger to the College of Arms,  
with a badge of the College on  
his shoulder, his staff tipped  
with silver, and furred  
with farsnet.

Six men conductors, with black  
staves, headed with Earls  
coronets.

Seventy poor men with Badges of  
the Crest of PITT on the  
shoulders, and black staves  
in their hands, all in  
black cloaks.

The STANDARD of the Family.  
Twelve Servants to the deceased, in  
close mourning.

Physicians and Divines, in close  
mourning.

A Banner of the Barony of Chatham  
Supported by

Colonel Barré, the Dukes of Nor-  
thumberland, Richmond, and  
Manchester, and the Marquis  
of Rockingham, in close  
mourning.

The GREAT BANNER.  
The Helmet and Crest, borne by  
a Herald.

The Sword and Target, by a  
Herald.

The Surcoat, by a Herald.  
The Coronet, on a black velvet  
Cushion, by a King of Arms,  
between two Gentlemen  
Ushers with half staves.

## THE BODY,

Carried by eight men, covered with  
a black velvet pall, adorned  
with eight escutcheons of the  
arms of the deceased, and under  
a canopy of black velvet, borne  
by eight Gentlemen.

The Pall supported by Sir George  
Saville, Mr. Dunning, Mr.  
Burke, Mr. T. Townshend.



The Picture of Britannia weeping  
over the arms of CHATHAM,  
painted on sarcnet.

|              |         |             |
|--------------|---------|-------------|
| A Gentleman  | Garter  | Black Rod   |
| Usher with a | King of | with a      |
| half staff.  | Arms.   | half staff. |

Chief Mourner,  
The Honourable Mr. PITT.  
His Train borne by  
Eight Assistant Mourners, Earls,  
Viscounts, or Barons.

Lord Viscount MAHON.  
BANNER of the Crests of PITT.  
BANNER of the Arms of PITT.  
The procession closed by servants of  
the family, in close mourning.

The six conductors, and seventy  
poor men, divide and range them-  
selves on each side without the  
church door, and the rest of the  
procession within the church.

During the service in the church,  
the coronet and cushion were laid  
on the body, and the canopy and  
bannerols held over it.

The service being over, Garter  
proclaimed the style, titles, &c.  
and the Earl's officers, breaking  
their staves, gave the pieces to Gar-  
ter, who threw them into the grave.

The procession then returned to  
the Painted Chamber in the same  
order.

The service was read by the  
Bishop of Rochester.

The Duke and Duchesse of Glou-  
cester attended the funeral ser-  
vice.

Upon the coffin was a silver  
plate, on which was the following  
inscription:—‘The most noble and  
puissant William Pitt, Earl of  
Chatham, Viscount Pitt of Burton-  
Pynsent, in the county of Somers-  
set. Born the 15th of November,

1708. Died at Hayes, in Kent,  
the 11th of May, 1778.’

His Lordship lies interred about  
twenty yards from the North en-  
trance of Westminster-abbey.

Several Irish Earls and Viscounts  
attended, as did Sir William Dra-  
per, Sir William Meredith, Ge-  
neral Burgoyne, Sir Watkin Wil-  
liams Wynne, and a great number  
of Lords, mostly in the minority.

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*An authentic Account of the Part ta-  
ken by the late Earl of Chatham,  
in a Transaction which passed in  
the Beginning of the Year 1778.*

VARIOUS false reports having  
been industriously propagated  
concerning a negociation, (if it may  
be so called) said to have been car-  
ried on between the Earl of Bute  
and the late Earl of Chatham, it  
has been thought indispensably ne-  
cessary to draw up a distinct and  
authentic account, from papers now  
in possession of the Earl of Chat-  
ham's family, of what did pass re-  
lative to that affair, that it may  
appear, whether the transaction  
did, or did not, originate from  
Lord Chatham; and that it may  
be clearly ascertained, what were  
his sentiments and disposition with  
regard to it. It appears that vari-  
ous conversations had passed be-  
tween Sir James Wright and Dr.  
Addington, relative to Lord Bute  
and Lord Chatham, previous to the  
third of February, 1778, but that  
Lord Chatham was in no wise ap-  
prized of this, till the abovement-  
ioned day, on which Dr. Adding-  
ton went to Hayes, and read to  
Lord Chatham the following ex-  
tract of a letter, which, the Doctor  
informed



informed him, he had that morning received from Sir James Wright.

No. I.—*Extract of a letter from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington.*

“ **A**S I immediately, on my return from Lord Bute’s, took down in short-hand the principal heads of it, I think I shall not deviate materially from the very words of the conversation; at least if the spirit of his Lordship’s language is debilitated, the essential matter of it is the same.

“ I told Lord Bute that a friend of mine, whose honour and sincerity I could rely upon, had hinted to me (\*that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship’s honour, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety). He enquired who my friend was? I told him it was you. He replied, I know he is much Lord Chatham’s friend; I know also that he is an honest man, and a man of sense. I related to him the conversation that had passed between yourself and me at our last meeting. He said, Lord Chatham was one of the very few he had ever acted with in administration, who had shewn great honesty and generosity of sentiment, with a sincere conduct, and intention for the King’s and the public welfare.

“ That as for himself, he said, he had no connection with any one in administration; that he had not the least distant friendship with Lord North, or he should certainly advise him, by all means, to aim at gaining Lord Chatham over to the King’s service and confidence; And, said

he, you may tell your friend, Dr. Addington, to assure Lord Chatham, that if he should think proper to take an active part in administration, he shall have my most hearty concurrence and sincere goodwishes; and you have my full leave to communicate all my sentiments on this subject to your friend. He continued saying many very respectful things of Lord Chatham, adding, Had we not unfortunately disagreed about the last peace, I am sure he and I should have continued such steady friends, that this country never would have experienced her present severe misfortunes. He also said, the prior part of Lord Chatham’s last speech was manly and constitutional, and could not but induce every one, a well-wisher to his country, to wish to see him again take a part in the government of the King’s affairs, which would be a happiness for the whole empire. He continued saying, Perhaps we have men of abilities in the House of Lords; but those in administration (except Lord Suffolk, who is usually ill half the year) are none of them sufficiently serious or attentive enough to the business of the nation, which is now of so much consequence, as not to be neglected in the least degree. He therefore could not say he had a good opinion of their conduct. He also said, in the course of their conversation, that nothing but the most imminent danger to this country, should induce him to take a part in the government of it, unless in conjunction with an upright and able administration.

\* The truth of this part is expressly denied by Dr. Addington in his Narrative, in which the Doctor declares, that, to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.



“ Much more was said, but of less moment; however, all tended to convince me, that there are not two other men in the kingdom, more faithfully inclined to the good and safety of our present distracted nation, than our two noble friends.”

[This letter was dated January 2, it should have been February 2, having been received by Dr. Addington on Feb. 3.]

Lord Chatham dictated the following message in answer, which was taken down in writing by Dr. Addington, a copy of which was delivered by him to Sir James Wright.

No. II.—*Copy of Note given by Dr. Addington to Sir James Wright.*

“ LORD Chatham heard with particular satisfaction, the favourable sentiments on the subject of the noble Lord, with whom you had talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears all hope is precluded; but adds, that zeal, duty, and obedience, may outlive hope; that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be *new Counsels, and new Counsellors*, without farther loss of time; a *real change* from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless.

It appears farther from Dr. Addington's narrative, that the Doctor then proceeded to inform Lord Chatham of the substance of those parts of the conversation which had passed between him and Sir James Wright, which are not recited in Sir James's letter of Feb. 2d, No. I.

The account of this, as well as of what passed at this time, in con-

versation between Lord Chatham and Dr. Addington, and particularly Lord Chatham's declaration, “ That it was impossible for him to serve the King and country with either Lord Bute or Lord North,” is contained in Dr. Addington's narrative.

On the 7th of February, Dr. Addington sent the following letter to Hayes :

No. III.—*Copy of a Letter from Dr. Addington to the Earl of Chatham, dated Wigmore-street, Saturday two o'clock.*

“ My good Lord,

“ SIR James Wright took a correct copy of the valuable writing entrusted to my care, between twelve and one yesterday. At one he waited on his friend, and I was to call in Brook-street for his answer, at half past two. I was punctual to the time; Sir James had been at home; but a few minutes before my arrival, had been called back again to his friend. I waited half an hour, and then left the letter, requesting the favour of a line from Sir James, before he went out of town. At five, I received a short note, saying, that his stay in town could be of no service, and that he would give me an account by the post this day, of his conversation with —. Perhaps more persons than one were to be consulted, before an account could be given. As far as I could learn, all parties would be pleased with your Lordship and Lord Camden, and that no objection was likely to be made to more than *one* of your Lordship's friends. Sir  
James



James Wright asked what was meant by the words "real change." I thought they wanted no explanation. He thought they included his friend, as well as the ministry, and wished that your lordship and his friend could have an interview, but gave me no commission to mention his wishes. He only added, that he really believed it was in the power of your Lordship and his friend to save the nation; I only added, that I believed the King and your Lordship could save the nation, and that his friend might be instrumental to its salvation, by turning the royal mind from past errors. I hope your Lordship and Lady Chatham go on well, and that I shall have the happiness of paying my respects to you both in Harley-street, on Monday. I most heartily congratulate my Lady and your Lordship on the safe arrival of Mr. James Pitt. I am ever, my dear and good Lord,

Your most faithful and  
obliged humble servant,  
A. ADDINGTON."

*Wigmore-street, 2'o clock, Saturday.*

The same night Lord Chatham wrote with his own hand the following note, in answer to Dr. Addington, which was received by the doctor the next morning.

No. IV.—*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Chatham to Dr. Addington.*

*Hayes, Feb. 7.*

"THE conversations which a certain gentleman has found means

to have with you, are on his part of a nature too insidious, and to my feeling too offensive, to be continued, or *unrejected*. What can this officious emissary mean, by all the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? The next attempt he makes to surprise friendly integrity by courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron and your village friend differ in this\*, one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin, the other would sincerely endeavour to save it.

Dr. Addington, on the 8th of February, sent to Lord Chatham, at Hayes, the following letter (inclosing one which he had received that day from Sir James Wright, soon after the receipt of the above note from Lord Chatham).

No V.—*Copy of a Letter from Dr. Addington, to the Earl of Chatham.*

"I AM infinitely obliged to you, my dear Lord, for your very kind and friendly caution against surprise and insinuation. It shall never be forgotten; and when I see the gentleman next (which, perhaps, may be to-morrow), your Lordship's wise and noble commands shall be literally obeyed. The inclosed letter, which was promised to come yesterday by the post, arrived this morning by a special messenger. It needs no comment of mine; I am sure your Lordship will understand the language and drift of it, much bet-

\* Sir James had told the Doctor, and the Doctor had told Lord Chatham, that Lord Chatham and Lord Bute did not differ in political sentiments, which the Doctor thinks might occasion the last sentence in Lord Chatham's note.



ter than I can, or any body else. I am impatient to see your Lordship in town, and pray for a few minutes with you to-morrow. The time is come for you, and you only, to save a King and kingdom. Your Lordship knows that I am ever

Your most faithful, and most affectionate humble servant,  
A. ADDINGTON.

Feb. 8, 1773.

No. VI.—*Copy of a Letter from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington.*

*Ray House, Feb. 7, 1778.*

“ My dear Doctor,

“ I COMMUNICATED our conversation of yesterday to my friend, soon after I left you, and then shewed him a copy of the paper you allowed me to transcribe. You will easily recollect on my first reading it over with you, the observation I made on that particular expression in it, “ A *real* change, and not a mere palliation;” namely, that your noble friend still thought that Lord Bute had influence in the measures of Administration. In the very same light he also construed this expression; he therefore desired me to inform you, for the instruction of your friend, that the ill health he had long been subject to, united with the distresses of his family, had accustomed him to a perfect retired life, which he hoped, as long as he lived, steadily to adhere to; he added, that his long absence from all sort of public business, and the many years which had intervened since he saw the King, precluded him from forming any idea of mea-

asures past or to come, but what he gathers from very general conversation or the News-papers; and this total ignorance, he said, renders the opinion given of the present dangerous crisis more alarming to him than it would otherwise be, and much more painful, as, notwithstanding his zeal for the country, love for the King, and very high opinion of Lord Chatham, he has it not in his power to be of the least use in this dangerous emergency; and that from his heart he wished Lord Chatham every imaginable success in the restoration of the public welfare.

“ I think, my dear doctor, this was almost verbatim my friend’s conversation; at least I am confident it is a *fac simile* of his real sentiments; and you see how very distant they are from the least inclination ever to interfere in the present or any future Administration, which your noble friend seemed to apprehend. May he extend the powers of his own great and honest abilities, to heal the dreadful wounds which this poor country has received from what he very wisely calls *past errors*! Without his head, as well as heart, I fear all is lost. I remember poor Lord Northington saying to me more than once, not long before his death, that “ as I was a young man, I should probably live to see (if I survived Lord Chatham and a few other great men), that this country would not only want abilities but hearts, and that our state would then be really piteous, where both knowledge and integrity were wanting to protect us. Pray God your noble friend may step forth before this sorrowful epocha arrives, and stem the dreadful tide



of profligacy, inattention to business, and barefaced immorality, which daily increase in every department of life, and must bring down ruin, and the dissolution of our country.

“ That first quality of *knowledge*, which Lord Northington lamented the extinction of in this country, I shall never presume to be entitled to; but that of integrity I dare assert my claim to; and in that particular I hold myself inferior to no man; I only wish it was in my power to give your great and invaluable friend the most convincing proofs of this assertion, as well as of my profound veneration for him. You have known me long enough to be persuaded that nothing can divest me from the love of my country, and the paths of an honest conduct; therefore ever command, with the utmost freedom, my dear Doctor,

Your most faithful  
and sincere friend,  
JAMES WRIGHT.”

“ P. S. I shall be in town on Tuesday about three o’clock, and stay till the following day.”

The next day the following answer, written by the Countess of Chatham, was sent to Dr. Addington:

No. VII. *Copy of a Letter from Lady Chatham to Dr. Addington, dated Feb. 9.*

“ I WRITE, my dear Sir, from my Lord’s bed-side, who has had much pain all last night from the gout in his left hand and wrist. The pulse indicates more pain to come. He desires me to

express for him the true sense has of all your very friendly attention in this very delicate and critical situation. The gentleman’s letter which you transmit is handsomely written, and sufficiently explicit. At the same time, it is impossible not to remark, how widely it differs from the tenor of some of the intimations conveyed in former strange conversations to you. The letter now before him is written also with much sense and candour, as coming from a heart touched with the extreme dangers impending over the King and kingdom. Those dangers are *indeed extreme*, and seem to preclude all hope.”

*Hayes, quarter before one,  
Feb. 2, 1778.*

From this unambiguous and authentic account, founded on indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine whether the following proposition is not fully established, viz: “ That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in Administration.”

*Dr. Addington’s Narrative, containing his Account of what passed relative to the Transaction between him and Sir James Wright.*

THE first time Sir James Wright talked with Dr. Addington respecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham was about the beginning of January, 1778. Sir James began with lamenting the situation of this country, and gave it as his opinion, that the only method



thod of saving it was for Lord Bute and Lord Chatham to unite firmly together ; but remarking, that they were two of the men the King *hated* most. After various conversations on this matter, Sir James said, Lord Bute thought Lord Chatham had a disrespect for him. Dr. Addington replied, that to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him ; but that he thought Lord Chatham had no disrespect for Lord Bute : adding, that though they might differ in politics, Lord Chatham was not the kind of man to have disrespect, or bear ill-will to any man. Sir James added, he was sure Lord Bute had the highest respect for Lord Chatham ; that he had heard Lord Bute bestow great commendations on his whole speech at the beginning of the session, except that part which regarded the recall of the troops, and that the Doctor might tell Lord Chatham so if he pleased ; but he never mentioned it till the 3d of February.

Nothing more passed till the 2d. of February, when Sir James asked the Doctor, whether he had mentioned their former conversation to Lord Chatham. He said he had not. Sir James then said, that since that conversation he had seen Lord Bute, and was certain he had the same earnest desire with Lord Chatham to save the country ; and was also certain, that nobody could save it, but Lord Chatham, with the assistance of Lord Bute ; that Lord Bute was ready to assist him, and would be Secretary of State in the room of Lord Weymouth. The Doctor understood that Lord Bute had told Sir James so ; and

he has asked Sir James once or twice since, whether Lord Bute would have been Secretary of State in Lord Weymouth's room ? and he answered, Yes, he would, or would not, as Lord Chatham pleased. When Sir James had mentioned Lord Bute's readiness to assist Lord Chatham, and to be Secretary of State, he expressed a wish that the whole which had passed might be communicated to Lord Chatham. The Doctor, on this, resolved to go to Hayes the next morning for that purpose, looking upon it as a matter of very great moment. But he desired to have in writing, before he went, the substance of what had passed between Lord Bute and Sir James. Sir James said he had not time to write then, as he was in a hurry to go to Ray-house, but would write in the evening, and send his letter to town by nine the next morning. The Doctor, notwithstanding, was permitted to acquaint Lord Chatham with Lord Bute's willingness to be Secretary of State, and, as he understood, with every thing else he has deposed, which is not expressed in the letter. (Vide No. I.) The letter is dated the 2d of January, 1778 ; it should have been dated February 2d : the Doctor received it February 3d, before nine in the morning, and set out directly for Hayes. He read the letter to Lord Chatham, who was very attentive, and in a few minutes afterwards dictated this answer. (Vide No. II. as above). As soon as Dr. Addington had writ and read to Lord Chatham the above answer, he communicated to Lord Chatham what Sir James Wright had told him of the readiness of  
Lord



Lord Bute to be Secretary of State, in the place of Lord Weymouth. He seemed to think it strange. "Indeed! said he; did Sir James Wright tell you so?" He certainly told me so."—After this, he asked Lord Chatham, whether he had any objection to coming in with Lord Bute or Lord North? He lifted up his hands, and said "It was impossible for him to serve the King and country with either of them; and if any one asks you about it, I desire you to bear witness that you heard me say so." He repeated the same words just as the Doctor was leaving him.

Sir James continued at Ray-house till February 5th or 6th. He called on the Doctor in the morning of the 6th, and took a correct copy of Lord Chatham's answer, dated February 3d. Upon reading it, he asked what was meant by the words, "real change." It looks, said he, as if they included Lord Bute as well as the ministry, and as if Lord Chatham thought Lord Bute was concerned in public affairs. I can assure you, he has nothing to do with them, and has not seen the King these two years. If Lord Chatham has a mind to undertake the direction of public affairs, there will be no objection to his having the assistance of Lord Camden; but there are some he might chuse who could not be admitted. Sir James said, he was to wait on Lord Bute at one that day, and would send the Doctor an answer to Lord Chatham's paper between two and three, if Lord Bute should chuse to give any. But a misfortune happening in Lord

Bute's family, no answer was sent till February 8th in the morning. On the 7th of February, a servant of Lord Chatham's came to town, by whom Dr. Addington sent a letter to Hayes at two o'clock, giving Lord Chatham an account of the above-mentioned conversation with Sir James Wright on the 6th. On the evening of the 7th, his Lordship wrote the following answer, which the Doctor received the next morning. (Vide No. III. and No. IV).

On the 8th of February, soon after Lord Chatham's letter arrived, the Doctor received that letter from Sir James, which had been expected from February 6th. (Vide No. VI). It is dated February 7th, and contains Lord Bute's answer to Lord Chatham's paper of February 3d. The Doctor sent it immediately to Hayes, and had the next morning the answer written by Lady Chatham, dated February 9th (Vide No. VII). The Doctor communicated to Sir James Wright this letter from Lady Chatham, and also the latter part of that from Lord Chatham, as soon as he could; and so the affair ended.

P. S. In Sir James Wright's letter of February 2d, there are the following words: "I told Lord Bute that a friend of mine had hinted to me, that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship's honour, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety." After reading these words to Lord Chatham, the Doctor could not but take notice, that Sir James had mistaken him; for all he said was, that he thought  
Lord



Lord Chatham had no disrespect for Lord Bute, &c. as is stated above.

*Sir James Wright's Answer to Dr. Addington's Narrative.*

**A**N account having been printed in several of the Newspapers of the 14th and 16th instant, concerning a negociation, (if it may be called so) said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham, which seems to convey an impression as if Sir James Wright had carried to Dr. Addington a proposition from Lord Bute, to take a share in Administration with the late Earl of Chatham; Sir James Wright thinks himself obliged, in support of Truth, and in vindication of his own honour, to declare thus publicly what he has long since and repeatedly given under his own hand, and asserted verbally on this subject.

He therefore now declares, in the most solemn manner, upon the word of a man of honour.—“That he never received, directly, or indirectly, from the Earl of Bute, or delivered to Dr. Addington any proposition to that or the like effect; and that he never had the least authority from Lord Bute to mention, hint, or suggest to Dr. Addington any terms whatever on which his Lordship wished Lord Chatham to come into Administration, or made any offer on the part of Lord Bute, but of his hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes, if Lord Chatham thought fit to take a part in Administration.” Thus much Sir James Wright thinks proper to say at

present, until he can properly digest what he shall have shortly to offer the public on this subject,

These Accounts having been published in most of the Newspapers, occasioned the following Address from Lord Mountbarr, eldest son to the Earl of Bute.

*Hill-street, Oct. 23.*

S I R,

**T**HE publication which has appeared in your paper, and is there said to be taken from a copy handed about by the friends of the late Earl of Chatham, makes it necessary for me to desire a place for this letter signed with my name.

The first paragraph of that publication observes very truly, that various false reports had been industriously propagated concerning a negociation said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute, and the late Earl of Chatham. No less than three several reports of negociations between those two noble Lords reached me in the course of last Spring, each differing from the other two in circumstances, and all from one another in the substitutes named as having been employed in the transactions; and I took some pains to search into the origin of these stories; not to satisfy any doubt of mine as to their falshood; (for I believed none of them) but to convince some of my acquaintance who disagreed, and others who might disagree, with me in opinion upon the subject.

In consequence of these enquiries, the persons mentioned as agents or message-bearers in two of



of the three reports, very readily disclaimed all share in or knowledge of the transactions ascribed to them. With respect to the third, there was more pretence of foundation; since messages certainly passed between the late Earl of Chatham and my father, by means of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington.

The representation I had heard of some particulars in the subject matter of that intercourse surprised me so much, that I requested the favour of an explanation from Dr. Addington, who obligingly allowed me to write from his mouth such an account as he thought fit to give me, and approved my state of it when written. This was put into Sir James Wright's hands, who in a short time produced an answer contradicting it in all the material articles of their conversations, on which Dr. Addington's reports to Lord Chatham had been founded. I read over the answer to Dr. Addington, who persisted in maintaining the truth of his relations; but said, he would reconsider the matter at leisure, and put his thoughts into writing. Accordingly he afterwards sent me a paper, the same with that referred to in your publication, and since printed under the title of Dr. Addington's Narrative.

The relations given by these two gentlemen being thus inconsistent, it was thought proper that a full abstract should be prepared of their respective papers and others which my inquiries had produced, including my father's own account of his part in Sir James Wright's transactions, digested into some me-

thod, to be shewn to such as might desire to see it, but not allowed to be copied. This abstract or digest was executed by a friend, at my request, in a fair state of the allegations on both sides between Sir James and the Doctor; with a preliminary detail or introductory narrative of the several steps I had taken in the inquiries above-mentioned; and my friend's compilation hath been read by a few people; but no copy, as I am informed, hath been delivered out of my family, except one which had been intended for a very near relation, and was sent to Lady Chatham, with copies of Sir James Wright's papers, at her Ladyship's own desire. To these communications, I understand, it is immediately owing, that the authentic account lately printed was judged indispensably necessary to be drawn up and circulated; of which Lady Chatham was so good as to furnish my father with a copy thirteen or fourteen days before it appeared in print: so that I, who consider myself as being in some degree the cause of the publication, am for this reason called upon to take a public notice of it, if my connection, and the nature of the occasion did not afford me sufficient inducement and excuse for so doing.

The account is avowed expressly to be drawn up from papers in possession of the Earl of Chatham's family, in order to shew whether the supposed negociation did or did not originate from his Lordship; so that the papers are confessedly furnished by the Earl's family for the purpose of composing this account; which therefore bears



bears the stamp of that family's authority, whether printed by their direction or not.

The account closes with the following observation, viz. *From this unambiguous and authentic account, founded on indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine whether the following proposition is not fully established, viz. That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negociation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in Administration.*

The proposition here put, it must be observed, does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves in it a strong implication, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in Administration with his Lordship. Now I do not at all enter into the question, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negociation with the Earl of Bute; but when I consider the expression in his Lordship's dictated answer to Sir James Wright's letter, that he *heard with particular satisfaction the favourable sentiments on the subject of the noble Lord viz. Lord Bute) with whom Sir James Wright had talked,* and the following words of the sentence, that *zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope,* even under the impending ruin of the kingdom; it appears to me, that whatever ideas his Lordship might reject, he had not then resolved to reject all ideas of negociation with my father; conceiving, perhaps, from his assurance of hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes conveyed in Sir James Wright's

letter, some expectation of having the door of the Cabinet opened to him, by that hand, which, according to his notions, had always kept the key. I may proceed a step further: it seems probable that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the present year, was looking out for a negociation with my father; for Mr. Dagge, who was said in one of the above-mentioned reports to be concerned in transacting a negociation between the two noble Lords, and who is an acquaintance of Lord Bute, happening to say in common conversation with a friend of Lord Chatham, that he had heard my father speak respectfully of Lord Chatham, and give his opinion, that Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis; and this being reported to Lord Chatham by his friend, who heard it from Mr. Dagge, his Lordship instantly concluded, the words to be meant as a message to him from my father; but luckily his friend undeceived him in time; of which also I have my indisputable evidence from a paper of that friend, who obliged me with it at my own desire, but who cannot be suspected of wanting partiality for Lord Chatham.—It is said in the authentic account from the evidence of Dr. Addington's Narrative, that Lord Chatham held a conversation with the Doctor at Hayes, in which the former declared it *was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North;* but I believe nobody would discern in this part of their conversation at Hayes, the shadow of a proof that my father offered to serve the public in a Ministry



nistry with his Lordship, unless Dr. Addington had added this circumstance in this Narrative, as gathered from Sir James Wright's discourse with him: so that at last the indisputable evidence of this fact, so far as regards my father, rests wholly upon Dr. Addington's Narrative, which hath been flatly contradicted in that point, again and again, by Sir James Wright. Undoubtedly the Dr. and Sir James would have been sufficient witnesses of the message intended to be conveyed thro' them, if their accounts had agreed; but they differ so widely and essentially, that no evidence seems to have less claim to be called indisputable. What other evidence then can be resorted to in this case, but Lord Bute's own relation of his own proceedings? This I am at liberty to give you in the following extract from his letter to Lady Chatham, of the 16th of August last, dated from Luton-park.

“ Madam,

I am happy in the opportunity your Ladyship gives me of relating to you all I know concerning a transaction, in which both Lord Chatham and I have been strangely misrepresented to each other, and concerning which so many falsehoods have been so industriously propagated. When Sir James Wright communicated to me the very flattering language in which he declared Lord Chatham expressed himself concerning me, I was naturally led to mention my regard for his Lordship, and the high opinion I entertained of his superior talents, hoping from what was then publicly talked of, to see them once more employed in the Ministerial line; and collecting

from Sir James that the knowledge of my sentiments would not on this occasion be displeasing, I did not hesitate to express my hearty wishes that this important event might soon take place. Some time after this I was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to me: it was in substance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming condition we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it. As such a communication to a person in my retired situation, seemed only made on a supposition that I had still some share in public councils, it appeared necessary for me to dictate to Sir James my answer; in which, after lamenting the dangerous situation of affairs, unknown to me in such an extent, I added, that this affected me the more, as my long illness, and total seclusion from all public business, put it out of my power to be of the least service.—This, Madam, is the whole I am privy to in this affair, and all that passed between Sir James and me upon it.”

If any further explanation can be necessary from my father, respecting either the design or purport of his message, he allows me to say, in his name, that he did (perhaps erroneously) consider Dr. Addington's representations of Lord Chatham's manner of speaking of him, as reported at the time by Sir James Wright, to be intimations thrown out by his Lordship, in order to know his (my father's) sentiments upon the subject of his coming then into Administration: for which reason my father did not scruple to send a message by the person



person from whom he derived his information, signifying, that if Lord Chatham was appointed to Administration, the hearty concurrence of his judgment and sincere wishes of success would follow that appointment. He avers, at the same time, that he did not conceive a thought of proposing himself to his Lordship for any office, or of accepting any office with him, his own inclination having never prompted him, nor his state of health admitted him, to engage in public business, except on very few occasions in the House of Lords, from the time of his quitting the Treasury in 1763; neither did he entertain an idea of suggesting to Lord Chatham any arrangement of an Administration, his wishes, and the communication of them through Sir James Wright, having solely regarded Lord Chatham. There is another passage in your publication, which appears to me more material still with respect to my father, than what I have already mentioned. This is the copy of the note from Lord Chatham in his own hand-writing to Dr. Addington, saying, "the next attempt he (Sir James Wright) makes to surprise friendly integrity with courtly insinuation, let him know that his great Patron and your Village Friend differ in this; one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin, the other would sincerely endeavour to save it."

Here is a letter under the Earl of Chatham's hand, vouched to be such by the authority of his family, imputing to Lord Bute those counsels, which Lord Chatham says (whether justly or erroneously, is not the present question) have

ruined the King and kingdom. Every reader will at once have understood this imputation to be founded on Lord Chatham's opinion of Lord Bute's secret influence (as it is called), by which he has been imagined to dictate or controul the measures of the cabinet ever since the Earl of Chatham left it. Lord Bute has not been ignorant of the long prevalence of that error, having seen himself most injuriously treated in consequence of it, for many years past, by writers of pamphlets, Newspaper essays, and political paragraphs; all which he passed over in silent indignation and contempt; but when he sees the same cruel mistake advanced and countenanced by such an authority as the Earl of Chatham, he thinks he should be wanting to himself if he did not encounter it with the best evidence that can be supposed to lie within his reach.

There are but two persons in the kingdom who are capable of knowing the negative of that opinion with absolute certainty. One of them is of a rank too high to be appealed to, or even mentioned on this occasion; the other is himself. He does therefore authorize me to say, that he declares, upon his solemn word of honour, he has not had the honour of waiting on his Majesty but at his levee or drawing-room, nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices, or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a Ministry in 1765 to the present hour.

Before



Before I conclude, I must apprize your readers that I do not intend to set up for a News-paper author, or to answer questions, objections or observations, or to engage in printed altercation with any body. I am, &c.

MOUNTSTUART.

*Soon after the following letter made its appearance in the same Paper.*

*Harley-street, Thursday Oct. 29, 1778.*

S I R,

A Letter appeared in your paper, signed by Lord Mountstuart, of which I think it incumbent upon me to take public notice, and I should have done so sooner, if I had not been at that time at some distance from London. His Lordship's letter contains some passages which I think injurious to my father's memory, as well as observations on an *Authentic Account*, &c. which seems to require an answer from Lord Chatham's family. I wish it had fallen to some other hand to discharge this debt to my father's memory; at the same time, my impatience to vindicate his conduct, and to free this subject from misconstruction, cannot, I am persuaded, stand in need of any excuse, either towards Lord Mountstuart, or towards the public.

Lord Mountstuart, in the beginning of his letter, says, That no less than three reports of negotiations between my father and Lord Bute reached him in the course of last Spring. One of them appears to have arisen from the transaction between Sir James Wright and Doctor Addington, of which the public have heard so much already.—Another from that affair in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, which I shall have occasion to

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mention hereafter.——And the third report which Lord Mountstuart alludes to, I suppose to be the same with that mentioned in a paper drawn up at Lord Mountstuart's request, by Mr. Martyn. If it is, I can only say, that I have been assured by my brother-in-law, Lord Mahon, that my father himself told him, that Lord Bute's name was not mentioned in the affair which has occasioned that report.

Lord Mountstuart afterwards alludes to the abstract or digest drawn up by his friend on the subject of the negotiations between my father and Lord Bute. I think it right to declare that that paper, which was sent to my mother at her request by Lord Bute, together with the declarations of Sir James Wright and other concurring reports, tended, in the opinion of the family, to bring imputations upon my father's character, which they could not suffer to pass unnoticed. The persons therefore who compiled those papers sent to Lady Chatham, or who propagated such injurious reports, were, in fact, the causes of the *Authentic Account* being drawn up and circulated.

I shall now proceed to take notice of the remarks made by Lord Mountstuart, on the concluding proposition of the *Authentic Account*, which is, "*that the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation, peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in Administration.*" His Lordship says, "That the proposition does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but in-

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volves



volves in it a strong implication, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in Administration with him." To this I say, that the proposition, as quoted above, does not necessarily involve such an implication, nor is it any where asserted in the *Authentic Account*, that Lord Bute did make any such proposal. The proposition only implies (what I think the *Authentic Account* fully proves), that what was reported to Lord Chatham by Dr. Addington, was brought to him *as coming from Lord Bute*. Whether the ideas thus conveyed to Lord Chatham, originated entirely with Sir James Wright—whether they arose from misapprehensions of Dr. Addington, or whether they proceeded from Lord Bute himself, it is equally incontestible, in every one of these cases, that they came to Lord Chatham in the manner stated in the *Authentic Account*. Lord Chatham could consider those ideas only in the shape in which they came to him, and his messages in consequence are sufficient to shew his determination on this subject, without our enquiring how far the advances made to him were or were not authorized by Lord Bute. The sole motive of drawing up the *Authentic Account*, was the desire of vindicating my father's memory, and not any wish to affect the character of Lord Bute. If any one by reading the *Authentic Account*, is led to form any opinion relative to Lord Bute, it must be from the nature of the papers contained in it (which were necessary to be produced for my father's justification), and not from any assertion made or implied in any part of the account. Whoever has read

it, must have observed, that it consists of written and indisputable evidence, and does not contain a single word beyond that evidence, excepting only the few introductory lines;—the allusion to various conversations which had passed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, previous to the 3d. of February, which circumstance, I am persuaded, cannot be called in question;—the mention of Lord Chatham's conversation with Dr. Addington, and his declaration relative to Lord Bute and Lord North, which no one can pretend to controvert;—and finally, the concluding proposition, of the truth of which the public must judge, by considering the facts from which it is deduced. With respect to Dr. Addington's Narrative, it was, by his permission, added in the appendix, in order to throw light upon some parts of the transaction. If Sir James Wright contests any thing advanced in the Doctor's Narrative, the public judgment will finally rest on the comparative degree of credit due to those two gentlemen, and upon the probability or improbability of their respective assertions.

Lord Mountstuart also says, "That he does not at all enter into the question, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negociation with the Earl of Bute?" If his Lordship had strictly adhered to this intention through the remainder of his letter, these remarks would have been less necessary."

His lordship then endeavours to prove, "That my father, at the time of dictating his answer to Sir James Wright's first letter, had  
not



not resolved to reject all ideas of negociation with Lord Bute." Now, if Lord Mountstuart means by this, that Lord Chatham would not, from any personal objection to Lord Bute, have refused to listen to such proposals, as might be perfectly consistent with his honour and his principles, and which he might have accepted with the prospect of being serviceable to his country, *merely because they came through his Lordship*; Lord Mountstuart can deduce from this nothing that in any way affects the present question. If, on the other hand, he means that Lord Chatham had not resolved to reject a negociation of any other description, or that there was any time when he would not have rejected every idea of acting with Lord Bute in Administration; this opinion is utterly without foundation, and no argument has been produced in support of it.

The expressions which Lord Mountstuart quotes from my father's note are these: that "*Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction the favourable sentiments of his subject on the noble Lord with whom Sir James Wright had talked, and that zeal, duty and obedience might outlive hope*" (even under the impending ruin of the kingdom). Now what does the first of these expressions amount to, but that Lord Chatham heard, with much satisfaction, those high expressions of approbation and explicit *offers of concurrence*, from one who was generally thought (no matter how truly) to have so much influence in the government of this country, which were conveyed in Sir James Wright's first letter, with the express desire that they might be

communicated through Dr. Addington to Lord Chatham?—And what is the meaning of the second expression, but that Lord Chatham, however desperate he thought the situation of public affairs, would still perform the duties of a good subject, in endeavouring to prevent, if possible, the final ruin of the kingdom? It is impossible, therefore, to argue from either of these expressions, which were written in answer to Sir James Wright, that my father either courted a negociation with Lord Bute, or was willing to act with his lordship in Administration; unless it can be pretended that the professions of *zeal, duty, and obedience*, are to be referred to Lord Bute. Let it also be remembered, that the very message from which Lord Mountstuart has quoted the expressions above recited, contains in it the declaration of Lord Chatham's opinion "*That, if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new Counsels and new Counsellors, without further loss of time, a REAL CHANGE, from sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless*;" which words were considered by Sir James Wright, and (as appears from Sir James's letter of February 7th) were considered by Lord Bute himself, as including his Lordship as well as the Ministry.

Lord Mountstuart next attempts to shew, "That Lord Chatham at the beginning of the present year was *looking out* for a negociation with Lord Bute." It is not very clear what exactly is meant by that expression. I cannot imagine Lord Mountstuart to have intended to



imply that Lord Chatham expected a negotiation would be begun on the part of Lord Bute : because that would seem as if Lord Mountstuart admitted that there was ground for such an expectation. But, if he intended by this expression to convey, that Lord Chatham was disposed to court a negotiation with the Earl of Bute, I must take the liberty to assert, that the circumstance he refers to is no proof of such a position. The affair mentioned by Lord Mountstuart, in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, was reported to Lord Chatham by his nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt, (who is at present out of England) and it is from him that Lord Mountstuart must have received the account he alludes to. His Lordship has not thought proper to lay that paper before the public, and therefore I need not enlarge upon the subject; but I am confident Mr. Pitt cannot have asserted any thing which has the most remote tendency to prove that Lord Chatham was at any time *looking out* for a negotiation with Lord Bute. The only reason alledged by Lord Mountstuart for thinking that he was, amounts to no more than this: That Lord Bute did speak respectfully of Lord Chatham to Mr. Dagge, and did declare his opinion, that *Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis*. That Mr. Dagge did communicate this to Lord Chatham's nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt — That he did go to Hayes in order to report this to Lord Chatham — and that Lord Chatham did in consequence imagine, that it was meant by Lord Bute to be communicated to him. On this I do not think it necessary to make any observation. I must, however, add,

that those who received an account of this affair from my father's own mouth, know, that he was so far from welcoming these unauthorized advances, with the view of improving them into farther negotiation, that he expressed in the strongest terms his dislike to such a mode of application.

Lord Mountstuart observes, that Lord Chatham's declaration to Dr. Addington, "*That it was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North,*" is no proof that Lord Bute offered to serve the public in a ministry with Lord Chatham. It was never intended as a proof of that matter; but merely as an evidence of Lord Chatham's resolution not to act in Administration with Lord Bute. To that point Dr. Addington's evidence is conclusive; for, however other parts of his Narrative may be contradicted by Sir James Wright, it is impossible for Sir James to dispute his account of the conversation between Lord Chatham and the Doctor, at Hayes. There are, however, other persons besides Doctor Addington, to whom Lord Chatham has made the strongest declarations to the same purpose; and the more his conduct is canvassed the more proofs will appear of this unalterable resolution.

I must now add a few words with regard to the extract of Lord Bute's letter to my mother, which is quoted by Lord Mountstuart. Lord Bute mentions, "That Sir James Wright communicated to him the very flattering language in which Sir James declared Lord Chatham expressed himself concerning Lord Bute." I am very far from questioning that Sir James Wright expressed himself in the manner stated by



by Lord Bute ; but I must observe, that Sir James does not pretend to have heard that Lord Chatham held such language from any other person than from Doctor Addington ; and whoever will take the trouble to recur to the Doctor's Narrative, will there find that the Doctor in the beginning of this transaction, declared to Sir James Wright, that, to the best of his remembrance, *Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.*

Lord Bute in another part of his letter says, " That he was extremely surpris'd with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to him, It was in substance, Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming condition we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it." Lord Bute cannot possibly here refer to any thing, except to the Paper No. 2, which is printed in the *Authentic Account*. The opinion contained in that paper of the *necessary measures* to be taken is only in *general terms*, that "*if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new Counsels and new Counsellors, &c.*" and this communication did not proceed spontaneously from my father, but was in answer to Sir James Wright's letter of February 2, which was by his desire communicated to Lord Chatham.

The latter part of Lord Mount Stuart's letter relates to Lord Chatham's expression, "*That Lord Bute had brought the King and Kingdom to ruin.*" What reason Lord Chatham had at that time for thinking that Lord Bute influenced the measures of Government, it would be presumption in me to examine ; nor is it for me to enquire, whether he

was or was not deceived in his opinion of the public ruin. But in this single instance, those who revere his memory the most will sincerely rejoice (as he himself would, were he living) if they shall find his opinion disproved by the event.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM PITT.

*These Letters were followed by an Answer from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington's Narrative, in which, after some apologies for engaging the attention of the public, the writer proceeds thus :*

"**D**R. Addington (says he) has been long and intimately connected with Sir James Wright ; Sir James had known him from his youth ; considered him as the friend of his bosom, with whom he has ever, on all subjects, communicated as freely as with another self. Dr. Addington was *physician to Sir James* ; and therefore saw him frequently in those moments in which a man is least upon his guard ; under that character, in which a man is most apt to confide. Little credit, it is conceived, can be due to the Narrative of such a man, so circumstanced ; if, on examining that Narrative, it shall appear that he has *divulged*—it is harsh, but it must be added—that he has *misrepresented* a confidential intercourse ; which, if not private friendship, yet, professional delicacy should have kept from the ear of babbling Curiosity.

" Before the Reader turns to the Narrative, yet another trait of the good Doctor's character must be pointed out to him. Dr. Addington's abilities as a physician are acknowledged : On the subject of his  
(R) 3 profession



feſſion no man more learned or more pertinent. But that is rarely the ſubject of his choice. His darling theme is *Politicks*. Though the whole liſtning College ſhould hang on what he ſpoke, it would give him little pleaſure; his joy, his pride, are to dictate on the ſubject of *Politicks*.

“ This Remark is not made with a view of throwing any ridicule on the Doctor, but only with a view of ſetting him right in a little point of Chronology; for, at the very outſet of the Narrative, his memory fails him. Long before the beginning of the year 1778 had the Doctor converſed with Sir James Wright of Lord Bute and Lord Chatham. He may remember that Sir James had a long fit of illneſs, which commenced *more than a year* before the æra from which the Doctor ſets out; that during that illneſs his viſits to Sir James were frequent, almoſt daily; that in all theſe viſits, equally attentive to the conſtitution of his country, as to the conſtitution of his patient, he recurred to his darling topic *Politics*; that the hero of his theme was Lord Chatham; that the burthen of his ſong were the diſtreſſes of the nation. Let him recollect, and he will ſurely remember, that at this period, twelve months before the time which, for want of recollection, he ſo confidently fixes to be the ‘*firſt time Sir James Wright talked with him reſpecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham*,’ he frequently gave it as his own opinion, at leaſt, that Lord Chatham had no unfavourable opinion of Lord Bute, but conceived him to

be an honeſt man, to wiſh well to his country, to be a man endowed with many private virtues.

“ Was it then ſo very wonderful that, in the beginning of the year 1778, Sir James Wright ſhould ‘*talk with Dr. Addington reſpecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham*,’ when Lord Bute and Lord Chatham had been the conſtant ſubject of the Doctor’s converſations with Sir James Wright at viſits ſo frequently repeated, continued to ſuch a length during the courſe of the year 1777? Would it have been very wonderful, if, knowing how familiarly the Doctor was received by Lord Chatham: if, obſerving how frequently he introduced his opinion of the point of view in which Lord Bute was regarded by Lord Chatham; if, remarking the zeal with which he always entered on the ſubject, Sir James had been led to conclude, that the Doctor, under his own name, was delivering the opinion, was ſpeaking from the inſtructions of his patron? That his patron was not averſe to a negotiation, but had ſent forth his truſty Achates to ſound the land, leſt peradventure his pride (the friends of Lord Chatham will allow that he poſſeſſed at leaſt a decent pride) might be hurt by a reſuſal! Would it have been very wonderful, if, under that idea, Sir James has communicated to Lord Bute—not *exposed to the publick*—the purport of ſuch converſation?

“ But the fact is, Sir James had no ſuch idea. He conſidered the frequency of the Doctor’s viſits; he conſidered the \* length of his viſits as the pure effects of a warm

\* The Doctor’s *political* viſits—for ſuch they were, as much as *medicinal* viſits—frequently exceeded *two hours*. No doubt his other patients may boaſt of the ſame attention. Sir James has not now the vanity to ſuppoſe that he has been *distinguished*.



and disinterested friendship; he considered the introduction of political subjects as kindly meant to beguile the *tædium* of a long and painful illness. He saw in the Doctor, or he thought he saw, a skilful physician and an affectionate friend. Wishing for nothing further, he looked for nothing further. It was a very worthy, a very respectable friend, who had been present at most of the conversations which preceded, and at all those which succeeded the æra from which the Doctor chooses to set out, who first suggested to Sir James, that the frequent enquiries of the Doctor about the return of Sir James to town in the beginning of 1778; that his frequent visits when he was returned, indicated something more than the attention which an eminent physician has the leisure, or the most intimate friend has the inclination to shew. That friend it was, who comparing this frequency of visits with the constant recourse to the same topic of conversation, first suggested, that it was meant, and wished, that the purport of these conversations should be communicated to Lord Bute.

“ Here then is the origin of the transaction, which the author of the *Authentic Account* is willing to call—and yet, it seems, ashamed to call ‘a negociation;’ and which, whatever it may be called, began on the second, and terminated (on the part of Sir James) on the seventh of February.

“ True, indeed, it is, that Dr. Addington, in his very curious Nar-

rative\*, talks of various conversations which preceded the epoch of various conversations which passed in the month of January.

“ Of these various conversations one extract deserves the reader’s particular attention.

“ The great object, which the Doctor attributes to Sir James, was to save this country from ruin. The only means which the Doctor supposes Sir James to have discovered of saving it was, that Lord Chatham should be brought into Administration by Lord Bute. And the reason why he thought this to be the only means was, that he had ‘*remarked, they were the two men whom the King hated most.*

“ It is with reluctance Sir James even quotes this passage. The name of his Sovereign is too dear, too sacred, to have been voluntarily introduced; He never so far forgot his duty as to speak so irreverently of his King. If he has quoted this passage, it is only to expose the palpable inconsistency of the Narrative. Is it possible that Sir James could pretend to have been authorised by Lord Bute to commission Dr. Addington, or that Sir James could wish to engage Dr. Addington, to negotiate with the Earl of Chatham about the terms of acting with the Earl of Bute in Administration, at the very moment when he represented the Earl of Bute to be in the predicament in which he is here made to represent him?

“ What idea must the reader form of the understanding of Dr. Addington, if he could have ac-

\* Narrative, folio 536. The Compiler of the *Authentic Account* is the inventor of a new kind of arrangement. In his compilation, the *Narrative* forms the *Appendix*; and the vouchers introduced to support the Narrative, form the body of the work. There are occasions where obscurity is better than order.



cepted this commission; if he could even have listened another moment to a man, who, if his account were true, must have been the wildest of all possible visionaries?

“ But the conversations, whatever they were, which passed previously to the third of February, make no part of what is called the *Negotiation*: For the Doctor set out with the caution of a veteran member of the *corps diplomatique*. However he may now find it convenient to apply, or to misapply, these pretended conversations; he determined prudentially, at the time, for himself, and in the event, happily for Sir James, he determined—not to trust to mere conversation. ‘ *He desired to have in writing the substance of what had passed between him and Sir James.*’ He had it in writing. He received the writing ‘ *on the third of February before nine in the morning, and set out directly for Hayes.*’

“ To this written evidence then let the reader advert. It was on that which was *written*, and on that *alone*, the Doctor was to negotiate. All that had passed, and which was not written, was, in that very paper, declared to be of *little concern*.”

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*Particulars of the Mischianza, exhibited in America at the Departure of General Howe.*

*Copy of a Letter from an Officer at Philadelphia to his Correspondent in London.*

*Philadelphia, May 23, 1778.*

FOR the first time in my life I write to you with unwillingness. The ship that carries home Sir William Howe will convey this letter to you; and not even the

pleasure of conversing with my friend can secure me from the general dejection I see around me, or remove the share I must take in the universal regret and disappointment which his approaching departure hath spread throughout the whole army. We see him taken from us at a time when we most stand in need of so skilful and popular a commander; when the experience of three years, and the knowledge he hath acquired of the country and people, have added to the confidence we always placed in his conduct and abilities. You know he was ever a favourite with the military; but the affection and attachment which all ranks of officers in this army bear him can only be known by those who have at this time seen them in their effects. I do not believe there is upon record an instance of a Commander in Chief having so universally endeared himself to those under his command; or of one who received such signal and flattering proofs of their love. That our sentiments might be the more universally and unequivocally known, it was resolved amongst us, that we should give him as splendid an entertainment as the shortness of the time, and our present situation, would allow us. For the expences, the whole army would have most chearfully contributed; but it was requisite to draw the line somewhere, and twenty-two field officers joined in a subscription adequate to the plan they meant to adopt. I know your curiosity will be raised on this occasion; I shall therefore give you as particular an account of our *Mischianza* as I have been able to collect. From the name you will perceive that it was made up of a variety



tiety of entertainments. Four of the gentlemen subscribers were appointed managers—Sir John Wrottesley, Col. O'Hara, Major Gadinier, and Capt. Montresor, the chief engineer. On the tickets of admission, which they gave out for Monday the 18th, was engraved, in a shield, a view of the sea, with the setting sun, and on a wreath, the words *Luceo discedens, aucto splendore resurgam*. At top was the General's crest, with *vive, vale!* All round the shield ran a vignette, and various military trophies filled up the ground. A grand regatta began the entertainment. It consisted of three divisions. In the first was the Ferret galley, having on board several General Officers, and a number of Ladies. In the centre was the Hussar galley, with Sir William and Lord Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, the officers of their suite, and some Ladies. The Cornwallis galley brought up the rear, having on board General Knyphausen and his suite, three British Generals, and a party of Ladies. On each quarter of these galleys, and forming their division, were five flat boats, lined with green cloth, and filled with Ladies and Gentlemen. In front of the whole were three flat boats, with a band of music in each—Six barges rowed about each flank, to keep off the swarm of boats that covered the river from side to side. The galleys were dressed out in a variety of colours and streamers, and in each flat boat was displayed the flag of its own division. In the stream opposite the centre of the city, the Fanny armed ship, magnificently decorated, was placed at anchor, and at some distance a-head lay his Majesty's ship Roebuck, with the

Admiral's flag hoisted at the fore-topmast-head. The transport ships, extending in a line the whole length of the town, appeared with colours flying, and crowded with spectators, as were also the openings of the several wharfs on shore, exhibiting the most picturesque and enlivening scene the eye could desire. The rendezvous was at Knight's Wharf, at the northern extremity of the city. By half after four the whole company were embarked, and the signal being made by the Vigilant's manning ship, the three divisions rowed slowly down, preserving their proper intervals, and keeping time to the music that led the fleet. Arrived between the Fanny and the Market Wharf, a signal was made from one of the boats a head, and the whole lay upon their oars, while the music played *God save the King*, and three cheers given from the vessels were returned from the multitude on shore. By this time the flood-tide became too rapid for the galleys to advance; they were therefore quit- ted, and the company disposed of in the different barges. This alteration broke in upon the order of procession, but was necessary to give sufficient time for displaying the entertainment that was prepared on shore.

The landing place was at the Old Fort, a little to the southward of the town, fronting the building prepared for the reception of the company, about 400 yards from the water by a gentle ascent. As soon as the General's barge was seen to push for the shore, a salute of 17 guns was fired from the Roebuck, and, after some interval, by the same number from the Vigilant. The company, as they disembarked,



ed, arranged themselves into a line of procession, and advanced through an avenue formed by two files of grenadiers, and a line of light-horse supporting each file. This avenue led to a square lawn of 150 yards on each side, lined with troops and properly prepared for the exhibition of a tilt and tournament, according to the customs and ordinances of ancient chivalry. We proceeded through the centre of the square. The music, consisting of all the bands of the army, moved in front. The Managers, with favours of blue and white ribbands in their breasts, followed next in order. The General, Admiral, and the rest of the company succeeded promiscuously.

In front appeared the building, bounding the view through a vista formed by two triumphal arches, erected at proper intervals in a line with the landing place. Two pavilions, with rows of benches, rising one above the other, and serving as the advanced wings of the first triumphal arch, received the Ladies, while the Gentlemen ranged themselves in convenient order on each side. On the front seat of each pavilion were placed seven of the principal young Ladies of the country, dressed in Turkish habits, and wearing in their turbans the favours with which they meant to reward the several Knights who were to contend in their honour. These arrangements were scarce made when the sound of trumpets was heard at a distance; and a band of Knights, dressed in ancient habits of white and red silk, and mounted on grey horses, richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colours, entered the lists, attended by their Esquires on foot,

in suitable apparel, in the following order:—Four trumpeters, properly habited, their trumpets decorated with small pendent banners—A herald in his robes of ceremony; on his tunic was the device of his band, two roses intertwined, with the motto, *We droop when separated*.

Lord Cathcart, superbly mounted on a managed horse, appeared as chief of these Knights; two young black slaves, with sashes and drawers of blue and white silk, wearing large silver clasps round their necks and arms, their breasts and shoulders bare, held his stirrups. On his right hand walked Capt. Hazard, and on his left Capt. Brownlow, his two Esquires, one bearing his lance, the other his shield.

His device was Cupid riding on a Lion, the Motto, *Surmounted by Love*. His Lordship appeared in honour of Miss Auchmuty.

Then came in order the Knights of his band, each attended by his Squire, bearing his lance and shield.

1st Knight, Hon. Capt. Cathcart, in honour of Miss N. White.—Squire, Capt. Peters.—Device a heart and sword; Motto, *Love and Honour*.

2d Knight, Lieut. Bygrove, in honour of Miss Craig.—Squire Lieut. Nichols.—Device, Cupid tracing a Circle; Motto, *Without end*.

3d Knight, Capt. André, in honour of Miss P. Chew.—Squire, Lieut. André.—Device, two Gamecocks fighting; Motto, *No Rival*.

4th Knight, Capt. Horneck, in honour of Miss N. Redman.—Squire, Lieut. Talbot.—Device, a burning Heart; Motto, *Absence cannot extinguish*.

5th Knight, Capt. Matthews, in honour



honour of Miss Bond——Squire, Lieut. Hamilton.—Device, a winged Heart; Motto, *Each Fair by Turn*.

6th Knight, Lieut. Sloper, in honour of Miss M. Shippen.—Squire, Lieut. Brown.—Device, a Heart and Sword; Motto, *Honour and the Fair*.

After they had made the circuit of the square, and saluted the Ladies as they passed before the pavilions, they ranged themselves in a line with that in which were the Ladies of their Device; and their Herald (Mr. Beaumont,) advancing into the center of the square, after a flourish of trumpets, proclaimed the following challenge: “The Knights of the Blended Rose, by me their Herald, proclaim and assert that the Ladies of the Blended Rose excel in wit, beauty, and every accomplishment, those of the *whole world*; and should any Knight or Knights be so hardy as to dispute or deny it, they are ready to enter the lists with them, and maintain their assertions by deeds of arms, according to the laws of ancient chivalry.”

At the third repetition of the challenge, the sound of trumpets was heard from the opposite side of the square; and another Herald, with four Trumpeters, dressed in black and orange galloped into the lists. He was met by the Herald of the Blended Rose, and after a short parley, they both advanced in front of the pavilions, when the Black Herald (Lieut. More) ordered his trumpets to sound, and then proclaimed defiance to the challenge in the following words:

“The Knights of the Burning Mountain present themselves here, not to contest by words, but to dis-

prove by deeds, the vain-glorious assertions of the Knights of the Blended Rose, and enter these lists to maintain, that the Ladies of the Burning Mountain are not excelled in beauty, virtue, or accomplishments, by any in the universe.”

He then returned to the part of the barrier through which he had entered; and shortly after the Black Knights, attended by their Squires, rode into the lists in the following order:

Four Trumpeters preceding the Herald, on whose tunic was represented a mountain, sending forth flames.—Motto, *I burn for ever*.

Captain Watson, of the guards, as Chief, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk, and mounted on a black managed horse, with trappings of the same colours, with his own dress, appeared in honour of Miss Franks. He was attended in the same manner as Lord Cathcart. Capt. Scot bore his lance, and Lieut. Lyttleton his shield. The Device, a Heart, with a Wreath of Flowers; Motto, *Love and Glory*.

1st Knight, Lieut. Underwood, in honour of Miss S. Shippen.—Squire, Ensign Haverkam.—Device, a Pelican feeding her young; Motto, *For those I love*.

2d Knight, Lieut. Winyard, in honour of Miss P. Shippen.—Squire, Capt. Boscawen.—Device, a Bay-leaf; Motto, *Unchangeable*.

3d Knight, Lieut. Delaval, in honour of Miss B. Bond.—Squire, Capt. Thorne.—Device, a Heart, aimed at by several arrows, and struck by one; Motto, *One only pierces me*.

4th Knight, Monsieur Montluisant, (Lieut. of the Hessian Chasseurs) in honour of Miss B. Redman



man.—Squire, Capt. Campbell.—Device, a Sun-flower turning towards the Sun; Motto, *Je vise à vous*.

5th Knight, Lieut. Hobbart, in honour of Miss S. Chew.—Squire, Lieut. Briscoe.—Device, Cupid piercing a Coat of Mail with his Arrow; Motto, *Proof to all but Love*.

6th Knight, Brigade-Major Tarlton, in honour of Miss W. Smith.—Squire, Ensign Hart.—Device, a Light Dragoon; Motto, *Swift, vigilant, and bold*.

After they had rode round the lists, and made their obeisance to the Ladies, they drew up fronting the White Knights; and the Chief of these having thrown down his gauntlet, the Chief of the Black Knights directed his Esquire to take it up. The Knights then received their lances from their Esquires, fixed their shields on their left arms, and making a general salute to each other, by a very graceful movement of their lances, turned round to take their career, and, encountering in full gallop, shivered their spears. In the second and third encounter they discharged their pistols. In the fourth they fought with their swords. At length the two Chiefs, spurring forward into the centre, engaged furiously in single combat, till the Marshal of the Field (Major Gwyne) rushed in between the Chiefs, and declared that the Fair Damsels of the Blended Rose and Burning Mountain were perfectly satisfied with the proofs of love, and the signal feats of valour, given by their respective Knights; and commanded them, as they prized the future favours of their Mistresses, that they would instantly desist from further

combat. Obedience being paid by the Chiefs to this order, they joined their respective bands. The White Knights and their attendants filed off to the left, the Black Knights to the right; and, after passing each other at the lower side of the quadrangle, moved up alternately, till they approached the pavilions of the Ladies, when they gave a general salute.

A passage being now opened between the two pavilions, the Knights, preceded by their Squires and the bands of music, rode through the first triumphal arch, and arranged themselves to the right and left. This arch was erected in honour of Lord Howe. It presented two fronts, in the Tuscan order; the pediment was adorned with various naval trophies, and at top was the figure of Neptune, with a trident in his right hand. In a niche, on each side, stood a Sailor with a drawn cutlass. Three Plumes of Feathers were placed on the summit of each wing, and in the entablature was this inscription: *Laus illi debetur, et alma gratia major*. The interval between the two arches was an avenue 300 feet long, and 34 broad. It was lined on each side with a file of troops; and the colours of all the army, planted at proper distances, had a beautiful effect in diversifying the scene. Between these colours the Knights and Squires took their stations. The Bands continued to play several pieces of martial music. The company moved forward in procession, with the Ladies in the Turkish habits in front; as these passed, they were saluted by their Knights, who then dismounted and joined them: and in this order we were all conducted in-



to a garden that fronted the house, through the second triumphal arch, dedicated to the General. This arch was also built in the Tuscan order. On the interior part of the pediment, was painted a Plume of Feathers, and various military trophies. At top stood the figure of Fame, and in the entablature this device.—*I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocet; I, pede fausto.* On the right hand pillar was placed a bomb-shell, and on the left a flaming heart. The front next the house, was adorned with preparations for a fire-work. From the garden we ascended a flight of steps, covered with carpets, which led into a spacious hall; the pannels, painted in imitation of Sienna marble, enclosing festoons of white marble: the surbase, and all below, was black. In this hall, and in the adjoining apartments, were prepared tea, lemonade, and other cooling liquors, to which the company seated themselves; during which time the Knights came in, and on the knee received their favours from their respective Ladies. One of these rooms was afterwards appropriated for the use of the Pharaoh table; as you entered it you saw, on a pannel over the chimney, a Cornucopia, exuberantly filled with flowers of the richest colours; over the door, as you went out, another presented itself, shrunk, reversed, and emptied.

From these apartments we were conducted up to a ball-room, decorated in a light elegant stile of painting. The ground was a pale blue, pannelled with a small gold bead, and in the interior filled with dropping festoons of flowers in their natural colours. Below the surbase the ground was of rose-pink, with

drapery festooned in blue. These decorations were heightened by 85 mirrors, decked with rose-pink silk ribbands, and artificial flowers; and in the intermediate spaces were 34 branches with wax-lights, ornamented in a similar manner.

On the same floor were four drawing-rooms, with side boards of refreshments, decorated and lighted in the same stile and taste as the ball-room. The ball was opened by the Knights and their Ladies; and the dances continued till ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open, and a magnificent bouquet of rockets began the fire-works. These were planned by Capt. Montresor, the chief engineer, and consisted of twenty different exhibitions, displayed under his direction with the happiest success, and in the highest stile of beauty. Towards the conclusion, the interior part of the triumphal arch was illuminated amidst an uninterrupted flight of rockets, and bursting of balloons. The military trophies on each side, assumed a variety of transparent colours. The shell and flaming heart on the wings sent forth Chinese fountains, succeeded by fire pots. Fame appeared at top, spangled with stars, and from her trumpet blowing the following device in letters of light, *Tes Lauriers sont immortels.*—A sauteur of rockets, bursting from the pediment, concluded the *feu d'artifice*.

At twelve supper was announced, and large folding doors, hitherto artfully concealed, being suddenly thrown open, discovered a magnificent saloon of 210 feet by 40, and 22 feet in height, with three alcoves on each side, which served for side boards. The cieling was the segment of a circle, and the sides were



were painted of a light straw-colour, with vine leaves and festoon flowers, some in a bright, some in a darkish green. Fifty-six large pier-glasses, ornamented with green silk artificial flowers and ribbands; 100 branches, with three lights in each, trimmed in the same manner as the mirrors; 18 lustres, each with 24 lights, suspended from the ceiling, and ornamented as the branches; 300 wax-tapers, disposed along the supper tables; 430 covers, 1200 dishes; 24 black slaves, in oriental dresses, with silver collars and bracelets, ranged in two lines, and bending to the ground as the General and Admiral approached the saloon: all these, forming together the most brilliant assemblage of gay objects, and appearing at once as we entered by an easy descent, exhibited a *coup d'oeil* beyond description magnificent.

Towards the end of supper, the Herald of the Blended Rose, in his habit of ceremony, attended by his trumpets, entered the saloon, and proclaimed the King's health, the Queen, and Royal Family, the Army and Navy, with their respective Commanders, the Knights and their Ladies, the Ladies in general: each of these toasts was followed by a flourish of music. After supper we returned to the ball-room, and continued to dance till four o'clock.

Such, my dear friend, is the description, though a very faint one, of the most splendid entertainment, I believe, ever given by an army to their General. But what must be most grateful to Sir W. Howe, is the spirit and motives from which it was given. He goes from this place to-morrow; but, as I understand, he means to stay a day or two

with his brother on board the Eagle at Billingsport, I shall not seal this letter till I see him depart from Philadelphia.

Sunday 24th. I am just returned from conducting our beloved General to the water-side, and have seen him receive a more flattering testimony of the love and attachment of his army, than all the pomp and splendor of the *Mischianza* could convey to him. I have seen the most gallant of our officers, and those whom I least suspected of giving such instances of their affection, shed tears while they bid him farewell. The gallant and affectionate General of the Hessians, Knyphausen, was so moved, that he could not finish a compliment he began to pay him in his own name and that of his officers who attended him. Sir Henry Clinton attended him to the wharf, where Lord Howe received him into his barge, and they are both gone down to Billingsport. On my return, I saw nothing but dejected countenances.

Adieu, &c.

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*An Account of the Ceremony observed at the first Audience given to Monsieur Gerard, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French King to the Rebel Colonies, by their General Congress; a Copy and Translation of the French King's Letter to them, his Minister's Speech in Congress, with their Reply by the President.*

Philadelphia, August 11.

LAST Thursday being the day appointed by Congress for the audience of the Sieur Gerard, Minister Plenipotentiary from his most Christian



Christian Majesty, that Minister received audience accordingly. In pursuance of the ceremonial established by Congress, the Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Esq. one of the delegates from Virginia, and the Hon. Samuel Adams, Esq. one of the delegates from Massachusetts-bay, in a coach and six, provided by Congress, waited upon the Minister at his house. In a few minutes the Minister and the two delegates entered the coach, Mr. Lee placing himself at the Minister's left hand on the back seat, Mr. Adams occupying the front seat; the Minister's chariot being behind, received his Secretary. The carriages being arrived at the state-house in this city, the two members of Congress, placing themselves at the minister's left hand, a little before one o'clock, introduced him to his chair in the Congress-chamber; the President and Congress sitting—the Minister being seated, he gave his credentials into the hands of his Secretary, who advanced and delivered them to the President. The Secretary of Congress then read and translated them; which being done, Mr. Lee announced the Minister to the President and Congress; at this time the President, the Congress, and the Minister rose together: he bowed to the President and the Congress; they bowed to him: whereupon the whole seated themselves. In a moment, the Minister rose and made a speech to Congress, they sitting. The speech being finished, the Minister sat down, and, giving a copy of his speech to his Secretary, he presented it to the President. The President and the

Congress then arose, and the President pronounced their answer to the speech, the Minister standing. The answer being ended, the whole were again seated, and the President giving a copy of the answer to the Secretary of Congress, he presented it to the Minister. The President, the Congress, and Minister, then again rose together: the Minister bowed to the President, who returned the salute, and then to the Congress, who also bowed in return: and, the Minister having bowed to the President and received his bow, he withdrew, and was attended home in the same manner in which he had been conducted to the audience.

Within the bar of the House, the Congress formed a semicircle on each side of the President and the Minister: the President sitting at one extremity of the circle, at a table upon a platform elevated two steps,——the Minister sitting at the opposite extremity of the circle in an arm chair, upon the same level with the Congress. The door of the Congress-chamber being thrown open, below the bar, about 200 gentlemen were admitted to the audience, among whom were the Vice-president of the supreme executive Council of Pennsylvania, the supreme executive Council, the Speaker, and members of the House of Assembly, several foreigners of distinction, and officers of the army.

The audience being over, the Congress and the Minister, at a proper hour, repaired to an entertainment by Congress given to the Minister; at which were present, by invitation, several foreigners



ers of distinction, and gentlemen of public character. The entertainment was conducted with a decorum suited to the occasion, and gave perfect satisfaction to the whole company.

*In Congress, Aug. 6, 1778.*

According to order, the honourable the Sieur Gerard being introduced to an audience by the two members for that purpose appointed, and being seated in his chair, his Secretary delivered to the President a letter from his most Christian Majesty, which was read in the words following:

Very dear great friends and allies,

THE treaties which we have signed with you, in consequence of the proposals your Commissioners made to us in your behalf, are a certain assurance of our affection for the United States in general, and for each of them in particular, as well as of the interest we take, and constantly shall take, in their happiness and prosperity. It is to convince you more particularly of this, that we have nominated the Sieur Gerard, Secretary of our Council of State, to reside among you in the quality of our Minister Plenipotentiary; he is the better acquainted with our sentiments toward you, and the more capable of testifying the same to you, as he was entrusted on our part to negotiate with your Commissioners, and signed with them the treaties which cement our union. We pray you to give full credit to all he shall communicate to you from us, more especially when he shall assure you of our affection and constant friendship for you. We pray God, very dear

great friends and allies, to have you in his holy keeping. Your good friend and ally.

Signed,

LOUIS.

*Versailles, March 28, 1778.*

(Under-signed) GRAVIER de VERGENNES.

(Directed)

To our very dear great Friends the President and Members of the General Congress of North America.

The Minister was then announced to the President and the House, whereupon he arose and addressed Congress in the speech, which, when he had finished, his Secretary delivered the same in writing to the President, as follows:

Gentlemen,

THE connection formed by the King, my master, with the United States of America, is so agreeable to him, that he could no longer delay sending me to reside among you, for the purpose of cementing it. It will give his Majesty great satisfaction to learn that the sentiments, which have shone forth on this occasion, justify that confidence with which he hath been inspired by the zeal and character of the Commissioners of the United States in France, the wisdom and fortitude which have directed the resolutions of Congress, and the courage and perseverance of the people they represent; a confidence which you know, gentlemen, has been the basis of that truly amicable and disinterested system, on which he hath treated with the United States.

It is not his Majesty's fault that the engagements he hath entered into



into did not establish your independence and repose, without the further effusion of blood, and without aggravating the calamities of mankind, whose happiness it is his highest ambition to promote and secure. But, since the hostile measures and designs of the common enemy have given to engagements purely eventual an immediate, positive, permanent, and indissoluble force, it is the opinion of the King my master, that the allies should turn their whole attention to fulfil those engagements in the manner most useful to the common cause, and best calculated to obtain that peace which is the object of the alliance.

It is upon this principle his Majesty hath hastened to send you a powerful assistance, which you owe only to his friendship, to the sincere regard he has for every thing which relates to the advantage of the United States, and to his desire of contributing with efficacy to establish your repose and prosperity upon an honourable and solid foundation. And further it is his expectation that the principles, which may be adopted by the respective governments, will tend to strengthen those bonds of union, which have originated in the mutual interest of the two nations.

The principal object of my instructions, is to connect the interests of France with those of the United States. I flatter myself, gentlemen, that my past conduct in the affairs which concern them, hath already convinced you of the determination I feel to endeavour to obey my instructions in such manner as to deserve the confidence of Congress, the friendship of its

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members, and the esteem of the citizens of America.

GERARD.

To which the President was pleased to return the following Answer :

S I R,

THE treaties between his most Christian Majesty and the United States of America, so fully demonstrate his wisdom and magnanimity, as to command the reverence of all nations. The virtuous citizens of America in particular can never forget his beneficent attention to their violated rights ; nor cease to acknowledge the hand of a gracious providence, in raising them up so powerful and illustrious a friend. It is the hope and opinion of Congress, that the confidence his Majesty reposes in the firmness of these states will receive additional strength from every day's experience.

This assembly are convinced, Sir, that, had it rested solely with the most Christian King, not only the independence of these states would have been universally acknowledged, but their tranquillity fully established. We lament that lust of domination, which gave birth to the present war, and hath prolonged and extended the miseries of mankind. We ardently wish to sheathe the sword, and spare the farther effusion of blood ; but we are determined, by every means in our power, to fulfil those eventual engagements which have acquired positive and permanent force from the hostile designs and measures of the common enemy.

Congress have reason to believe, that the assistance so wisely and generously sent, will bring Great Britain

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tain to a sense of justice and moderation, promote the common interests of France and America, and secure peace and tranquillity on the most firm and honourable foundation. Neither can it be doubted, that those, who administer the powers of government within the several states of this union, will cement that connection with the subjects of France, the beneficial effects of which, have already been so sensibly felt.

Sir, from the experience we have had of your exertions to promote the true interests of our country, as well as your own, it is with the highest satisfaction Congress receive, as the first Minister from

his most Christian Majesty, a gentleman, whose past conduct affords a happy presage, that he will merit the confidence of this body, the friendship of its members, and the esteem of the citizens of America.

HEN. LAURENS, Pres.

*In Congress,*  
August 6, 1778.

The Secretary of Congress then delivered to the Minister a copy of the foregoing reply, signed as above; whereupon the Minister withdrew, and was conducted home in the manner in which he was brought to the House.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.



The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are derived from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to William Cooke, Esq; by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for Eight Years, from the Commencement of the Corn Register Act, viz. 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778.*

## E X P O R T E D.

| 1771.<br>ENGLAND. | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid. |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 10,089               | Nil                  | £. s. d.                        |
| Barley and Malt - | 31,166               |                      | 6170 7 6                        |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 23,364               |                      |                                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 13,345               |                      |                                 |
| Pease - - - -     | 3,701                |                      |                                 |
| SCOTLAND.         |                      |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Malt   | 203                  | Nil                  | Nil                             |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 11,869               |                      |                                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 3                    |                      |                                 |
| Pease - - - -     | 3                    |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Bear - | 2,829                |                      |                                 |
| Bear and Meal -   | 18                   |                      |                                 |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1771.<br>ENGLAND. | Quarters. | Duties<br>received. |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 2,509     | £. s. d.            |
| Rye - - - -       | 2,179     | 13,170 2 1          |
| Barley and Malt   | 228       |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 198,072   |                     |
| Beans - - - -     | 67        |                     |
| Pease - - - -     | 64        |                     |
| Indian Corn - -   | 3         |                     |
| SCOTLAND.         |           |                     |
| Wheat and Flour   | 2         | 547 8 11            |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 14,255    |                     |



## E X P O R T E D.

| 1772.<br>ENGLAND. | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid. |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 6,959                | Nil                  | £.   s.   d.                    |
| Barley and Malt   | 13,789               |                      | Nil                             |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 23,511               |                      |                                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 13,321               |                      |                                 |
| Pease - - - -     | 3,775                |                      |                                 |
| SCOTLAND.         |                      |                      |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 87                   | Nil                  | Nil                             |
| Barley and Bear   | 242                  |                      |                                 |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1772.<br>ENGLAND. | Quarters. | Duties<br>received. |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 23,134    | £.   s.   d.        |
| Rye - - - -       | 4,799     | 2,393   6   10      |
| Barley and Malt   | 2,107     |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 70,542    |                     |
| Beans - - - -     | 469       |                     |
| Pease - - - -     | 17        |                     |
| Indian Corn - -   | 3         |                     |
| Buck Wheat - -    | 1         |                     |
| SCOTLAND.         |           |                     |
| Wheat and Flour   | 2,340     | 1,372   14   11     |
| Barley and Malt   | 961       |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 36,277    |                     |
| Pease - - - -     | 4         |                     |
| Buck Wheat - -    | 1         |                     |

N. B. When foreign grain is imported, and not sold, it is, by act of parliament, suffered to be warehoused, without paying duty; and if exported again, it is here arranged under the title of Foreign, to distinguish it from British.



## E X P O R T E D.

| 1773.<br>ENGLAND. | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid. |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 7,637                | Nil                  | £. s. d.                        |
| Barley and Malt   | 2,445                |                      |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 18,671               |                      | Nil                             |
| Beans - - - -     | 10,733               |                      |                                 |
| Pease - - - -     | 4,430                |                      |                                 |
| SCOTLAND.         |                      |                      |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 106                  | Nil                  | Nil                             |
| Beans - - - -     | 18                   |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Bear   | 30                   |                      |                                 |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1773.<br>ENGLAND. | Quarters. |            |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 50,312    | Duty free. |
| Rye - - - -       | 9,253     |            |
| Barley and Malt - | 51,221    |            |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 234,366   |            |
| Beans - - - -     | 49,858    |            |
| Pease - - - -     | 3,254     |            |
| Indian Corn - -   | 6,322     |            |
| Buck Wheat - -    | 53        |            |
| SCOTLAND.         |           |            |
| Wheat and Flour   | 6,545     | Duty free. |
| Rye - - - -       | 2         |            |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 95,088    |            |
| Beans - - - -     | 4,002     |            |
| Pease - - - -     | 4,002     |            |
| Barley and Bear - | 12,695    |            |



## E X P O R T E D.

| 1774.<br>ENGLAND. | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid. |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 15,171               | 757                  | £. s. d.                        |
| Rye - - - -       | 1,434                | 826                  |                                 |
| Barley and Malt - | 2,416                | —                    |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 16,286               | 25                   |                                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 9,443                | 797                  | 5961 12 0                       |
| Pease - - - -     | 3,211                | 107                  |                                 |
| Indian Corn - -   | —                    | 1,880                |                                 |
| Buck Wheat - -    | —                    | 50                   |                                 |
| SCOTLAND.         |                      |                      |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 122                  |                      |                                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 9                    |                      | 61 11 18                        |
| Barley and Bear   | 495                  |                      |                                 |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1774.<br>ENGLAND. | Quarters. | Duties<br>received. |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 269,235   | £. s. d.            |
| Rye - - - -       | 41,427    |                     |
| Barley and Malt   | 155,148   |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 312,908   | 12,379 4 3          |
| Beans - - - -     | 16,401    |                     |
| Pease - - - -     | 2,780     |                     |
| Indian Corn - -   | 5,945     |                     |
| SCOTLAND.         |           |                     |
| Wheat and Flour   | 19,914    |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 86,591    |                     |
| Beans - - - -     | 2,505     | 1,336 11 8          |
| Pease - - - -     | 2,705     |                     |
| Barley and Bear - | 16,360    |                     |
| Buck Wheat - -    | 4         |                     |



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## E X P O R T E D.

| 1775.<br>ENGLAND. | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid. |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 28,348               | 62,649               | £. s. d.                        |
| Rye - - - -       | 2,471                | 251                  |                                 |
| Barley and Malt - | 45,454               | 5,940                | 1,798 16 8 Dr.                  |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 22,593               | 3,773                |                                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 14,075               | 343                  |                                 |
| Pease - - - -     | 4,717                | 212                  | 7,842 10 11 Bo.                 |
| Indian Corn - -   | <u>      </u>        | 4,323                |                                 |
| SCOTLAND.         |                      |                      |                                 |
| Wheat and Flour   | 40                   |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Malt - | 20                   |                      |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 119                  |                      | N                               |
| Beans - - - -     | 2                    |                      |                                 |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1775.<br>ENGLAND. | Quarters. | Duties<br>received. |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 544,641   | £. s. d.            |
| Rye - - - -       | 33,574    |                     |
| Barley and Malt - | 126,332   |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 283,827   | 18,442 18 2         |
| Beans - - - -     | 29,862    |                     |
| Pease - - - -     | 11,275    |                     |
| Indian Corn - -   | 9,638     |                     |
| SCOTLAND.         |           |                     |
| Wheat and Flour   | 16,347    |                     |
| Barley and Malt   | 13,119    |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 101,115   | 1,355 1 5           |
| Beans - - - -     | 1,657     |                     |
| Pease - - - -     | 1,658     |                     |



## E X P O R T E D.

| 1777.<br>ENGLAND. | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid.                   |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 174,940              | 32,467               | £. s. d.<br><br>786 8 0 Dr.<br><br>50,925 7 2 Bo. |
| Rye - - - -       | 10,369               | 630                  |                                                   |
| Barley and Malt   | 129,104              | 2,160                |                                                   |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 21,936               | 8,686                |                                                   |
| Beans - - - -     | 33,338               | 7,006                |                                                   |
| Pease - - - -     | 6,562                | 8,043                |                                                   |
| Indian Corn - -   | —                    | 1,957                |                                                   |
| SCOTLAND.         |                      |                      |                                                   |
| Wheat and Flour   | 3,247                | —                    | 1,322 13 9 Bo.                                    |
| Barley and Malt   | 422                  |                      |                                                   |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 4,365                |                      |                                                   |
| Beans - - - -     | 543                  |                      |                                                   |
| Pease - - - -     | 543                  |                      |                                                   |
| Barley and Bear   | 4,428                |                      |                                                   |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1776.             | Quarters. | Duties<br>received.                           |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------|
| ENGLAND.          |           |                                               |
| Wheat and Flour   | 20,148    | £.      s.      d.<br><br>3,658      5      5 |
| Rye - - - -       | 3,415     |                                               |
| Barley and Malt - | 8,020     |                                               |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 373,707   |                                               |
| Beans - - - -     | 19,055    |                                               |
| Pease - - - -     | 19,776    |                                               |
| SCOTLAND.         |           |                                               |
| Wheat and Flour   | 430       | 30   12   7                                   |
| Barley and Malt   | 479       |                                               |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 4,859     |                                               |
| Pease - - - -     | 12        |                                               |



## E X P O R T E D.

| 1777.<br>ENGLAND. | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid. |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 79,120               | 5,914                | £. s. d.                        |
| Rye - - - -       | 719                  | 227                  |                                 |
| Barley and Malt   | 132,513              | 479                  | 102 1 10 Dr.                    |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 16,874               | 12,507               |                                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 22,449               | 7,492                | 43,250 0 7 Bo.                  |
| Pease - - - -     | 6,629                | 6,742                |                                 |
| Indian Corn - -   | —                    | 8                    |                                 |
| SCOTLAND.         |                      |                      |                                 |
| Wheat and Flour   | 2,652                |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Malt   | 3,645                |                      |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 7,233                | —                    | 2,426 15 10 Bo.                 |
| Beans - - - -     | 422                  |                      |                                 |
| Pease - - - -     | 422                  |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Bear - | 6,088                |                      |                                 |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1777.<br>ENGLAND. | Quarters. | Duties<br>received. |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Wheat and Flour   | 233,069   | £. s. d.            |
| Rye - - - -       | 18,454    |                     |
| Barley and Malt - | 7,981     |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 366,155   | 8,835 13 9          |
| Beans - - - -     | 35,127    |                     |
| Pease - - - -     | 28,702    |                     |
| Buck Wheat - -    | 10        |                     |
| SCOTLAND.         |           |                     |
| Wheat and Flour   | 254       |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal  | 291       | 0 14 9              |



## E X P O R T E D.

| 1778.<br>ENGLAND.    | British<br>Quarters. | Foreign<br>Quarters. | Bounties and<br>Drawbacks paid, |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat and Flour - -  | 124,698              | 13,077               | £. s. d.                        |
| Rye - - - - -        | 1,689                | 17                   |                                 |
| Barley and Malt - -  | 100,820              | 1,391                | 224 8 6 Dr.                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal - - | 20,810               | 8,043                |                                 |
| Beans - - - - -      | 17,787               | 3,962                |                                 |
| Pease - - - - -      | 9,399                | 6,221                | 40,101 16 3 Bo.                 |
| SCOTLAND.            |                      |                      |                                 |
| Wheat and Flour - -  | 3,295                |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Malt - -  | 924                  |                      |                                 |
| Oats and Oatmeal - - | 27,690               |                      | 3,704 11 6 Bo.                  |
| Beans - - - - -      | 653                  |                      |                                 |
| Pease - - - - -      | 653                  |                      |                                 |
| Barley and Bear - -  | 795                  |                      |                                 |

## I M P O R T E D.

| 1778.<br>ENGLAND.    | Quarters. | Duties<br>received. |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Wheat and Flour - -  | 106,394   | £. s. d.            |
| Rye - - - - -        | 9,327     |                     |
| Barley and Malt - -  | 42,514    |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal - - | 199,680   | 4,890 5 7           |
| Beans - - - - -      | 30,165    |                     |
| Pease - - - - -      | 27,768    |                     |
| SCOTLAND.            |           |                     |
| Barley and Malt - -  | 200       |                     |
| Oats and Oatmeal - - | 1,490     | 14 3 9              |

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester Bushel, for eight years, from the commencement of the Corn Register Act in the year 1770.

|                             | Wheat |                    | Rye                |                 | Barley. |                 | Oats.             |                  | Beans. |                  |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|------------------|
|                             | s.    | d.                 | s.                 | d.              | s.      | d.              | s.                | d.               | s.     | d.               |
| 1771                        | 5     | 10 $\frac{3}{4}$   | 4                  | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3       | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 2                 | 1                | 3      | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  |
| 1772                        | 6     | 4                  | 4                  | 7               | 3       | 2               | 2                 | 0 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 3      | 9                |
| 1773                        | 6     | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 4                  | 2               | 3       | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 2                 | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 4      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| 1774                        | 6     | 7                  | 4                  | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3       | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 2                 | 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  | 3      | 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1775                        | 6     | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$    | 4                  | 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 3       | 3               | 2                 | 0 $\frac{1}{4}$  | 3      | 7                |
| 1776                        | 4     | 9 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 3                  | 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 2       | 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 1                 | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3      | 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  |
| 1777                        | 5     | 8 $\frac{1}{4}$    | 3                  | 6               | 2       | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 1                 | 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3      | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  |
| 1778                        | 5     | 3                  | 3                  | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 2       | 10              | 1                 | 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3      | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  |
| Average of the Eight Years. | —     | 5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ |                 | 3 1     |                 | 2 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ |                  | 3 8    |                  |

The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain, generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

Per Bushel - - Wheat 6d. Rye 3d. Barley 3d. Oats 3d. Beans 6d.



# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1778.

## N A V Y.

NOVEMBER 27, 1777.

1. **T**H A T 60,000 men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1778, including 11,829 marines.

2. That a sum not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the said 60,000 men, for 13 months, including ordnance for sea service

— 3,120,000 0 0

FEBRUARY 16, 1778.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea and marine officers, for the year 1778

— 389,200 16 0

2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war in his majesty's yards, and other extra works over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1778

— 488,695 0 0

APRIL 9, 1778.

1. Towards paying off and discharging the navy debt

— 1,000,000 0 0

2. Upon account, to be applied by the commissioners of Greenwich hospital, for the support and relief of such worn-out seamen, as shall not be provided for in the said hospital, for the year 1778.

4,000 0 0

---

5,001,895 16 0

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## A R M Y.

DECEMBER 4, 1777.

1. That a number of land forces, including 3,213 invalids, amounting to 20,057 effective men, commission and non-commissioned officers included; be employed for the service of the year 1778.

2. For defraying the charge of 20,734 effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Jersey and Guernsey

634,240 3 11  
3. For



|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |   |         |    |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------|----|----|
| 3. For the pay of the general, and general staff officers, in Great Britain, for the year 1778                                                                                                                                                                                        | — | 11,473  | 18 | 6½ |
| 4. For maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the Plantations and Africa, including those in garrison at Minorca and Gibraltar; and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Islands, and Africa, for the year 1778 | — | 960,843 | 18 | 9  |
| 5. For defraying the charge of the difference of pay between the British and Irish establishment, of one regiment of light dragoons, and six regiments of foot, serving in North America, for the year 1778                                                                           | — | 52,923  | 1  | 6  |
| 6. For defraying the charge of five Hanoverian battalions, serving in Gibraltar and Minorca, and provisions for the same                                                                                                                                                              | — | 56,074  | 19 | 4½ |
| 7. For defraying the charge of 3,472 men, the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy                                                                                                                                         | — | 367,203 | 9  | 10 |
| 8. For defraying the charge of 2 regiments of foot of Hanau, &c.                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | — | 35,441  | 19 | 9½ |
| 9. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, &c.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | — | 17,370  | 8  | 2¾ |
| 10. For defraying the charge of 4,300 men, the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunswick                                                                                                                                                                                               | — | 93,947  | 15 | 8  |
| 11. For defraying the charge of 1,241 troops of Brandenburg Anspach                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | — | 34,007  | 2  | 11 |
| 12. For defraying the charge of provisions for the foreign troops serving in America                                                                                                                                                                                                  | — | 47,160  | 13 | 3  |
| 13. For making good a deficiency in the sum voted last session, for the Hanau foot                                                                                                                                                                                                    | — | 1,645   | 17 | 1  |
| 14. For defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops for the year 1778                                                                                                                                                                                                    | — | 27,379  | 10 | 8  |

## FEBRUARY 5, 1778.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                           |   |         |    |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------|----|---|
| 1. For defraying the charge of several augmentations of his majesty's forces from their several commencements to Dec. 24, 1778                                                                            | — | 286,632 | 14 | 6 |
| 2. Towards defraying the charge of the out-pensioners in Chelsea hospital                                                                                                                                 | — | 105,431 | 15 | 5 |
| 3. Upon account of the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and marines                                                                                                                          | — | 90,939  | 15 | 0 |
| 4. For defraying the charge for allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards | — | 712     | 0  | 5 |
| 5. For paying of pensions to widows of such reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and ma-                                                                                                         |   |         |    |   |



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rines, as died upon the establishment of half-pay in Great Britain, and were married to them before December 25, 1716

238 0 0

MARCH 26.

1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between Jan. 31, 1777, and Feb. 1, 1778

1,469,923 1 4

2. For defraying the charge of several augmentations of his majesty's forces, from their several commencements to Dec. 24, 1778

18,895 5 2

APRIL 16.

For defraying the charge of several augmentations of his majesty's forces, from March 25, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778

80,319 14 1

MAY 14.

For defraying the charge of a corps of infantry of Anhalt Zerbst, including the pay of Great Britain, in the year 1778, pursuant to treaty

18,071 12 0

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4,410,876 17 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

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## ORDNANCE.

DECEMBER 4, 1777.

1. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land service, for the year 1778

382,816 2 3

2. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in 1777

300,483 13 10

---

683,399 16 6

---

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEBRUARY 10, 1778.

For defraying the extraordinary expences incurred in calling in and recoining the deficient coin of this kingdom

105,227 8 3

MARCH 26.

1. To be paid to Mr Edward Moore, as a final compensation for his pains, trouble and expence, during an employment of 13 years, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the House of Commons

6,400 0 0

2. To be paid to the Rev. Mr. Forster, as a final compensation for his pains, trouble and expence, during an employment of 8 years, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the House of Commons

3,000 0 0

3. To be paid to the Rev. Dr. Roger Flaxman, as a final compensation for his pains, trouble and



expencc, during an employment of 9 years, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the House of Commons

3,000 0 0

4. To be paid to Mr. Cunningham, in part of his payment, for his pains, trouble and expence, in compiling a general index to the Journals of the House of Commons

500 0 0

5. For the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges, in the Highlands of North Britain, in the year 1776

6,998 12 3

APRIL 9.

To make good the deficiency on 5th of July, 1777, of the fund established for paying annuities granted, by an act made in the 31st year of his late majesty, towards the supply granted for the year 1758

43,621 10 0

For defraying the charges of the following civil establishments, and other incidental expences attending the same: to wit, in America

1. His majesty's island of St. John's

3,200 0 0

2. His majesty's colony of Georgia

2,866 0 0

3. His majesty's colony of Nova Scotia

4,701 10 8

4. His majesty's colony of East Florida

4,950 0 0

5. His majesty's colony of West Florida

4,900 0 0

6. In Africa: Senegambia, situate between the port of Salee in South Barbary, and Cape Rouge

5,550 0 0

7. For defraying expences attending general surveys of his majesty's dominions in North America, for the year 1778

2,372 0 0

8. To make good to his majesty the sums issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the addresses of this house

19,100 0 0

APRIL 14.

1. To make good the sum which has been issued by his majesty's orders to sundry persons, to be by them applied for the relief and benefit of such American civil officers, and others, as have suffered on account of their attachment to his majesty's government

56,680 2 6

2. To replace the sum issued by his majesty's orders to Mr. *Duncan Campbell*, for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames

9,075 3 11

3. For repairing and supporting the British forts and settlements, on the coast of Africa

13,000 0 0

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 295,142 7 9
 

---

DECEMBER 4, 1777.

Towards paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in

the



the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for raising a certain sum of money by loans or exchequer bills for the service of the year 1777, and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament

1,500,000 0 0

For paying off and discharging the exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled *An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament*

1,000,000 0 0

MARCH 10, 1778.

For discharging and paying off the prizes of the lottery, of the year 1777

480,000 0 0

2,980,000 0 0

APRIL 30.

1. For defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the several counties of South Britain, from March 26, 1778, to the 24th of December following, both inclusive

402,622 9 0

2. For defraying the charge of additional cloathing for the embodied militia for the year 1778

37,559 7 6

3. For defraying the charge of three regiments of fencible men, to be forthwith raised in North Britain, from April 25th, 1778, to the 24th of Dec. following, both inclusive

45,608 2 0

485,789 18 6

## DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 14, 1778.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1777, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same

38,493 2 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

2. In the land tax

252,000 0 0

3. In the malt tax

200,000 0 0

490,493 2 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total of supplies

14,345,497 18 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

WAYS and MEANS for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty, for the Year 1778.

NOVEMBER 29, 1777.

1. That the sum of four shillings in the pound, and no more, be raised within the space of one year,

from



from the 25th of March, 1778, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that a proportionable cess, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland

2,000,000 o o

2. That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which by an act of parliament of the 16th year of his present Majesty's reign, have continuance to the 24th of July 1777, shall be further continued and charged upon all malt, which shall be made, and all mum, which shall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry, which shall be made for sale within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d of June, 1777, to the 24th of June, 1778.

750,000 o o

MARCH 10, 1778.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of 6,000,000 l. be raised by annuities, and the further sum of 480,000 l. by a lottery, in manner following; that is to say,

That every contributor to the said 6,000,000 l. shall, for every 100 l. contributed, be entitled to an annuity, after the rate of 3 l. per cent. per ann. redeemable by parliament; and also to a further annuity of 2 l. 10 s. per cent. per ann. to continue for a certain term of thirty years, and then to cease; the said annuity of 3 l. per cent. and of 2 l. 10 s. per cent. to commence from the 5th day of January 1778, and to be payable and transferrable at the bank of England, and to be paid half yearly on the 5th day of July and the 5th day of January in every year; and shall be charged and chargeable upon, and payable out of, a fund, to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund shall be a collateral security.

That every contributor, or his or her representative, who shall chuse to have and receive a life annuity instead of the said annuity of 2 l. 10 s. per cent. per ann. to continue for a term of 30 years as aforesaid, shall, upon completing the whole of his or her contribution money, and signifying such his or her intention to the chief cashier or the governor and company of the bank of England, have a certificate signed by him, the said cashier, expressing the sum so paid by such contributor, or his or her representative, and the annuity, after the rate of 2 l. 10 s. per cent. per ann. to which such person is



intituled in respect of the same ; and shall, upon producing such certificate to the auditor of the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, at any time on or before the 22d day of December next, have and be intitled to a like annuity, after the rate of 2 l. 10 s. per cent. per ann. to be paid at the receipt of the Exchequer, to commence from the 5th day of January 1778, and to be paid and payable half yearly on the 5th day of July and the 5th day of January in every year, during the life of such nominee as he or she shall appoint at the time of delivering such certificate to the said auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer, out of the said fund, to be established in this session of parliament, and for which the sinking fund is to be a collateral security.

That every contributor, towards raising the said sum of 6,000,000 l. shall, for every 500 l. by him or her contributed, be entitled to four tickets in a lottery to consist of 48,000 tickets, amounting to 480,000 l. upon payment of the further sum of 10 l. for each ticket ; the said 480,000 l. to be distributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the said lottery, which shall be paid in money at the bank of England, to such proprietors, upon demand, as soon after the 1st day of March 1779, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatsoever.

That every contributor shall, on or before the 17th day of this instant March, make a deposit of 10 l. per cent. on such sum as he or she shall chuse to subscribe, towards raising the said sum of 6,000,000 l. with the chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England ; and also a deposit of 15 l. per cent. with the said cashier or cashiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raising the said sum of 480,000 l. by a lottery, as a security for making the future payments respectively, on or before the days or times herein after limited, that is to say, on 6,000,000 l. for annuities ; 10 l. per cent. on or before the 14th day of April next ; 15 l. per cent. on or before the 19th day of May next ; 10 l. per cent. on or before the 23d day of June next ; 15 l. per cent. on or before the 4th day of August next ; 10 l. per cent. on or before the 15th day of September next ; 10 l. per cent. on or before the 23d day of October next ; 10 l. per cent. on or before the 20th day of November next ; 10 l. per cent. on or before the 18th day of December next ; on the lottery, for 480,000 l. 20 l. per cent.



on or before the 28th day of April next; 20 l. per cent. on or before the 3d day of July next; 20 l. per cent. on or before the 25th day of August next; 25 l. per cent. on or before the 9th day of October next.

That all the monies, so to be received by the said chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as shall then have been voted in this session of parliament.

That every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money, towards the said sum of 6,000,000 l. to be contributed for annuities as aforesaid, at any time before the 17th day of November next, or on account of his or her share in the said lottery, on or before the 21st day of August next, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of 3 l. per cent. per ann. on the sums so completing his or her contribution-money respectively, to be computed from the day of completing the same, to the 18th day of December next, in regard to the sum to be paid for the said annuities, and to the 9th day of October next, in respect of the sum to be paid on account of the said lottery; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery, shall have their tickets delivered to them as soon as they can conveniently be made out.

That the annuities after the rate of 3 l. per cent. per ann. to be payable in respect of the said 6,000,000 l. to be contributed as aforesaid, shall, from the time of their commencement, be added to, and made one joint stock with the 3 l. per cent. annuities consolidated, per acts 25th, 28th, 29th, 31st, 32d, and 33d, George II. and by several subsequent acts, and shall be payable and transferrable at the bank of England, and subject to redemption in the same manner as the said 3 l. per cent. consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redeemable by parliament

— 6,480,000 0 0

#### APRIL 9.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of 1,500,000 l. be raised, by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with

interest



interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1778, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment — 1,500,000 0 0

## APRIL 14.

1. That, towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 703,790 l. 18 s.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th day of April, 1778, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses, excesses, and overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund commonly called the sinking fund 703,790 18  $3\frac{1}{2}$

2. That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 2,296,209 l. 1 s.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  out of such monies as shall or may arise of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund commonly called the sinking fund — 2,296,209 1  $8\frac{1}{2}$

3. That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be applied the sum of 4,976 l. 17 s.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th of April, 1778, subject to the disposition of parliament, exclusive of the surplus monies then remaining of the sinking fund — — 4,976 17  $1\frac{1}{2}$

4. That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be applied the sum of 46,825 l. remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th day of April, 1778, of the deductions of six-pence in the pound out of all monies paid upon all salaries, pensions, and annuities and other payments from the crown, after satisfying all annuities and other charges then due, and payable out of the same 46,825 0 0

5. That the sum of 31,154 l. 17 s.  $8\frac{1}{4}$  remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 5th day of April, 1778, of the two sevenths Excise granted by an act of parliament, made in the 5th and 6th years of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, after satisfying the several charges and incumbrances thereupon, for the half year then ended, be carried to, and made part of, the aggregate fund; and that the said fund be made a security for the discharge of such annuities, and other demands, payable out of the said sum, as the growing produce of the said two sevenths Excise shall not be sufficient to answer 31,154 17  $8\frac{1}{4}$

6. That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, after the 5th day of April,



1778, and on or before the 5th day of April, 1779, of the produce of the duties charged by two acts, made in the 5th and 14th years of his present Majesty's reign, upon the importation and exportation of gum fenega and gum arabic, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty.

## APRIL 16.

1. That, towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, there be applied a sum, not exceeding 37,921 l. 3 s. 10 d. out of the monies, or savings, arising from the pay of his majesty's national troops, in the hands of the Paymaster General of his Majesty's land forces — — —

37,921 3 10

2. That, towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, there be applied a sum, not exceeding 27,690 l. out of the monies, or savings, arising from the pay of sundry regiments of foot, in the hands of the Paymaster General of his Majesty's land forces — — —

27,690 0 0

## MAY 4.

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of 500,000 l. be raised, by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1779, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment

500,000 0 0

Total of ways and means — — —

14,378,567 18 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ 

Total of supplies — — —

14,345,497 18 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 

Excess of ways and means — — —

33,069 19 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ 

Note, *The vote of credit of one million granted this session, and the 500,000 l. loan of the 4th of May, are both charged on the next aids.*

The additional public debt funded and provided for this year, amounts to six millions, the interest of which at 3 per cent. per ann. is — — —

180,000 0 0

The annuity of 2 l. 10 s. per cent. per ann. for thirty years, is — — —

150,000 0 0

In all — — —

330,000 0 0

This



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [293

This sum (by acts passed in pursuance of the resolutions of March 9th) is to be raised in the following manner.

|                                                                                                                         |   |   |         |   |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---------|---|---|
| By a tax on houses *                                                                                                    | — | — | 264,000 | 0 | 0 |
| By an additional tax of eight guineas per tun on all French wines, and four guineas per tun on all other wines imported | — | — | 72,558  | 0 | 0 |
|                                                                                                                         |   |   | <hr/>   |   |   |
|                                                                                                                         |   |   | 336,558 | 0 | 0 |
|                                                                                                                         |   |   | <hr/>   |   |   |
| Excess of taxes                                                                                                         | — | — | 6,558   | 0 | 0 |
|                                                                                                                         |   |   | <hr/>   |   |   |

\* See the abstract in the Appendix to the Chronicle.



## S T A T E P A P E R S.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the 20th Day of November, 1777.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I**T is a great satisfaction to me, that I can have recourse to the wisdom and support of my parliament, in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America, demands our most serious attention. The powers, which you have intrusted me with for the suppression of this revolt, have been faithfully exerted; and I have a just confidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by sea and land, will, under the blessing of divine providence, be attended with important success: but as I am persuaded that you will see the necessity of preparing for such further operations, as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels may render expedient, I am, for that purpose, pursuing the proper measures for keeping my land forces compleat to their present establishment; and if I should have occasion to increase them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal

and public spirit to enable me to make them good.

I receive repeated assurances from foreign powers, of their pacifick dispositions. My own cannot be doubted: but, at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, I have thought it adviseable to make a considerable augmentation to my naval force, as well to keep my kingdoms in a respectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection for the extensive commerce of my subjects; and as, on the one hand, I am determined that the peace of Europe shall not be disturbed by me, so, on the other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown of Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. The various services which I have mentioned to you will unavoidably require large supplies; and nothing could relieve my mind from the concern which I feel for the heavy charge which they must bring on my faithful people, but the perfect conviction that they are necessary for the welfare and  
the



the essential interests of my kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I will steadily pursue the measures in which we are engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which, with the blessing of God, I will maintain through the several parts of my dominions: but I shall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war. And I still hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude, will return to their allegiance; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret for what they have lost, and the feelings of what they now suffer under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle in their hearts a spirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country: and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and support of my parliament, to accomplish what I shall consider as the greatest happiness of my life, and the greatest glory of my reign, the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to my American colonies.

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*The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to

return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us, Sir, to offer our congratulations to your Majesty on the increase of your domestic happiness, by the birth of another Princess, and the recovery of your royal consort, who is most highly endeared to this nation, as well by her Majesty's eminent and amiable virtues, as by every new pledge of security to our religious and civil liberties.

We are duly sensible of your Majesty's goodness in recurring to the advice and support of your parliament in the present conjuncture, when the rebellion in North America still continues; and we return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for having communicated to us the just confidence which your Majesty reposes in the zeal, intrepidity, and exertions of your Majesty's officers and forces both by sea and land: but at the same time that we entertain a well-founded hope of the important successes, which, under the blessing of providence, may be expected, we cannot but applaud your Majesty's unwearied vigilance and wisdom in recommending to us to prepare, at all events, for such further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels, may render expedient: we are therefore gratefully sensible of your Majesty's consideration in pursuing the measures necessary to keep your land forces complete to the present establishment: and we owe it both to your Majesty and to ourselves to say, that we shall cheerfully concur in enabling your Majesty to make

good



good such new engagements with foreign powers, for the augmentation of the auxiliary troops, as the weighty motives your Majesty has stated to us, may induce you to contract.

It is with great satisfaction we learn that your Majesty receives repeated assurances from foreign powers, of their pacific dispositions; and with hearts full of gratitude and admiration, we acknowledge your Majesty's humane, steady, and dignified conduct, which is equally well calculated to demonstrate to the world your Majesty's wish to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe, and your determination to maintain the honour of the crown, the security of these kingdoms, and the commercial interests of your subjects.

We thankfully receive your Majesty's declaration of perseverance in the measures now pursuing, for the re-establishment of a just and constitutional subordination through the several parts of your Majesty's dominions; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we participate the desire which at the same time animates your royal breast, to see a proper opportunity for putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the various calamities inseparable from a state of war.

The constant tenor of your Majesty's reign has shewn, that your whole attention is employed for the safety and happiness of all your people; and whenever our unhappy fellow subjects in North America shall duly return to their allegiance, we shall readily concur in every wise and salutary measure which can contribute to restore confidence and order, and

fix the mutual welfare of Great Britain and her colonies, on the most solid and permanent foundations.

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PROTEST of the LORDS.

*Die Jovis, 20<sup>o</sup> Nov. 1778.*

UPON the motion for the above address, the following amendment was moved by the Earl of Chatham, "That this House does most humbly advise and supplicate his Majesty, to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken for restoring peace in America, and that no time may be lost, in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of those invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war, and by a just and adequate security against a return of the like calamities in times to come. And this House desires to offer the most dutiful assurance to his Majesty, that they will in due time cheerfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his Majesty, for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged necessary for ascertaining and fixing for ever the respective rights of Great Britain and her colonies."

When the question being put, the House divided. Contents 28. Non-contents 84.

The question was then put on the address, and carried in the affirmative.

"Dissen-



“ Dissident,

“ Because this address is a repetition of, or rather an improvement on, the fulsome adulation offered, and of the blind engagements entered into on former occasions by this House, relative to this unhappy civil war.

EFFINGHAM.  
RICHMOND.

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*The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty the humble thanks of this House, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Deeply interested in every event which tends to increase your Majesty's domestic felicity, and impressed with the liveliest sentiments of duty and attachment to the Queen; we beg leave to offer to your Majesty our congratulations on the birth of another Princess, and on her Majesty's happy recovery.

We assure your Majesty, that we take a sincere part in the confidence which your Majesty expresses, that the conduct and courage of your officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of your forces both by sea and land, will, under the divine providence, be attended with important success. But at the same time we entirely concur with your Majesty in thinking, that it is necessary to prepare for such further operations as future events, and the contingencies of

the war, may render expedient. And we learn with much satisfaction, that your Majesty is for that purpose pursuing the proper measures for keeping your land forces compleat to their present establishment. And whenever your Majesty shall be pleased to communicate to us any new engagements, which you may have entered into for increasing your military force, we will take the same into our consideration. And we trust your Majesty will not be disappointed in the gracious sentiments which you entertain of the zeal and public spirit of your faithful Commons.

We are truly sensible that your Majesty's constant care for the welfare of your people, and your generous concern for the happiness of mankind, dispose your Majesty to desire, that the peace of Europe may not be disturbed: but we acknowledge with equal gratitude, your Majesty's attention to the security of your kingdoms, and the protection of the extensive commerce of your subjects, in having made a considerable augmentation to your naval force, on which the reputation and importance of this nation must ever principally depend. And we hear with the highest satisfaction, and rely with perfect confidence on your royal declaration, that your Majesty will always be the faithful guardian of the honour of the British crown.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, without delay, enter into the consideration of the supplies for the ensuing year; and that we will cheerfully and effectually provide for all such expences as shall be found necessary for the welfare and essential interests



terests of these kingdoms, and for the vigorous prosecution of the measures in which we are engaged, for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which we trust, with the blessing of God, your Majesty will be able to maintain through the several parts of your dominions.

We acknowledge, with equal gratitude and admiration, your Majesty's paternal declaration, that you will be ever watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of your subjects, and the calamities of war.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that we cannot but still entertain a hope, that the discernment of their true interests, the remembrance of the blessings they once enjoyed, and the sense of their present sufferings under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will induce the deluded and unhappy multitude to return to their allegiance, and will reanimate their hearts with a spirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country.

The gracious and condescending manner in which your Majesty expresses your desire that you may be enabled to restore peace, order, and confidence, to your American colonies, cannot fail of endearing your Majesty to the hearts of all your subjects: and we assure your Majesty, that when this great work can be accomplished, and settled on the true principles of the constitution, your Majesty may depend on the most zealous concurrence and support of your faithful Commons.

*to both Houses of Parliament from the King.*

GEORGE R.

**H**IS Majesty, having been informed, by order of the French King, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been signed between the court of France, and certain persons employed by his Majesty's revolted subjects in North America, has judged it necessary to direct that a copy of the declaration, delivered by the French Ambassador to Lord Viscount Weymouth, be laid before the House of Commons; and at the same time to acquaint them, that his Majesty has thought proper, in consequence of this offensive communication on the part of the court of France, to send orders to his Ambassador to withdraw from that court.

His Majesty is persuaded, that the justice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his Majesty trusts, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, and the essential interest of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe.

His Majesty, relying with the firmest confidence on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it shall become necessary, all the force and resources of his kingdoms; which

he

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*On Tuesday the 17th day of March, the following Message was sent*



he trusts will be found adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country.

G. R.

*The Declaration mentioned in the Message was as follows.*

‘ THE under-signed Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty has received express orders to make the following declaration to the court of London :

‘ The United States of North-America, who are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having proposed to the King to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be established between the two nations, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence.

“ His Majesty, being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make his proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation ; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity.

‘ In making this communication to the court of London, the King is firmly persuaded it will find

new proofs of his Majesty’s constant and sincere disposition for peace ; and that his Britannic Majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony ; and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his Majesty’s subjects and the United States of North-America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be, in this respect, observed, and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

‘ In this just confidence, the under-signed Ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British Minister, that, the King his master being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his Majesty has, in consequence, taken eventual measures, in concert with the United States of North America.

Signed,

Le M. DE NOAILLES.’

*London, March 13, 1778.*

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*Humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.*

Most gracious Sovereign.

WE, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subject, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, return our humble thanks to your Majesty for the communication of the paper presented to the Lord Viscount Weymouth by the order of the French



French King, and for acquainting us, that in consequence of this offensive declaration, your Majesty has thought proper to order your Ambassador to withdraw from the court of France. And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that it is with the utmost difficulty we can restrain the strongest expressions of the resentment and indignation which we feel for this unjust and unprovoked aggression on the honour of your Majesty's crown, and the essential interests of your kingdoms, contrary to the law of nations, and injurious to the rights and possessions of every sovereign power of Europe.

The good faith and uprightness of your Majesty's conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of your intentions to preserve the general tranquillity, must be acknowledged by all the world; and your Majesty cannot be considered as responsible for the disturbance of this tranquillity, if you should find yourself called upon to resist the enterprizes of that restless and dangerous spirit of ambition and aggrandisement, which has so often invaded the rights and threatened the liberties of Europe.

We should be wanting in our duty to your Majesty and to ourselves, if we did not give your Majesty the strongest assurances of our most zealous assistance and support. Every sentiment of loyalty to your Majesty, and of love to our country, will animate us to stand forth in the public defence, and to promote every measure that shall be found necessary for enabling your Majesty to vindicate the honour of your crown, and to protect the just rights and essential interests of these kingdoms.

An address in the same terms, was presented by the Commons.

#### PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

*Die Lunæ, Dec. 7, 1778.*

Moved,

**T**HAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express to his Majesty the displeasure of this House at a certain manifesto and proclamation, dated the third day of October, 1778, and published in America under the hands and seals of the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, Knight of the Bath, and William Eden, Esq. Commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, and countersigned by Adam Ferguson, Esq. Secretary to the commission; the said manifesto containing a declaration of the following tenour:

‘ If there be any persons who, divested of mistaken resentments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think it is for the benefit of the colonies to separate themselves from Great Britain, and that so separated they will find a constitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their prosperity, than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are empowered and disposed to renew and improve; with such persons we will not dispute a position which seems to be sufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change which the maintaining such a position must make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war, more especially when to this position



position is added the pretended alliance with the court of France. The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people, still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country, shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage: but, when that country professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself, and her resources, to our enemies, the whole contest is changed, and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandisement of France. Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and, if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemies.'

To acquaint his Majesty with the sense of this House, that the said Commissioners had no authority whatsoever, under the act of parliament in virtue of which they were appointed by his Majesty, to make the said declaration, or to make any declaration to the same, or to the like purport; nor can this House be easily brought to believe that the said Commissioners derived any such authority from his Majesty's instructions.

Humbly to beseech his Majesty, that so much of the said manifesto as contains the said declaration be forthwith publickly disavowed by his Majesty, as containing matter

inconsistent with the humanity and generous courage which, at all times, have distinguished the British nation, subversive of the maxims which have been established among christian and civilised communities, derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm, tending to debase the spirit and subvert the discipline of his Majesty's armies, and to expose his Majesty's innocent subjects, in all parts of his dominions, to cruel and ruinous retaliations.

Which being objected to, after long debate, the question was put thereon.

It was resolved in the negative.

|              |    |   |    |
|--------------|----|---|----|
| Contents     | 34 | } | 37 |
| Proxies      | 3  |   |    |
| Non-contents | 55 | } | 71 |
| Proxies      | 16 |   |    |

Dissentient,

1st. Because the public law of nations in affirmance of the dictates of nature and the precepts of revealed religion, forbids us to resort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and, instead of being extended upon loose constructions and speculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the restraints of the most rigorous construction. We are shocked to see the first law of nature, self-preservation, perverted and abused into a principle destructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own safety is rendered incompatible with the prosperity of mankind. Those objects of war, which cannot be compassed



compassed by fair and honourable hostility, ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means, but such as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifesto expressly founds the change it announces from a qualified and mitigated war, to a war of extremity and desolation, on the certainty that the provinces must be independent, and must become an accession to the strength of an enemy. In the midst of the calamities, by which our loss of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midst of our apprehensions for the farther calamities which impend over us, it is a matter of fresh grief and accumulated shame to see, from a commission under the great seal of this kingdom, a declaration for desolating a vast continent, solely because we had not the wisdom to retain, or the power to subdue it.

2dly. Because the avowal of a deliberate purpose of violating the law of nations must give an alarm to every state in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, surrounded by enemies and destitute of all allies, it is not necessary to sharpen and embitter the hostility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral states. We trust that by the natural strength of this kingdom we are secured from a foreign conquest, but no nation is secured from the invasion and incursions of enemies. And it seems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedness, to expose this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages too shocking to mention (but which are all contained in the idea of the extremes

of war and desolation) by establishing a false, shameful, and pernicious maxim, that, where we have no interests to preserve, we are called upon by necessity to destroy. This kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flourished above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy state. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty; for the comforts of the poor, the splendour of the rich, and the content and prosperity of all. This situation of safety may be attributed to the greatness of our power. It is more becoming, and more true, that we ought to attribute that safety, and the power which procured it, to the ancient justice, honour, humanity, and generosity of this kingdom, which brought down the blessing of providence on a people who made their prosperity a benefit to the world, and interested all nations in their fortune, whose example of mildness and benignity at once humanised others, and rendered itself inviolable. In departing from those solid principles, and vainly trusting to the fragility of human force, and to the efficacy of arms, rendered impotent by their perversion, we lay down principles, and furnish examples of the most atrocious barbarity. We are to dread that all our power, peace, and opulence, should vanish like a dream, and that the cruelties which we think safe to exercise, because their immediate object is remote, may be brought to the coasts, perhaps to the bosom of this kingdom.

3dly. Because, if the explanation given in debate be expressive of the true sense of the article in  
the



the manifesto, such explanation ought to be made, and by as high authority as that under which the exceptionable article was originally published. The natural and obvious sense indicates, that the extremes of war had hitherto been checked: that his Majesty's Generals had hitherto forbore (upon principles of benignity and policy) to desolate the country; but that the whole nature, and future conduct of the war, must be changed, in order to render the American accession of as little avail to France as possible. This, in our apprehensions, conveys a menace of carrying the war to extremes, and to desolation, or it means nothing. And, as some speeches in the House (however palliated) and as some acts of singular cruelty, and perfectly conformable to the apparent ideas in the manifesto, have lately been exercised, it becomes the more necessary, for the honour and safety of this nation, that this explanation should be made. As it is refused, we have only to clear ourselves to our consciences, to our country, to our neighbours, and to every individual who may suffer in consequence of this atrocious menace, of all part in the guilt, or in the evils that may become its punishment. And we chuse to draw ourselves out, and to distinguish ourselves to posterity, as not being the first to renew, to approve, or to tolerate the return of that ferocity and barbarism in war, which a beneficent religion, enlightened manners, and true military honour, had for a long time banished from the Christian world.

Camden,                      Rockingham,  
Abingdon,                  Tankerville,

|               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| Fitzwilliam,  | Ponsonby,    |
| Fortescue,    | Derby,       |
| Grafton,      | Manchester,  |
| Craven,       | Portland,    |
| J. St. Asaph, | Beaulieu,    |
| Richmond,     | Harcourt,    |
| Bolton,       | Effingham,   |
| Radnor,       | Wycombe,     |
| Egremont,     | Scarborough, |
| Abergavenny,  | Cholmondley, |
| Coventry,     | Devonshire,  |
| De Ferrars,   | Foley,       |
| Ferrers,      | Spencer.     |
| Stanhope,     |              |

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*The King's Speech at proroguing the Parliament.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
**A**FTER so long and laborious an application to the public business, I think it proper at this season of the year to give you some recess. I come at the same time to return you my particular thanks for the zeal you have shewn in supporting the honour of my crown, and for your attention to the real interests of all my subjects, in the wise, just, and humane laws which have been the result of your deliberations, and which, I hope, will be attended with the most salutary effects in every part of the British empire.

My desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe has been uniform and sincere; I reflect with great satisfaction, that I have made the faith of treaties and the law of nations the rule of my conduct, and that it has been my constant care to give no just cause of offence to any foreign power; let that power, by whom this tranquillity shall be disturbed, answer to their subjects and to the world for all the fatal consequences of war.

The



The vigour and firmness of my parliament have enabled me to be prepared for such events and emergencies as may happen; and I trust that the experienced valour and discipline of my fleets and armies, and the loyal and united ardour of the nation, armed and animated in the defence of every thing that is dear to them, will be able, under the protection of Divine Providence, to defeat all the enterprizes which the enemies of my crown may presume to undertake, and convince them how dangerous it is to provoke the spirit and strength of Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you for the chearfulness with which you have granted the large and ample supplies for the service of the current year, and for your care in raising them in a manner the most effectual and the least burthensome; and my warmest acknowledgements are due to you for the provision you have enabled me to make for the more honourable support of my family.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your presence in your respective counties may at this time be of great public advantage. It is unnecessary for me to recommend to you to do your duty in your several stations: on my part, I have no other wish or object but to deserve the confidence of my parliament, and the affections of my people.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen;

It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 14th day of July next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 14th day of July next.

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*The Speech of his Excellency John Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin, on Friday the 14th Day of August, 1778.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE business of the session being concluded, I am happy to have it in my power to release you from a very long and fatiguing attendance. It is time that your respective counties, after having shared the advantage of your public labours, should avail themselves of your private virtues, should enjoy the benefit of your presence, and profit by your more immediate and particular attentions.

The zealous unanimity manifested by both Houses of parliament for the support of his Majesty's crown and dignity, and the defence of these realms, whilst they evince the loyalty and magnanimity of this kingdom, must necessarily tend to the discouragement of our enemies, and are highly acceptable to his Majesty, as incontestable proofs of an affectionate duty to him, and a sincere attachment to your country.

Gentlemen



Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the supplies which you have granted, and for the provision which you have made for putting and maintaining this kingdom in a state of defence. Those grants shall be faithfully applied, and it shall be my endeavour, that the welfare and security of the people may amply compensate for those charges which the exigency of public affairs has unavoidably occasioned.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I flatter myself, that the regulations, which have taken place this session, will prove essentially serviceable to that valuable branch of commerce, the fisheries of Ireland. It is with pleasure that I see an act passed for establishing a militia, which by enabling his Majesty, when he shall think proper to call forth that part of the national strength, may materially contribute to the protection and defence of the kingdom. The law for relieving the Roman Catholics from some of those disabilities, under which they have hitherto laboured, will, I hope, attain the desirable end of promoting and establishing good-will and mutual confidence among his Majesty's subjects, and, by rendering us more united at home, make us more formidable to our enemies abroad. I congratulate with you on the late extension of the trade and commerce of this kingdom; it is a circumstance peculiarly fortunate to me, that an event, which promised such advantages to Ireland, should have taken place during my administration.

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While you justly enjoy the approbation and gratitude of your country, for having promoted so many useful laws, I am persuaded you will not forget what is due to the paternal care of an affectionate Sovereign, and the kind disposition of Great Britain towards this country; and that you will cultivate jointly, as in sound policy they are inseparable, the true interests of both kingdoms.

Your kind approbation of my conduct affords me a satisfaction, which I can the more truly enjoy, because I am conscious of having endeavoured to deserve it. In adopting a different line of conduct, I should have been wanting in that trust reposed in me by my Sovereign, who wishes nothing so earnestly as the prosperity of his people. I am happy in being able to represent to his Majesty, that his royal and beneficent attention meets a full and suitable return, in the grateful loyalty and affectionate duty of his subjects of this kingdom.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Excellency's command, said,

‘ My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 22d day of September next, to be then here held. And this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 22d day of September next.’

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*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

*The humble Address and Petition of  
the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and  
[U] Commons*



*Commons of the City of London,  
in Common Council assembled. (Pre-  
sented March 13, 1778.)*

Most gracious Sovereign,  
**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, attached to your Majesty's royal house by principle, to your person by the truest affection, and to the honour and prosperity of your government by every interest, which can be dear to the heart of man; in this present deplorable state of the affairs of this once great and flourishing country, with most profound humility implore leave to lay ourselves at your Majesty's feet, to represent to your Majesty the sentiments and wishes of a faithful and afflicted people.

When this civil war was first threatened, your loyal city of London, in concurrence with the sense of many other respectable public bodies of your kingdom, and many of the wisest and best of your subjects, did most humbly deprecate this evil, foreboding but too truly the charges, calamities, and disgraces of which it has been hitherto productive, and the greater to which it is still likely to subject this kingdom.

Your faithful people, on that occasion, had the misfortune to receive from your Majesty an answer more suitable to the imperfect manner in which (they fear) they expressed sentiments full of duty, than to your Majesty's own most gracious disposition, their inviolable reverence to their Sovereign, and their unshaken zeal for his true glory. They retired in a

mournful and respectful silence, patiently awaiting the disposition of providence, and the return of your Majesty's favour and countenance, whenever experience should fully disclose, in its true light, the well-founded nature of their apprehensions, and the fatal tendency of those counsels by which the nation has been misled.

For misled and deceived your Majesty, and many of your subjects have been. No pains have been omitted to hide from both the true nature of the business in which we are engaged; no arts have been left untried to stimulate the passions of your subjects in this kingdom; and we are confident that infinitely more skill and attention have been used to engage us in this war, than have been employed to conduct it to honour or advantage, if honour or advantage could be obtained by any conduct in such a war. We have been industriously taught to suspect the professions and to despise the resistance of our brethren, (Englishmen like ourselves) whom we had no sort of reason to think deficient in the sincerity and courage which have ever distinguished that name and race. Their inclinations have been misrepresented, their natural faculties depreciated, their resources miscalculated, their feelings insulted, until fury and despair supplied whatever might be defective in force. We have seen a whole army, the flower of the trained military strength of Great Britain and her allies, famishing in the wilderness of America, laying down their arms, and owing their immediate rescue from death to those very men whom the murders and rapines of the savages (unhap-



(unhappily employed) had forced from husbandmen into soldiers, and who had been painted in such colours of contempt as to take away all consolation from our calamity.

We have seen another army, equally brave, and equally well commanded, for two years in an almost continued course of victory, by which they have only wasted their own numbers, without decreasing the strength of the resisting power, without leading to any sort of submission, or bringing to your Majesty's obedience even the smallest and weakest of thirteen revolted provinces. The union of those provinces amongst themselves, and their animosity to your Majesty's administration, have only been increased by the injudicious methods taken to break the one, and to subdue the other. Fleets and armies are maintained in numbers almost equal, and at an expence comparatively far superior, to whatever has been employed in the most glorious and successful struggles of this country against a combination of the most ancient and formidable monarchies of Europe. A few inconsiderable detached islands, and one deserted town on the continent, where your Majesty's combined army has a perilous and insecure footing, are the only fruits of an expence exceeding twenty millions, of ninety-three ships of war, and sixty thousand of the best soldiers which could be procured either at home or abroad, and appointed for that special service. Your Majesty's forces, both by sea and land, have (we are told) done all that could be expected from the most accomplished discipline, and the most

determined courage; and yet the fatal defeat of some of these forces and the ineffectual victories of others, have almost equally conspired to the destruction of your power, and the dismemberment of your empire. We should be unpardonably negligent of our duty to your Majesty, to ourselves, and to our country, if we did not thus solemnly express our feelings upon this dreadful and decisive proof of the madness with which this attempt was originally made, and which, faithfully following it thro' every step of its progress, and every measure for its execution, has compleated, by uniform misconduct, the mischiefs which were commenced in total ignorance. We are convinced that not the delusions of artful and designing men, (which, like every thing false, cannot be permanent,) but the general sense of the whole American people is set and determined against the plans of coercion, civil and military, which have been hitherto employed against them; a whole, united, and irritated people cannot be conquered. If the force now employed cannot do it, no force within our abilities will do it.

The wealth of this nation is great, and our disposition would be to pour it out with the most unreserved and chearful liberality, for the support of the honour and dignity of your crown: but domestic peace and domestic oeconomy are the only means of supplying expence for war abroad: in this contest our resources are exhausted, whilst those of our rivals are spared, and we are, every year of the continuance of this war, altering the balance of our pub-



lic strength and riches in their favour.

We think ourselves bound, most dread sovereign, to express our fears and apprehensions to your Majesty, that at a time when your Majesty's gracious speech from the throne has hinted, and your vast naval preparations in a style much more explicit announce to us and the world, the critical state in which we stand with regard to the great neighbouring powers, we have not the comfort to learn from that speech, from any assurance of your Majesty's servants, or even from common fame, that any alliance whatever has been made with the other great states of Europe, in order to cover us from the complicated perils so manifestly imminent over this nation. We have as little reason to be certain that alliances of the most dangerous kind are not formed against us.

In this state of anxious doubt and danger, we have recourse to the clemency and wisdom of your Majesty; the tender parent and vigilant guardian of your people, that you will graciously take such measures as may restore internal peace, and, (as far as the miserable circumstances into which the late destructive courses have brought us will permit) reunite the British nation, in some happy, honourable, and permanent conjunction; lest the colonies, exasperated by rigours of continued war, should become totally alienated from their parent country; lest every remaining spark of their affection should be extinguished in habits of mutual slaughter and rapine; and lest in some evil hour, they who have hitherto been the great sup-

port of the British strength, should become the most formidable and lasting accession to the constant enemies of the power and prosperity of your kingdoms.

We humbly hope and trust, that your Majesty will give all due efficacy to the concessions (we wish those concessions may not have come too late) which have been proposed in parliament; and we have that undoubted reliance on the magnanimity of your Majesty's enlarged and kingly affections, that we are under no apprehensions of your Majesty being biassed by private partiality to any set of men, in a case where the good, where the very being of your people is at stake; and with an humble confidence we implore and supplicate your Majesty, that nothing may stand in the way of those arrangements, in your councils and executive offices, which may best forward the great, necessary, and blessed work of peace, and which may tend to rescue your affairs from unwise and improvident management, and which may obtain, improve, and secure the returning confidence of all your people. In such measures and such arrangements, and for such an end, your citizens of London will never fail to give your Majesty their most affectionate and steady support.

To which his Majesty was graciously pleased to answer,

“ I can never think that the zeal of my subjects, the resources of my kingdoms, and the bravery of my fleets and armies, can have been unwisely and improvidently exerted, when the object was to maintain the constitutional subordination



tion which ought to prevail through the several parts of my dominions, and is essential to the prosperity of the whole : but I have always lamented the calamities inseparable from a state of war ; and shall most earnestly give all the efficacy in my power to those measures which the legislature has adopted for the purpose of restoring, by some happy, honourable, and permanent conciliation, the blessings of peace, commerce, affection, and confidence between the mother country and the colonies.”

Friday, May 1.

*The following Address of the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of Great Britain, was presented to his Majesty by the Earl of Surry, and the Right Hon. the Lords Linton and Petre, and was most graciously received.*

*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

*The humble Address of the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of Great Britain.*

Most gracious Sovereign,  
 “ **W**E, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of your kingdom of Great Britain, most humbly hope, that it cannot be offensive to the clemency of your Majesty's nature, or to the maxims of your just and wise government, that any part of your subjects should approach your royal presence, to assure your Majesty of the respectful affection which they bear to your person, and their true attachment to the civil constitution of their country; which having been

perpetuated through all changes of religious opinions and establishments, has been at length perfected by that Revolution which has placed your Majesty's illustrious house on the throne of these kingdoms, and inseparably united your title to the crown, with the laws and liberties of your people.

“ Our exclusion from many of the benefits of that constitution, has not diminished our reverence to it. We behold with satisfaction, the felicity of our fellow-subjects ; and we partake of the general prosperity which results from an institution so full of wisdom. We have patiently submitted to such restrictions and discouragements as the legislature thought expedient. We have thankfully received such relaxations of the rigour of the laws, as the mildness of an enlightened age, and the benignity of your Majesty's government, have gradually produced : and we submissively wait, without presuming to suggest either time or measure, for such other indulgence as those happy causes cannot fail, in their own season, to effect.

“ We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that our dissent from the legal establishment, in matters of religion, is purely conscientious ; that we hold no opinions adverse to your Majesty's government, or repugnant to the duties of good citizens. And we trust, that this has been shewn more decisively by our irreproachable conduct for many years past, under circumstances of public discountenance and displeasure, than it can be manifested by any declaration whatever.

“ In a time of public danger, when your Majesty's subjects can



have but one interest, and ought to have but one wish, and one sentiment, we humbly hope it will not be deemed improper to assure your Majesty of our unreserved affection to your government, of our unalterable attachment to the cause and welfare of this our common country, and our utter detestation of the designs and views of any foreign power against the dignity of your Majesty's crown, the safety and tranquillity of your Majesty's subjects.

“ The delicacy of our situation is such, that we do not presume to point out the particular means by which we may be allowed to testify our zeal to your Majesty, and our wishes to serve our country; but we intreat leave faithfully to assure your Majesty, that we shall be perfectly ready, on every occasion, to give such proofs of our fidelity, and the purity of our intentions, as your Majesty's wisdom, and the sense of the nation, shall at any time deem expedient.”

The above address was signed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Surry and Shrewsbury, Linton for the Scotch, Stourton, Petre, Arundel, Dormer, Teynham, Clifford, and 163 Commoners.

*A Memorial presented to his Majesty by his Grace the Duke of Bolton.*

To the KING.

**W**E the subscribing Admirals of your Majesty's royal navy, having hitherto, on all occasions, served your Majesty with zeal and fidelity, and being desirous of devoting every action of our lives, and our lives themselves, to your

Majesty's service, and the defence of our country, think ourselves indispensably bound by our duty to that service and that country, with all possible humility, to represent to your wisdom and justice,

That Sir Hugh Palliser, Vice-admiral of the Blue, lately serving under the command of the honourable Augustus Keppel, did prefer certain articles of accusation, containing several matters of heinous offence, against his said Commander in Chief, to the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, he the said Sir Hugh Palliser being himself a Commissioner in the said commission. This accusation he the said Sir Hugh Palliser withheld from the twenty-seventh of July last, the time of the supposed offences committed, until the ninth day of this present December, and then brought forward for the purpose of recrimination against charges, conjectured by him the said Sir Hugh Palliser, but which, in fact, were never made.

That the Commissioners of the Admiralty, near five months after the pretended offences aforesaid, did receive from their said colleague in office, the charge made by him against his said commander, and without taking into consideration the relative situation of the accuser and the party accused, or attending to the avowed motives of the accusation, or the length of time of withholding, or the occasion of making the same, and without any other deliberation whatsoever, did, on the very same day on which the charge was preferred, and without previous notice to the party accused of an intention of making a charge against him, give notice of their  
intending



intending that a court martial should be held on the said admiral Keppel, after forty years of meritorious service, and a variety of actions in which he had exerted eminent courage and conduct, by which the honour and power of this nation, and the glory of the British flag, had been maintained and increased in various parts of the world.

We beg leave to express to your Majesty our concern at this proceeding, and to represent our apprehensions of the difficulties and discouragements which will inevitably arise to your service therefrom; and that it will not be easy for men, attentive to their honour, to serve your Majesty, particularly in situations of principal command, if the practice now stated to your Majesty be countenanced, or the principles upon which the same has been supported, shall prevail with any Lord High Admiral, or with any commissioner for executing that office.

We are humbly of opinion, that a criminal charge against an officer (rising in importance according to the rank and command of that officer) which suspends his service to your Majesty, perhaps in the most critical exigencies of the public affairs, which calls his reputation into doubt and discussion, which puts him on trial for his life, profession and reputation, and which, in its consequences, may cause a fatal cessation in the naval exertions of the kingdom, to be a matter of the most serious nature, and never to be made by authority, but on solid ground, and on mature deliberation. The honour of an officer is the most precious possession, and best qualification; the public

have an interest in it; and whilst those under whom we serve countenance accusation, it is often impossible perfectly to restore military fame by the mere acquittal of a court martial. Imputations made by high authority remain long, and affect deeply. The sphere of action of commanders in chief is large, and their business intricate, and subject to great variety of opinion; and, before they are to be put on the judgment of others for acts done upon their discretion, the greatest discretion ought to be employed.

Whether the board of admiralty hath by law any such discretion, we, who are not of the profession of the law, cannot positively assert; but if we had conceived that this board had no legal use of their reason in a point of such delicacy and importance, we should have known on what terms we served. But we never did imagine it possible that we were to receive orders from, and to be accountable to those who, by law, were reduced to become passive instruments to the possible malice, ignorance, or treason of any individual who might think fit to disarm his Majesty's navy of its best and highest officers. We conceive it disrespectful to the laws of our country to suppose them capable of such manifest injustice and absurdity.

We therefore humbly represent, in behalf of public order, as well as of the discipline of the navy, to your Majesty, the dangers of long concealed, and afterwards precipitately adopted charges, and of all recriminatory accusations of subordinate officers against their commanders in chief; and particularly the mischief and scandal of permitting men, who are at once



in high civil office, and in subordinate military command, previous to their making such accusations, to attempt to corrupt the public judgment, by the publication of libels on their officers in a common news-paper, thereby exciting mutiny in your Majesty's navy, as well as prejudicing the minds of those who are to try the merits of the accusation against the said superior officer.

Hawke,  
John Moore,  
Bolton,  
Samuel Graves,  
Hugh Pigot,  
Robert Harland,  
Bristol,  
James Young,  
Matthew Barton,  
Francis Geary,  
Shuldham,  
Clark Gayton.

(Copy.)

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*Copy of the Petition of the West India Planters and Merchants, presented to the King, Dec. 16, 1778.*

*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

*The humble Address and Petition of the Planters and Proprietors in your Majesty's Sugar Colonies, and of the Merchants trading to, and connected with the said Colonies, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and others interested therein.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

“ **W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the planters and proprietors in your Majesty's sugar colonies, and the

merchants trading to, and connected with the said colonies, whose names are hereunto subscribed, in behalf of ourselves and others interested therein, humbly approach your royal presence, with all assurances of fidelity to your person and government; and, with the utmost humility, represent to your Majesty:

That, on the commencement of the unhappy divisions between this kingdom and the colonies in North America, your petitioners, impressed with a proper sense of duty to your Majesty, and of the circumstances of their situation, did represent to your Majesty's ministers their apprehensions of the dangers and distresses to which the sugar islands were necessarily exposed.

That the fatal consequences, thus apprehended by your petitioners, have been in a great measure unhappily experienced during the three last years, by a general scarcity of provisions in all the islands, in some of them nearly approaching to famine, and by a want of almost every article essential to the culture of their plantations; so that their estates and property have been considerably impaired in value, and continue exposed to further diminution: whilst their effects have been captured on the high seas, to a very great amount.

That although your petitioners had early and anxiously represented to your Majesty's ministers the necessity of an adequate protection for the islands, they have now to lament, from the loss of Dominica, and the imminent danger of the other islands, that the frequent applications which they have made for protection, have not had their desired effect.

That



That your petitioners are now in the most anxious state of suspense, from the delay of the succours sent from New-York to the Leeward Islands, which have been so unseasonably afforded, as to leave all those islands exposed to the further hostile attempts of the enemy. And though the assurances of protection, given to your petitioners by one of your Majesty's Ministers, in some measure tend to remove their immediate apprehensions, yet they appear too general and precarious, to quiet their minds, as to the future safety of the Leeward Islands;—whilst the important island of Jamaica has been almost left to its own efforts; which, from the comparatively small number of white inhabitants, are become particularly severe, and, joined to the suspension of culture, necessarily consequent on military duty, must, in time, prove ruinous: a naval force being the first and principal security of the islands in general.

Labouring under the weight of these calamities, your petitioners cannot avoid further humbly expressing to your Majesty their melancholy apprehension, lest the desolating system which appears to them to have lately been denounced by your Majesty's commissioners in North-America, may be productive of consequences to your petitioners, at present not fully foreseen, nor sufficiently attended to, by your Majesty's servants.

Your petitioners would wish, Sire, to suppress those emotions, which the calamities of war, thus aggravated by indiscriminate and unbounded desolation, must naturally create in their minds; and, confining themselves to the im-

mediate object of their own preservation, they humbly submit to your Majesty's wisdom, that the late declaration of your Majesty's Commissioners, if carried into effect, may provoke the severest retaliation from an irritated people, intimately acquainted with the situation of the islands, their weak and accessible parts: and that the ravages which may be committed, even by a small force, may be sufficient to reduce any island to so waste a condition, as not to admit of its being restored to its former state, without an enormous expence, and the labour of years.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We feel ourselves indispensably called upon to lay this representation before your Majesty, the constitutional guardian of the property of all your subjects: that we may not appear to have neglected our duty, by omitting to apprise your Majesty of these important and melancholy truths.

Thus circumstanced, we rest our present security on your Majesty's paternal care of the interests of your subjects at large, for a sufficient protection against the dangers that threaten the property of your petitioners in the West-India islands: and we humbly pray, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into your royal consideration the unavoidable result of these calamities, which we apprehend must extend themselves to your Majesty's revenue, to your maritime power, and to the manufactures, commerce, and wealth of your subjects in general.

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*The following is Lord Suffolk's Answer, by the King's order, to the*



*the Representation of Count Wel-  
deren, Envoy Extraordinary from  
their High Mightinesses the States  
General of the United Provinces.*

S I R,

I Have had the honour to present to the King the memorial which you have addressed to his Majesty, by order of their High Mightinesses, the 28th past; which having been considered with all the attention which the importance of the different subject-matters in it contained doth merit, the King orders me to inform you, that it is with a very sensible pleasure that his Majesty hath seen the justice which their High Mightinesses render to his desire of giving unequivocal proofs of his friendship and affection for his ancient and faithful allies, the States General of the United Provinces, and that they have placed in the true point of view, his Majesty's orders for the releasement of the vessels specified in your memorial. The same principles have induced the King to give orders, that all the vessels, with unexceptionable cargoes, appertaining to the subjects of their High Mightinesses, and brought into the ports of Great Britain by his Majesty's ships, may be released; and that henceforth the King's officers do not give any hindrance or interruption to the *lawful commerce* of the subjects of their High Mightinesses. His Majesty would wish to have it in his power to remove even the smallest reason of complaint of the subjects of their High Mightinesses: but they know too much of the inseparable events of war, to believe it possible for him

so to do, even with all the dispositions to render justice, and to pay attention to the interests of the subjects of his good allies, which his Majesty possesses, and which their High Mightinesses acknowledge in him.

His Majesty, without any provocation on his part, and by a train of insidious, unjust proceedings on the part of the court of France, finds himself actually engaged in hostilities against the most Christian King, who, as all Europe ought to have seen with astonishment and indignation, in the midst of the most formal and often repeated assurances of the most perfect amity, and most pacific dispositions, hath violated the public faith and the rights of Sovereigns, by declaring the rebellious subjects of another power, to be Independent States, merely because those subjects have thought proper to call themselves such, and to invite the powers disposed to profit by their rebellion, to join in confederacy with them.

This unjust aggression, represented by the court of France as being a natural and advantageous advance towards the interest of her commerce, hath been followed by hostilities still more violent, still more public, namely, by sending a fleet to America in support of his Majesty's rebellious subjects, and that too before the King of Great Britain had taken any other step but that of calling his Ambassador from Paris.

But the King, animated by principles altogether different, and desiring to give on all occasions proofs of his moderation, and of the rectitude of his sentiments and intentions



intentions towards their High Mightinesses, hath ordered me to declare in his name, at a time when even the principles of self-defence and self-preservation oblige him to prevent (as much as is possible) all provisions of naval and military stores from being transported into the French ports; yet his Majesty will observe all possible regard for the rights of their High Mightinesses, and will adhere in the strongest manner to the stipulations (as far as it shall be practicable) and to the spirit of the treaties between him and their High Mightinesses.

After this exposition of the sentiments of the invariable amity and affection of his Majesty for their High Mightinesses, and of the present situation of affairs between the King and his Most Christian Majesty, it remains for me to execute the King's orders, by informing you, Sir, that his Majesty, sensible of the extraordinary manner in which he hath been suddenly engaged in an *actual war*, and of the short notice which the subjects of their High Mightinesses could have of this event, as it is alledged, is disposed and ready to purchase, at a fair valuation, the naval stores, which have been captured and are actually in the different ports of Great Britain, on board vessels appertaining to the subjects of the Republic, to pay the freight of the cargoes, and to indemnify the proprietors in all their just expences and damages occasioned by the detention of their vessels: and his Majesty will give instructions to his Ambassador, to enter upon a negociation with the Ministers of the Republic, to the end that an arrangement be

made for the future, upon the principles of equity and friendship, such as is meet between such good and ancient allies.

His Majesty always relies upon the assurances of amity and attachment which he has received on so many occasions from their High Mightinesses; and, in making this open and equitable communication of his sentiments and intentions in the present crisis, cannot but recal to the reflections of their High Mightinesses the reciprocal engagements contracted between the crown of Great Britain and the Republic, during the continuance of a whole century. The articles of these engagements are clear and precise: and, although the moderation of his Majesty, and his sincere desire to extend, as little as possible, the horrors of war, have hindered him to the present hour from demanding the accomplishment of these treaties, yet his Majesty doth not think these engagements less obligatory than they formerly were; and he will not suffer himself either to wish, or to admit, any diminution of the reciprocal interest which hath united for so long a time the two nations, and which his Majesty desires on his side to perpetuate.

As his Majesty hath not received any advice of complaints against the conduct of the Captains of the King's ships towards the territories of their High Mightinesses in America, and particularly upon the rivers of Essequibo and Demerary, before the date of the Memorial which I have had the honour to present to his Majesty; he hath ordered me to procure him the most exact informations relative



tive to what is therein alledged, and to assure you that his Majesty will not fail to punish the guilty in an exemplary manner.

I have the honour, &c,

(Signed) SUFFOLK.

St. James's, Oct. 19, 1778.

*Manifesto, or Declaration of the Motives which engage his Majesty the King of Prussia to make War against the Emperor of Germany.*

**H**IS Majesty the King of Prussia was in hopes, ever since the treaty of peace of Hubertsburgh, to live in constant harmony with the court of Vienna, and with that view his Majesty has employed all possible means to cultivate the friendship and affection of their Imperial and Royal Majesties the Emperor, and the Empress Queen of Hungary. It is therefore with the greatest grief and concern, that his Majesty finds this good harmony disturbed by the unexpected dismembering of the Electorate of Bavaria, undertaken by the court of Vienna, after the death of the late Elector of that country. His Majesty could not help immediately considering these proceedings as directly opposite to all justice, and the known rights of the nearest heirs to the dominions and allodials of Bavaria; but also contrary to the safety, liberty, laws, and constitution of the German empire; and therefore caused several well-grounded, friendly, and repeated representations to be made to their Imperial Majesties, in order to engage them to desist from

their undertaking. From hence have resulted explications, discussions, and negociations of long duration, which at last have produced nothing but a general armament throughout all the Austrian dominions; and things being thus carried to the utmost extremity, without any plausible reason offered by the court of Vienna for its proceedings in this affair, his Prussian Majesty cannot desist any longer from offering to the different powers of Europe, to the respective states of the German Empire, as well as to the public in general, the just motives, which have induced him to oppose the dismembering of the electorate of Bavaria, and to assist, with all possible zeal, the parties thereby oppressed. To this his Majesty finds himself in duty bound, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, as an Elector and Prince of the Empire, whose assistance has been claimed and required by his friends and allies, the aggrieved Princes, and only legitimate heirs to the Bavarian dominions and allodials; and lastly as a monarchy essentially interested in the conservation of the rights and privileges, as well as the undisturbed possession of the respective dominions of each member of the German Empire; and consequently obliged to oppose the dismembering of one of the most considerable Electorates, the rights and titles to which, in virtue whereof the court of Vienna has taken possession of the greatest part of the said electorate, have in the course of this long negociation been amply and forcibly proved to be groundless, and founded only on the following frivolous pretences, viz.

1. Upon



1. Upon a pretended investiture granted the 10th of March, 1426, to Albert Duke of Austria, by the Emperor Sigismond, who, according to the constitution of the Empire had neither right nor power to grant it, and who for these very reasons, and with full knowledge of the cause, was obliged to revoke it in the most solemn manner, in an assembly of the Princes and Ambassadors from the different states of the Empire, holden for that purpose at Presburg in Hungary, on the 26th of April, 1429.

2. Upon an agreement made between the said Emperor Sigismond and the said Duke Albert of Austria, his son-in-law, on the 21st of March, 1426, which was also rendered void by the revocation of the abovementioned investiture, upon the validity of which only it was grounded.

3. Upon a reversion of these Bavarian dominions, granted to the house of Austria, in the year 1614, by the Emperor Matthias, who, after the example of the Emperor Sigismond, was obliged to revoke and annihilate the same in the year 1618.

4. Upon a convention of the third of January, 1778, extorted by force from his Serene Highness the present Elector Palatine; which, though it had been made with his free consent, would be of no validity notwithstanding, since that Prince has neither the right to violate the laws of the German constitution, nor the family compacts of his house, nor that of disposing of his hereditary dominions to the prejudice of his heirs and successors. In short, a convention which is directly contrary to the capitu-

lation of his present Imperial Majesty; to the guarantee of his own house to the treaty of Munster; to the Golden Bull; to the treaties of Pavia in 1329 and 1529; to that of Osnabruck in 1620; and to the treaty of Westphalia in 1648; as also to the different family compacts between the houses of Bavaria and Palatine made in the years 1425, 1524, 1724, 1746, 1766, 1771, and 1774, all of which were founded upon the treaty of Pavia, and approved and confirmed by the different Emperors and Electors, agreeable to the laws and constitution of the empire.

It is consequently in consideration of these manifest contraventions of the court of Vienna, that his Prussian Majesty has done all that lay in his power to engage his Imperial Majesty peaceably to evacuate the Bavarian dominions, and to submit his claims and pretensions, conformably to the laws and constitution, to a legal decision of the Princes and members of the Empire. But all his efforts and reasonable propositions, far from making any impression upon the minds of their Imperial Majesties, have had no other effect than an offer made by the court of Vienna, that in case his Prussian Majesty would not oppose their dismembering the electorate of Bavaria, the House of Austria, from a sense of gratitude, would make no opposition to the re-uniting of the Margraviate of Anspach-Baireith to the electorate of Brandenburg, after the decease of the present reigning Margrave. This proposition leads to three different important observations. 1. It clearly demonstrates that the court of Vienna is sensible of the illegality  
of



of its taking possession of the Bavarian territories, as otherwise it would not offer a pretended indemnification to the King of Prussia, who, as their Imperial Majesties pretend, has no right to control them in their projects. 2. It intimates an intention in the court of Vienna, to question the natural rights, universally acknowledged as incontrollable, of the legitimate succession of the house of Brandenburg to the Margraviate of Anspach-Baireith; a doubt, which personified injustice itself would hardly dare to express. 3. That if even the reversion of Anspach-Baireith to the house of Brandenburg was manifestly unjust, their Imperial Majesties would be, notwithstanding, ready to acknowledge and support the same by force, to the prejudice of the parties that might be interested therein, provided they were left uncontrolled in their present usurpation of Bavaria. But this being unjust, could not be admitted by the King of Prussia, and therefore their Imperial Majesties declared as their final resolution, *That they would not absolutely evacuate any part of the Bavarian territories; that his Prussian Majesty should acknowledge their rights without any further examination; but be satisfied with the manner in which they have exposed the same.* The King has thereupon thought proper, after the example of the court of Vienna, to break off all further negotiation upon this affair.

It would therefore be against all reason to suppose his Prussian Majesty to be the aggressor in the war, which he finds himself under the necessity to undertake, as it has been sufficiently proved that

the court of Vienna has began the aggression, by invading the Bavarian dominions without any right or title, and wresting from the Palatine house the just reversion of its patrimony. His Majesty therefore hereby declares, that his sole object in this measure is to support the laws and constitution of the German Empire, which have been injured in the most arbitrary manner by the very Prince, who, from his quality as chief of the Empire, ought to have been their most strenuous protector; to assist those Princes, his friends and allies, who are thereby injured and oppressed; and that he has no other particular views therein, than his own security and the observation of the system of the Empire, having, for this purpose, given many repeated and convincing proofs of his disinterestedness, during the whole course of this long negotiation. His Prussian Majesty consequently flatters himself, that not only the different states of the Empire, but also all the respective powers of Europe, and especially those which are guarantees to the treaty of Westphalia, or which otherwise are interested in the integral conservation of the great and respectable Germanic body, on which, in a great measure, depends the happiness of all Europe; that these powers and states will acknowledge the justice of the war, which the King finds himself obliged hereby to declare against the house of Austria; and that far from opposing him in his undertaking, the said powers and states will rather join and assist him by such means as their wisdom shall suggest, to oblige the court of Vienna to desist from its usurpation of the Bavarian dominions,



nions, to maintain the treaty of Westphalia, and to restore and preserve the original system and fundamental constitution of the German Empire.

Berlin, July 7, 1778.

Published by order of the KING.

*Manifesto of her Imperial, Royal and Apostolick Majesty the Empress of Germany, and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. &c. and Declaration to all the respective Princes and States of the Roman Empire, concerning the illegal and hostile Enterprizes of his Majesty the King of Prussia, in opposition to her natural and legitimate Rights to the Succession of Lower Bavaria.*

HER Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty, the Empress Queen, thinks proper, not to hesitate any longer to lay before all the respective Princes and states of the Empire, a true and exact exposition of her rights to the succession of Bavaria\*, and of the measures which have been adopted, on her own part, to prove her pretensions, and to prosecute the same in the most legal and peaceable manner possible. The publication of this present manifesto would not have been thus delayed, and nothing would have hindered her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty to refute immediately, in a convincing manner, the shallow motives by which his Majesty the King of Prussia thinks himself obliged to oppose

the pretended unjust dismembering of the electorate of Bavaria, had not her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty been desirous first to try, and to exhaust all possible means of reconciliation, which her most ardent desire to preserve the public peace could suggest.

The court of Berlin has endeavoured, by all means imaginable, to represent her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty's rights, and pretensions, and the measures adopted to prosecute the same, under the aspect of invalidity and injustice. It has succeeded so far, as the clearest and best supported proofs and arguments will admit of being embroiled, and rendered odious, by an unavailing contradiction, the only motive whereof is a formed design to contradict every thing without the shadow of reason; but the illusion will soon disappear, whenever the true state of this affair, which will here be laid open in a few words, is examined without partiality, or prejudice.

Soon after the death of his late Serene Highness the Elector of Bavaria, her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty had, in due manner, laid before his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, as next and universal heir to the said late Elector, her rights and pretensions to the succession of Bavaria. His said Serene Highness has in like manner communicated to her Majesty his rights, and titles; and the validity and justice of the claims from both sides have been reciprocally acknowledged with the

\* This manifesto is accompanied by a number of testimonial pieces, consisting of genealogical tables, ancient documents, titles, &c.



greatest friendship and confidence imaginable. And in order to secure both parties from all unforeseen events that might happen, they found it conformable to their interest, to make a formal convention, by mutual consent, in order to prevent all farther discussion and altercation upon this point.

Two opposers to this convention have since arose, namely, his Serene Highness the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Elector of Saxony.

As to the first, her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty has publicly invited him to produce in a legal manner, and conformable to the constitution of the Empire, the claims which he pretends to have, in order that they may be examined jointly with the pretensions of her Majesty, that judgment be pronounced thereupon, and that the Emperor, as well as all the respective Princes, and states of the Empire, and even some foreign powers, be invited to become guarantees to the execution thereof.

And concerning the claims of the second opposer, her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty has formerly declared, during the negociation with the court of Berlin, that her Majesty consented to give up her right of regrefs; and that in regard to the allodial pretensions, her Majesty was ready and willing to give ample satisfaction, for as much as might concern that part of Bavaria, which has fallen to her share. And her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty has farther declared, concerning these allodial pretensions, that for what regards the principal

heir to Bavaria, her Majesty not only offered her good offices to bring about an equitable accommodation, but even her efficacious assistance to insure its success.

Her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty here appeals to the impartial judgment of all the respective Princes and states of the Empire, if any thing contrary to the laws and constitution of the Roman Empire can be found in such a conduct, and if such a situation of affairs can furnish the least apparent pretext, to countenance the pretended griefs of their Serene Highnesses the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Elector of Saxony, and to justify the violent measure of disturbing the public peace, and to have recourse to arms. It is however to such violence that his Majesty the King of Prussia arbitrarily thinks himself authorised to resort, as an Elector and Prince of the Empire, as a contracting party, and in that quality as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, of the imperial capitulation, and of all the Germanic constitutions; and lastly, as a friend and ally of their Serene Highnesses the Elector of Saxony, and the Dukes of Deuxponts, and of Mecklenburg.

But can it be supposed that the treaty of Westphalia, the imperial capitulation, and all the constitutions of the German Empire are infringed, because her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty, and his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, have in a legal and friendly manner, and with mutual consent, settled and acknowledged their reciprocal rights and pretensions, by a formal and amicable convention?



Can his Highness the Duke of Deuxponts require any thing more than what has been already offered to him; which is strict justice, and which he hath been publicly intreated to accept?

Can his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony have the least shadow of any further legitimate subject of complaint, after what her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty has formerly declared, during the negociation with the court of Berlin, in regard to the allodial pretensions?

And as to their Highnesses the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, have they any thing to claim, or have they ever as yet claimed any thing from her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty?

And further, is not the formal convention entered into with his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, which was founded on a formal avowal and acknowledgment of the rights of the House of Austria to the succession of Bavaria, sufficient to justify her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty's legitimate possession of the said territories; at least during the life of his present Serene Highness the Elector? And does not the Duke of Deuxponts obtain beforehand an entire security, by the guarantee of the Emperor, of the respective Princes and States of the Empire, and even of some foreign powers, which has been offered to him, in case that her Imperial Majesty's rights and pretensions should, in a legal manner, and conformable to the laws and constitutions of the German Empire, be declared void and invalid?

It is upon the examination and impartial judgment of the forego-

ing simple questions, that depends the decision of the following important one, in which the whole is comprized, viz. could his Majesty the King of Prussia, in any of the abovementioned qualities; which he ascribes to himself, be authorized to take up arms against her Imperial Majesty? — And if none of these said qualifications can authorise him to have recourse to such violence, has he not made himself culpable of repeated perturbation and disturbance of the public peace in Germany; and has he not himself manifestly infringed the treaty of Westphalia, as well as the laws and constitutions of the Empire?

But her Majesty the Empress Queen has not limited her endeavours, to preserve the public tranquillity, to what has been already related; far more has been done on her part than what the simple dictates of equity could suggest, and to give proofs of the full extent of her condescension, of her real pacific disposition, and of her invariable attention for the welfare of the whole German Empire, her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty has finally and formally declared to his Majesty, the King of Prussia, that her said Majesty was ready and willing to evacuate all districts and territories in Bavaria, of which her Majesty has taken possession, in virtue of the abovementioned convention, of the 3d of January last, and to reinstate his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine in the possession thereof; as also to disengage his said Serene Highness, his heirs and successors, from all obligations whatsoever; but on condition only *sine qua non*, that his Majesty the



King of Prussia will engage and promise on his part, for himself, his heirs and successors, to observe in every respect the regulation and pragmatic sanction established in the House of Brandenburg, and to maintain the order of succession to the two Margravites of Anspach and Bayreuth, in favour of the younger Princes of the House of Brandenburg; which regulation has been confirmed by the Emperor, and has thus acquired the force of a law of the Empire.

But even this generous, and more than equitable offer has been peremptorily refused by the King of Prussia; and this Prince, notwithstanding, continues, under the most futile pretexts, the most unjust war and desolation in the Empire of Germany, of which he pretends to be a protector.

Her Majesty the Empress Queen would think herself to be wanting in point of confidence, with which the enlightened sentiments and known equity of the respective Princes and states of the Empire ought to inspire her, if her Majesty was to suppose it necessary to add any further explanations or proofs to this simple exposition of facts, which is hereby laid before them; and which upon mature consideration, as her Majesty flatters herself, will sufficiently justify her conduct, and also set that of the court of Berlin in its proper light.

Her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty therefore anxiously intreats all her coestates, and respective Princes of the Empire, to consider the present situation of affairs with all the attention which the importance of the object requires. It is here the common

cause of the whole German Empire, and its principal object, to preserve the political balance of power, and the actual constitution of the Circle of Franconia, and its neighbouring states; as also to prevent the dangerous consequences of an increase of power at the court of Berlin; which would unavoidably arise, if his present Prussian Majesty should succeed to realize his views, by arbitrarily depriving the younger Princes of the House of Brandenburg of their legitimate rights, to which they have a just claim, conformable to a pragmatic sanction, formally constituted a law of the Empire.

In order then to obviate these dangerous consequences, as well as many others, which upon cool reflection will present themselves at first sight, her Imperial Majesty has condescended to renounce, and to give up all her rights and pretensions to the succession of Bavaria, and to annul, and to declare void the convention made with his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine. But her Majesty cannot avoid observing at the same time, that as her Majesty is ready to make this sacrifice to the general welfare of Germany, and as her Majesty hereby publicly and solemnly repeats, before the whole German Empire, her declaration made on this point to his Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty also thinks herself thereby authorised to request, to exhort, and to invite all the respective Princes and states of the Empire, to unite in one body, and to form and address to his Prussian Majesty such efficacious representations and remonstrances, as may engage his said Majesty immediately to desist from



from his illegal and hostile proceedings; and further, that they will join her Imperial and Apostolick Majesty in maintaining a strict observation of the inviolable pragmatic sanction established in the House of Brandenburg, and by a strenuous assistance make a common cause with her said Majesty, to oppose the disturbance of the public-peace, and the infringement of the laws and constitutions of the German Empire, as well as the treaty of Westphalia; and also to claim publicly, and in a becoming manner, the assistance of the two powers which are guarantees to the said treaty of Westphalia.

Published by order of her Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesty.

KAUNITZ RITBERG.

Vienna, Sept. 24, 1778.

*Copy of the Commission granted by his Majesty to the Right Hon. Frederick Earl of Carlisle, the Right Hon. Richard Lord Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, Esq. and George Johnstone, Esq. for the quieting and extinguishing of divers Jealousies and Apprehensions of Danger in the Americans.*

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To our trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the most ancient Order of the Thistle: our right trusty and well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Richard Lord Viscount

Howe, of our kingdom of Ireland; our trusty and well beloved Sir William Howe, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant General of our forces, General and Commander in Chief of all and singular our forces employed, or to be employed, within our Colonies in North America, lying upon the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia on the North to West Florida on the South, both inclusive; William Eden, Esq. one of our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and George Johnstone, Esq; Captain in our royal navy.

Greeting:

**W**HEREAS, in and by our commission and letters patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date on or about the 6th day of May, in the 16th year of our reign, we did, out of an earnest desire to deliver all our subjects and every part of the dominions belonging to our crown from the calamities of war, and to restore them to our protection and peace, nominate and appoint our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Richard Lord Viscount Howe, of our kingdom of Ireland, and our trusty and well-beloved William Howe, Esq. now Sir William Howe, Knight of the Bath, Lieutenant-General of our forces in North America only, and each of them jointly and severally, to be our Commissioner and Commissioners on that behalf, to so perform and execute all the powers and authorities in and by the said commission and letters patent entrusted and committed to them, and each of them,

[X] 2 according



according to the tenor of such letters patent, and of such further instructions as they should from time to time receive under our signet or sign manual, to have, hold, execute, and enjoy the said office and place, offices and places of our Commissioner and Commissioners, as therein mentioned, with all rights, members, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, together with all and singular the powers and authorities thereby granted unto them, the said Lord Viscount Howe, and General Sir William Howe, and each of them, for and during our will and pleasure, and no longer, in such manner and form, as in and by our said recited commission and letters patent, relation being thereunto had, may, among divers other things therein contained, more fully, and at large appear. And whereas for the quieting and extinguishing of divers jealousies and apprehensions of danger to their liberties and rights, which have alarmed many of our subjects in the Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, with the three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, and for a fuller manifestation of our just and gracious purposes, and those of our parliament, to maintain and secure all our subjects in the clear and perfect enjoyment of their liberties, and rights, it is in and by a certain act made and passed in this present session of parliament, intituled, "An Act to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with suf-

ficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces in North America," among other things enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, from time to time, by letters patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, to authorize and empower five able and sufficient persons, or any three of them, to do and perform such acts and things, and to use and execute such authorities and powers as in the said act are for that purpose mentioned, provided, and created. And whereas we are earnestly desirous to carry into full and perfect execution the several just and gracious purposes above-mentioned: Now know ye, that we have revoked and determined, and by these presents do revoke and determine our said recited commission and letters patent, and all and every power, authority, clause, article, and thing therein contained. And further know ye, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in your wisdom, loyalty, diligence and circumspection in the management of the affairs to be hereby committed to your charge, have nominated and appointed, constituted and assigned, and by these presents we do nominate, appoint, constitute and assign you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnstone, or any three of you, to be our Commissioners in that behalf, to use and exercise all and every the powers and authorities hereby entrusted and committed to you, the said Frederick Earl



Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnstone, or any three of you, and to so perform and execute all other matters and things hereby enjoined and committed to your care, during our will and pleasure, and no longer, according to the tenor of these our letters patent, and of such further instructions as you shall from time to time receive under our signet or sign manual. And it is our royal will and pleasure, and we do hereby authorise, empower, and require you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnstone, or any three of you, to treat, consult and agree with such body or bodies politic and corporate, or with such assembly or assemblies of men, or with such person or persons as you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnstone, or any three of you shall think meet and sufficient for that purpose, of and concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances, existing, or supposed to exist, in the government of any of the Colonies, Provinces or Plantations above-mentioned respectively, or in the laws and statutes of this realm, respecting them or any of them, or of and concerning any aids or contributions to be furnished by any of the said Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations respectively, for the common defence of this realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and of and concerning any other regulations, provisions, matters and things, necessary or convenient for the honour of us and

our parliament, and for the common good of all our subjects. And it is our further will and pleasure, That every regulation, provision, matter, or thing, which shall have been agreed upon between you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, George Johnstone, or any three of you, and such persons or bodies politic as aforesaid, whom you or any three of you have judged meet and sufficient to enter into such agreement, shall be fully and distinctly set forth in writing, and authenticated by the hands and seals of you or any three of you on one side, and by such seals and other signature on the other as the occasion may require, and as may be suitable to the character and authority of the body politic or other person so agreeing; and such instruments so authenticated shall be by you or any three of you transmitted to one of our principal Secretaries of State, in order to be laid before our parliament, for the further and more perfect ratification thereof; and until such ratification, no such regulation, provision, matter or thing, shall have any other force or effect, or be carried further into execution than is hereafter mentioned. And we do hereby further authorise and empower you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnstone, or any three of you, from time to time, as you or any three of you shall judge convenient, to order and proclaim a cessation of hostilities on the part of our forces by sea or land, for such time, and under such conditions,



tions, restrictions, or other qualifications as in your discretions shall be thought requisite, and such order and proclamation to revoke and annul in the same manner and form.—And it is our further will and pleasure, and we do hereby require and command all our officers and ministers, civil and military, and all other our loving subjects whatsoever, to observe and obey all such proclamations respectively. And we do hereby, in further pursuance of the said act of parliament, and of the provisions therein contained, authorise and empower you the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnstone, or any three of you, by proclamation under your respective hands and seals, from time to time, as you shall see convenient, to suspend the operation and effect of a certain act of parliament, made and passed in the 16th year of our reign, for prohibiting all trade and intercourse with certain Colonies and Plantations therein named, and for the other purposes therein also mentioned, or any of the provisions or restrictions therein contained, and therein to specify at what time and places respectively, and with what exceptions and restrictions, and under what passes and clearances, in lieu of those heretofore directed by any act or acts of parliament, for regulating the trade of the Colonies and Plantations, the said suspension shall take effect, and the said suspension and proclamation in the same manner and form to annul and revoke. And we do hereby further authorise and empower you, the said Frederick Earl

of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden and George Johnstone, or any three of you, from time to time, as you shall judge convenient, to suspend in any places, and for any time during the continuance of the said first recited act, the operation and effect of any act or acts of parliament which have passed since the 10th day of February, 1763, and which relate to any of our Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations abovementioned in North America, so far as the same relate to them, or any of them, or the operation and effect of any clause, or any provision or other matter in such acts contained, so far as such clauses, provisions, or matters, relate to any of the said Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations. And we do hereby further authorize and empower you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnstone, or any three of you, to grant a pardon, or pardons, to any number or description of persons within the said Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations. And we do hereby further authorize and empower you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnstone, or any three of you, in any of our Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations aforesaid respectively, wherein we have usually heretofore nominated and appointed a Governor, to nominate and appoint, from time to time, by any instrument under your hands and seals, or the hands and seals of any three of you, a proper person, to be the Governor and Commander in Chief in



in and for such Colony, Province, or Plantation respectively, to have, hold, and exercise the said office of Governor and Commander in Chief in and for such Colony, Province, or Plantation respectively, with all such powers and authorities any Governor of such Province, heretofore appointed by us, might or could have exercised, in as full and ample manner and form as if such Governor and Commander in Chief had been nominated and appointed by our letters patent heretofore granted for appointing any such Governor and Commander in Chief. Whereas, by certain letters patent under our great seal, bearing date on the 29th day of April, in the sixteenth year of our reign, we have constituted and appointed you, the said Sir William Howe, to be General and Commander in Chief of all and singular our forces employed, or to be employed, within our Colonies of North America, lying upon the Atlantic ocean, from Nova-Scotia on the North, to West-Florida on the South, both inclusive, to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said office during our will and pleasure; and in case you, the said Sir William Howe, should, by death, or any other manner, be disabled from exercising the said command, it was our will and pleasure, therein expressed, that the same, with all authorities, rights, and privileges, contained in that our said commission, should devolve upon the person who should be next in rank to the said Sir William Howe. And whereas our trusty and well beloved Sir Henry Clinton, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-General of our

forces, and General of our forces in our army in America only, now actually bears our commission, and is next in rank to you, the said Sir William Howe: know it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby order and appoint, that whenever the said command in the said letters patent mentioned shall, in pursuance thereof, devolve upon the said Sir Henry Clinton, all and every the powers and authorities hereby entrusted and committed to you the said Sir William Howe, shall forthwith cease and determine, and the said powers and authorities, and every of them, shall from thenceforth be entrusted and committed, and are hereby entrusted and committed, to the said Sir Henry Clinton, to use and exercise the same powers and authorities, and to perform and execute all other the matters and things as aforesaid, in as full and ample extent and form, and no other, as you, the said Sir William Howe, are hereby authorised to use and exercise, do, perform, and execute the same. And we do hereby require and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto you, the said Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Richard Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, and George Johnstone, in the execution of this our commission, and of the powers and authorities therein contained. Provided always, and we do hereby declare and ordain, that the several offices, powers, and authorities hereby granted, shall cease, determine, and become utterly null and void, on the 1st day of June, which shall be in the year of our Lord



1779, although we shall not otherwise in the mean time have revoked and determined the same. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the 13th day of April, in the 18th year of our reign.

By the King himself.

Y O R K.

*Manifesto and Proclamation, by his Majesty's American Commissioners.*

**H**AVING amply and repeatedly made known to the Congress, and having also proclaimed to the inhabitants of North America in general, the benevolent overtures of Great Britain towards a re-union and coalition with her colonies, we do not think it consistent either with the duty we owe to our country, or with a just regard to the characters we bear, to persist in holding out offers which in our estimation, required only to be known to be most gratefully accepted; and we have accordingly, excepting only the commander in chief, who will be detained by military duties, resolved to return to England a few weeks after the date of this manifesto and proclamation.

Previous however to this decisive step, we are led by a just anxiety for the great objects of our mission, to enlarge on some points which may not have been sufficiently understood, to recapitulate to our fellow-subjects the blessings which we are empowered to confer, and to warn them of the continued evils to which they are at present blind-

ly and obstinately exposing themselves.

To the members of the congress then, we again declare that we are ready to concur in all satisfactory and just arrangements for securing to them and their respective constituents the re-establishment of peace, with the exemption from any imposition of taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege consistent with that union of interests and force on which our mutual prosperity, and the safety of our common religion and liberties depend. We again assert that the members of the congress were not authorised by their constituents, either to reject our offers without the previous consideration and consent of the several assemblies and conventions, their constituents, or to refer us to pretended foreign treaties, which they know were delusively framed in the first instance, and which have never yet been ratified by the people of this continent. And we once more remind the members of the congress, that they are responsible to their countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war, and for all the miseries with which it must be attended.

To the general assemblies and conventions of the different colonies, plantations, and provinces abovementioned, we now separately make the offers which we originally transmitted to the congress; and we hereby call upon and urge them to meet expressly for the purpose of considering whether every motive, political as well as moral, should not decide their resolution to embrace the occasion of cement-

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ing a free and firm coalition with Great Britain. It has not been, nor is it our wish, to seek the objects which we are commissioned to pursue by fomenting popular divisions and partial cabals; we think such conduct would be ill suited to the generous nature of the offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king, and the state which make them. But it is both our wish and our duty to encourage and support any men, or bodies of men, in their return of loyalty to our Sovereign, and affection to our fellow subjects.

To all others, free inhabitants of this once happy empire, we also address ourselves. Such of them as are actually in arms, of whatsoever rank or description, will do well to recollect, that the grievances, whether real or supposed, which led them into this rebellion, have been for ever removed, and that the just occasion is arrived for their returning to the class of peaceful citizens. But if the honours of a military life are become their object, let them seek those honours under the banners of their rightful sovereign, and in fighting the battles of the united British empire, against our late mutual and natural enemies.

To those whose profession it is to exercise the functions of religion on this continent, it cannot surely be unknown, that the sovereign power with which the congress is endeavouring to connect them, has ever been averse to toleration, and inveterately opposed to the interest and freedom of the places of worship which they serve; and that Great Britain, from whom they are for the present separated, must, both from the principles of her constitu-

tion and of protestantism, be at all times the best guardian of religious liberty, and most disposed to promote and extend it.

To all those who can estimate the blessings of peace, and its influence over agriculture, arts, and commerce, who can feel a due anxiety for the education and establishment of their children, or who can place a just value on domestic security, we think it sufficient to observe, that they are made by their leaders to continue involved in all the calamities of war, without having either a just object to pursue, or a subsisting grievance which may not instantly be redressed.

But if there be any persons who divested of mistaken resentments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think that it is for the benefit of the colonies to separate themselves from Great Britain, and that so separated they will find a constitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their prosperity, than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are impowered and disposed to renew and improve; with such persons we will not dispute a position which seems to be sufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change, which the maintaining of such a position must make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war, more especially when to this position is added the pretended alliance with the court of France. "The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country



country shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage; but when that country professes the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain, and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

If, however, there are any who think that notwithstanding these reasonings the independence of the colonies will in the result be acknowledged by Great Britain, to them we answer, without reserve, that we neither possess nor expect powers for that purpose: and that if Great Britain could ever have sunk so low as to adopt such a measure, we should not have thought ourselves compellable to be the instruments in making a concession which would, in our opinion, be calamitous to the colonies, for whom it was made, and disgraceful, as well as calamitous, to the country from which it is required. And we think proper to declare, that in this spirit and sentiment we have regularly written from the continent to Great Britain.

It will now become the colonies in general to call to mind their own solemn appeals to heaven, in the beginning of this contest, that they took arms only for the redress of grievances, and that it would be

their wish, as well as their interest, to remain for ever connected with Great Britain. We again ask them, whether all their grievances, real or supposed, have not been amply and fully redressed; and we insist that the offers we have made, leave nothing to be wished in point either of immediate liberty, or permanent security; if those offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exercise of a commission with which we have in vain been honoured; the same liberality will no longer be due from Great Britain, nor can it either in justice or policy be expected from her.

In fine, and for the fuller manifestation as well of the disposition we bear, as of the gracious and generous purposes of the commission under which we act, we hereby declare, that whereas his Majesty, in pursuance of an act, made and passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America," having been pleased to authorise and empower us to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons within the colonies, plantations, and provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. And whereas the good effects of the said authorities and powers towards the people at large, would have long since taken place, if a due use had been made



of our first communications and overtures; and have thus far been frustrated only by the precipitate resolution of the members of the congress not to treat with us, and by their declining to consult with their constituents, we now, in making our appeal to those constituents, and to the free inhabitants of this continent in general, have determined to give them what in our opinion should have been the first object of those who appeared to have taken the management of their interests, and adopt this mode of carrying the said authorities and powers into execution. We accordingly hereby grant and proclaim a pardon or pardons of all, and all manner of treasons or misprision of treasons, by any person or persons, or by any number or description of persons within the said colonies, plantations or provinces, counselled, commanded, acted, or done, on or before the date of this manifesto and proclamation.

And we further declare and proclaim, that if any person or persons, or any number or description of persons within the said colonies, plantations and provinces, now actually serving either in a military or civil capacity in this rebellion, shall, at any time during the continuance of this manifesto and proclamation, withdraw himself or themselves from such civil or military service, and shall continue thenceforth peaceably, as a good and faithful subject or subjects to his Majesty to demean himself or themselves, such person or persons, or such number and description of persons, shall become and be fully entitled to, and hereby obtain, all the benefits of the pardon or pardons hereby granted; excepting only from the said pardon or par-

dons every person, and every number or description of persons, who, after the date of this manifesto and proclamation, shall, under the pretext of authority, as judges, jurymen, ministers, or officers of civil justice, be instrumental in executing and putting to death any of his Majesty's subjects within the said colonies, plantations, and provinces.

And we think proper further to declare, that nothing herein contained is meant, or shall be construed, to set at liberty any person or persons now being prisoner or prisoners, or who during the continuance of this rebellion shall become a prisoner or prisoners.

And we offer to the colonies at large, or separately, a general or separate peace, with the revival of their ancient government, secured against any future infringements, and protected forever from taxation by Great Britain. And with respect to such further regulations, whether civil, military, or commercial, as they may wish to be framed and established, we promise all the concurrence and assistance that his Majesty's commission authorises and enables us to give.

And we further declare that this manifesto and proclamation shall continue and be in force FORTY DAYS from the date hereof; that is to say, from the third day of October, to the eleventh day of November, both inclusive.

And in order that the whole contents of this manifesto and proclamation may be more fully known, we shall direct copies thereof, both in the English and German language, to be transmitted by flags of truce to the congress, the general assemblies or conventions of the colonies, plantations and provinces, and



and to several persons both in civil and military capacities within the said colonies, plantations and provinces. And for the further security in times to come of the several persons, or numbers or descriptions of persons, who are or may be the objects of this manifesto and proclamation, we have set our hands and seals to thirteen copies thereof, and have transmitted the same to the thirteen colonies, plantations and provinces abovementioned, and we are willing to hope that the whole of this manifesto and proclamation will be fairly and freely published and circulated, for the immediate, general, and most serious consideration and benefit of all his Majesty's subjects on this continent. And we earnestly exhort all persons who by this instrument forthwith receive the benefit of the king's pardon, at the same time that they entertain a becoming sense of those lenient and affectionate measures whereby they are now freed from many grievous charges which might have risen in judgment, or have been brought in question against them, to make a wise improvement of the situation in which this manifesto and proclamation places them, and not only to recollect that a perseverance in the present rebellion, or any adherence to the treasonable connection attempted to be framed with a foreign power, will, after the present grace extended, be considered as crimes of the most aggravated kind; but to vie with each other in eager and cordial endeavours to secure their own peace, and promote and establish the prosperity of their countrymen, and the general weal of the empire.

And pursuant to his Majesty's commission, we hereby require all

officers civil and military, and all others his Majesty's loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto us in the execution of this our manifesto and proclamation, and of all the matters herein contained.

Given at New York, this third day of October, 1778.

CARLISLE (L. S.)

H. CLINTON (L. S.)

WM. EDEN (L. S.)

By their Excellency's Command,  
ADAM FERGUSON, Secretary.

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*The following is an authentic Copy of the Instructions given by Congress to the American Plenipotentiaries sent to the several Courts of Europe.*

In CONGRESS, Dec. 30, 1776.

Resolved,

**T**HAT commissioners be sent to the courts of Vienna, France, Spain, Prussia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

That the several Commissioners of the United States be instructed to assure the respective courts, that notwithstanding the artful and insidious endeavours of the court of Great Britain to represent the congress and inhabitants of these states to the European powers, as having a disposition again to submit to the sovereignty of the crown of Great Britain, it is their determination, at all events, to maintain their independence.

That the commissioners be respectively directed to use every means in their power, to procure the assistance of the Emperor of Germany, and of their most Christian, Catholic, and Prussian Majesties, for preventing Russian, German, and other foreign troops, from



from being sent to North America for hostile purposes against the United States, and for obtaining a recall of those already sent.

That his most Christian Majesty be induced, if possible, to assist the United States in the present war with Great Britain, by attacking the Electorate of Hanover, or any part of the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, the East or West Indies.

That the Commissioners be further empowered to stipulate with the court of France, that all the trade between the United States, and the West India Islands, shall be carried on by vessels either belonging to the subjects of his most christian majesty or these states, each having liberty to carry on such trade.

That the Commissioners be likewise instructed to assure his most christian majesty, that should his forces be employed, in conjunction with the united states, to exclude his Britannic Majesty from any share in the cod fishery of America, by reducing the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton; and that ships of war be furnished, when required, by the united states to reduce Nova Scotia, the fishery shall be enjoyed equally, and in common, by the subjects of his most christian majesty, provided the province of Nova Scotia, island of Cape Breton, and the remaining part of Newfoundland, be annexed to the territory and government of the united states.

That should the proposals, made as above, be insufficient to produce the proposed declaration of war, and the commissioners are convinced that it cannot otherwise be accomplished, they must assure his most christian majesty, that such of the British West India islands,

as in the course of the war shall be reduced by the united force of France and these states, shall be yielded an absolute property to his most christian majesty. The united states engage, on timely notice, to furnish at the expence of the said states, and deliver at some convenient port or ports, in the said states, provisions for carrying an expedition against the said islands, to the amount of two millions of dollars, and six frigates, mounting not less than twenty-four guns each, manned and fitted for sea; and to render any other assistance which may be in their power, as becomes good allies.

That the Commissioners for the courts of France and Spain consult together, and prepare a treaty of commerce and alliance, as nearly as may be, similar to the first proposed to the court of France, and not inconsistent therewith, nor disagreeable to his most christian majesty, to be proposed to the court of Spain; adding thereto,

That if his catholic majesty will join with the united states in a war with Great Britain, they will assist in reducing to the possession of Spain, the town and harbour of Pensacola, provided the citizens and inhabitants of the united states shall have the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi and the use of the harbour of Pensacola; and will, provided it shall be true that his Portuguese majesty has insultingly expelled the vessels of these states from his ports, or has confiscated such vessels, declare war against the said king, if that measure shall be agreeable to, and supported by the courts of France and Spain.

That the Commissioners for the court of Berlin, consult with the  
commis-



commissioners at the court of France, and prepare such treaty or treaties of friendship and commerce to be proposed to the king of Prussia, as shall not be disagreeable to their most christian and catholic majesties.

Extract of the Minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON,

Secretary of the Congress.

By Order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

*In General Assembly of Pennsylvania,  
May 25, 1778.*

The house resumed the consideration of the resolves respecting the draughts of the two bills proposed in the British parliament, and, after considerable debates thereupon, they were unanimously adopted as follows, viz.

THE house having taken into consideration the speech of Lord North, in the British house of commons, on the 19th of February last, and the two bills ordered to be brought in by him, &c. in consequence thereof; the one intituled "A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America;" the other intituled, "A Bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient power to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America;" together with the proceedings of congress thereupon on the 22d day of April last,

as published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of the 24th day of the same month; and having maturely considered the same, came to the following resolutions; to wit,

1. Resolved unanimously, That the delegates or deputies of the united states of America, in congress assembled, are invested with exclusive authority to treat with the king of Great Britain, or commissioners by him duly appointed, respecting a peace between the two countries.

2. Resolved unanimously, That any man, or body of men, who shall presume to make any separate or partial convention, or agreement with the king of Great Britain, or with any commissioner or commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the united states of America.

3. Resolved unanimously, That this house highly approved of the declaration of congress; "That these united states cannot, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the said states."

4. Resolved unanimously, That the congress have no power, authority, or right, to do any act, matter, or thing whatsoever, that may have a tendency to yield up or abridge the sovereignty and independence of this state, without its consent previously obtained.

5. Resolved unanimously, That this house will maintain, support, and defend the sovereignty and independence



dependence of this state with their lives and fortunes.

6. Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to the supreme executive council of this state, forthwith to order the militia to hold themselves in readiness to act as occasion may require.

Extract from the minutes,

JOHN MORRIS, jun.

Clerk of the General Assembly.

In C O N G R E S S.

June 13, 1778.

**A**N express arrived with a letter of the 11th, from General Washington, which was read, and a packet in which it was inclosed, together with other papers, a letter signed 'Carlisle, William Eden, G. Johnstone,' dated 'Philadelphia, June 9, 1778,' and directed 'to his excellency, Henry Laurens, the president, and other members of the congress; which letter was read to the words, 'insidious interposition of a power, which has from the first settlement of these colonies, been actuated with enmity to us both; and notwithstanding the pretended date or form of the French offers,' inclusive; whereupon the reading was interrupted, and a motion was made not to proceed farther, because of the offensive language against his most christian majesty. Debate arising thereon.

Ordered, that the consideration of the motion be postponed, and congress adjourned till ten o'clock on Monday June 16.

Congress resumed the consideration of the motion respecting the letter from the commissioners of the king of Great Britain, which being postponed,

A motion was made, 'That the letter from the commissioners of the king of Great Britain, lie on the table,' Passed in the negative.

On the motion—Resolved, 'That the letter, and the papers accompanying it, be read.' Whereupon a letter of the 9th, and one dated June, 1778, both signed, 'Carlisle, William Eden, G. Johnstone,' and a paper indorsed, 'Copy of the commission for restoring peace, &c. to the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Viscount Howe, Sir William Howe, or in his absence, Sir Henry Clinton, William Eden, and George Johnstone,' were read, and also three acts of the British parliament, one intituled, 'An act for repealing an act passed in the 14th year of his present Majesty's reign, intituled, an act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts bay, in New-England,' the other two the same as the bills already published. The letters are as follow :

To his excellency Henry Laurens, the President, and other Members of Congress.

Gentlemen, With an earnest desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and the calamities of war, we communicate to you, with the least possible delay after our arrival in this city, a copy of the commission with which his Majesty is pleased to honour us, as also the acts of parliament on which it is founded; and at the same time that we assure you of our most earnest desire to re-establish, on the basis of equal freedom and mutual safety, the tranquillity of this once happy empire, you will observe, that we are vested with powers equal to the purpose, and such as are even unprecedented



precedented in the annals of our history.

In the present state of our affairs, though fraught with subjects of mutual regret, all parties may draw some degree of consolation, and even an auspicious hope from the recollection that cordial reconciliation and affection have, in our own and other empires, succeeded to the contentions and temporary divisions not less violent than those we now experience.

We wish not to recall subjects which are now no longer in controversy, and will reserve to a proper time of discussion, both the hopes of mutual benefit, and the consideration of evils that may naturally contribute to determine your resolutions, as well as our own, on this important occasion.

The acts of parliament which we transmit to you, having passed with singular unanimity, will sufficiently evince the disposition of Great Britain, and shew that the terms of agreement, in contemplation with his majesty, and with his parliament, are such as come up to every wish that North America, either in the hour of temperate deliberation, or of the utmost apprehension of danger to liberty, has expressed.

More effectually to demonstrate our good intentions, we think proper to declare, even in this our first communication, that we are disposed to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following, among other purposes:

To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land. To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and restore the common benefits of naturalisation through the several parts of

this empire. To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require. To agree that no military force shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress, or particular assemblies. To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and raise the value and credit of the paper circulation.

To perpetuate our union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or, if sent from Britain, to have in that case a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they are deputed.

In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war, under our common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.

In our anxiety for preserving those sacred and essential interests, we cannot help taking notice of the insidious interposition of a power, which has from the first settlement of these colonies, been actuated with enmity to us both. And notwithstanding the pretended date, or present form, of the French offers to America,



America, yet it is notorious, that these were made in consequence of the plans of accommodation previously concerted in Great Britain, and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this destructive war.

‘ But we trust that the inhabitants of North-America, connected with us by the nearest ties of consanguinity, speaking the same language, interested in the preservation of similar institutions, remembering the former happy intercourse of good offices, and forgetting recent animosities, will shrink from the thought of becoming an accession of force to our late mutual enemy, and will prefer a firm, free, and perpetual coalition with the parent state to an insincere and unnatural foreign alliance.

‘ This dispatch will be delivered to you by Dr. Ferguson, the secretary to his majesty’s commission; and, for further explanation and discussion of every subject of difference, we desire to meet with you, either collectively or by deputation, at New-York, Philadelphia, York-Town, or such other place as you may propose. We think it right, however, to apprise you, that his majesty’s instructions, as well as our own desire, to remove from the immediate seat of war, in the active operations of which we cannot take any part, may induce us speedily to remove to New-York; but the commander in chief of his majesty’s land-forces, who is joined with us in this commission, will, if it should become eligible, either concur with us in a suspension of hostilities, or will furnish all necessary passports and safe conduct, to facilitate our meeting, and we shall of course expect the same of you.

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‘ If after the time that may be necessary to consider of this communication, and transmit your answer, the horrors and devastations of war should continue, we call God and the world to witness, that the evils which must follow are not to be imputed to Great Britain; and we cannot, without the most real sorrow, anticipate the prospect of calamities which we feel the most ardent desire to prevent. We are, with perfect respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servants,

Carlisle, W. Eden, G. Johnstone.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens, President, and other Members of Congress.

Gentlemen, The dispatch inclosed with this, was carried this morning to the nearest post of General Washington’s army by Dr. Ferguson, Secretary to his Majesty’s commission for restoring peace, &c. but he, not finding a passport, has returned to this place. In order to avoid every unnecessary delay, we now again send it by the ordinary conveyance of your military posts: as soon as the passport arrives, Dr. Ferguson shall wait upon you according to our first arrangement. We are, with perfect respect, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servants,

Carlisle, W. Eden, G. Johnstone.

Ordered, that they be referred to a committee of five.

Eodem Die, P. M. The committee to whom were referred the letters and papers from the Earl of Carlisle, &c. Commissioners from the King of Great Britain, reported the draft of a letter, which was read.

[R]

Resolved,



Resolved, that the consideration thereof be postponed till to-morrow.

June 17th, 1778. Congress resumed the consideration of the draft of the letter, in answer to the letter and papers received from the Earl of Carlisle, &c. Commissioners from the King of Great Britain, which was unanimously agreed to, and is as follows :

To their Excellencies the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, Esqrs. Commissioners from his Britannic Majesty, Philadelphia.

‘ I have received the letter from your Excellencies of the 9th instant, with the inclosures, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these states, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

‘ The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your Sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on an idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible.

‘ I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted ; they will therefore be contented to enter upon a consideration of a treaty of peace

and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies. I have the honour to be, your Excellencies most obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, President.  
*York-Town, July 17, 1778.*

Resolved unanimously, that Congress approve the conduct of General Washington, in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson. Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

In CONGRESS, June 17, 1778.

Whereas many letters addressed to individuals of these United States, have been lately received from England, through the conveyance of the enemy, and some of them which have been under the inspection of members of Congress, are found to contain ideas insidiously calculated to divide and delude the good people of these states :

Resolved, that it be, and is hereby earnestly recommended to the legislative and executive authorities of the several states, to exercise the utmost care and vigilance, and take the most effectual measures to put a stop to so dangerous and criminal a correspondence.

Resolved, that the Commander in Chief, and the Commander in each and every military department be,



be, and he and they are hereby directed to carry the measures recommended in the above resolution into the most effectual execution.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Private Letter from Governor Johnstone to Henry Laurens, Esq.

*Philadelphia, June 10, 1778.*

Dear Sir,

I beg to transfer to my friend Doctor Ferguson the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

If you should follow the example of Britain in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request, in any way you may point out. I am, with great regard, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

To his Excellency,

HENRY LAURENS, Congress.

A N S W E R.

*York-Town, June 14, 1778.*

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have

shewn that gentleman every degree of respect and attention that times and circumstances admit of.

It is, Sir, for Great Britain to determine, whether her Commissioners shall return unheard by the Representatives of these United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end; terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts; and that, from the rage of war, the good people of these states shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountain. And permit me to add, Sir, on my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

Congress in no hour have been haughty; but to suppose, that their minds are less firm in the present, than they were, when destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance; when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation, in their house of worship, and in the presence of God, they resolved 'to hold no conference or treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these states,' would be irrational.

At a proper time, Sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a  
[R] 2 personal



personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these states agreeable to you ; but, until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, Sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration, can influence Congress to consent, that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me instruct you, my dear Sir ; do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not, with very great personal respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient  
And most humble servant,  
HENRY LAURENS.

The Hon. Governor JOHN-  
STONE, Esq; Philadelphia.

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*Treaty of Alliance, Eventual and Defensive, between his most Christian Majesty Louis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre, and the Thirteen United States of America, concluded at Paris, 6th February, 1778.*

THE Most Christian King, and the United States of North-America ; to wit, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, having this day concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, for

the reciprocal advantage of their subjects and citizens, have thought it necessary to take into consideration the means of strengthening those engagements, and of rendering them useful to the safety and tranquillity of the two parties ; particularly in case Great Britain, in resentment of that connection, and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said treaty, should break the peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindering her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace subsisting between the two crowns.—And his Majesty and the said United States having resolved in that case to join their councils and efforts against the enterprizes of their common enemy—

The respective Plenipotentiaries empowered to concert the clauses and conditions proper to fulfil the said intentions, have, after the most mature deliberation, concluded and determined on the following articles.

Art. I. If war should break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the present war between the United States and England, his Majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigency of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

Art. II. The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well  
in



in matters of government as of commerce.

Art. III. The two contracting parties shall each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge most proper, make all the efforts in its power against their common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

Art. IV. The contracting parties agree, that in case either of them should form a particular enterprize in which the concurrence of the other may be desired, the party whose concurrence is desired, shall readily and with good faith join to act in concert for that purpose, as far as circumstances and its own particular situation will permit; and in that case, they shall regulate by a particular convention the quantity and kind of succour to be furnished, and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compensation.

Art. V. If the United States should think fit to attempt the reduction of the British power, remaining in the Northern parts of America, or the islands of Bermudas, those countries or islands, in case of success, shall be confederated with, or dependent upon, the said United States.

Art. VI. The Most Christian King renounces for ever the possession of the islands of Bermudas, as well as of any part of the continent of America, which before the treaty of Paris, in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately been, under

the power of the King and crown of Great Britain.

Art. VII. If his Most Christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the islands situated in the Gulph of Mexico, or near that Gulph, which are at present under the power of Great Britain, all the said isles, in case of success, shall appertain to the crown of France.

Art. VIII. Neither of the two parties shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaty or treaties that shall terminate the war.

Art. IX. The contracting parties declare, that, being resolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauses and conditions of the present treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after-claims of compensation, on one side or the other, whatever may be the event of the war.

Art. X. The Most Christian King and the United States agree to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance, under such conditions as shall be freely agreed to, and settled between all the parties.

Art. XI. The two parties guarantee mutually from the present time, and for ever, against all other powers, to wit—The United States to his Most Christian Majesty the present possessions of the crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by



by the future treaty of peace; and his Most Christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America; conformable to the fifth and sixth articles above written, the whole as their possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States, at the moment of the cessation of their present war with England.

Art. XII. In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in case of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such war shall break out; and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantees shall not commence until the moment of the cessation of the present war between the United States and England shall have ascertained their possessions.

Art. XIII. The present treaty shall be ratified on both sides, and

the ratification shall be exchanged in the space of six months, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries; to wit, on the part of the Most Christian King, Conrad Alexander Gerard, Royal Syndic of the city of Strasbourg, and Secretary of his Majesty's Council of State—And on the part of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, deputy to the General Congress, from the State of Pennsylvania, and President of the convention of said State; Silas Deane, heretofore deputy from the State of Connecticut; and Arthur Lée, Counsellor at Law, have signed the above articles both in the French and English languages; declaring nevertheless, that the present treaty was originally composed and concluded in the French language, and they have hereunto affixed their seals.

*Done at Paris, the sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.*

|         |               |
|---------|---------------|
| (L. S.) | C. A. GERARD, |
| (L. S.) | B. FRANKLIN,  |
| (L. S.) | SILAS DEANE,  |
| (L. S.) | ARTHUR LEE,   |



C H A R A C T E R S.









# CHARACTERS.

*Anecdotes of M. Voltaire's Reception at Paris, and of his death.*

WE have already brought down the history of this celebrated author, to the period of his retirement at Ferney. His last journey to Paris, was as extraordinary as it was unexpected. He arrived at the capital on the 10th of February, in the afternoon, after an absence of 27 years. It is remarkable, that he left this city in the year in which the *Sieur Kain* was received on the French theatre, and returned to it the very day when that great actor was buried. At the Barriers his carriage was stopped by the custom house officers, and he was asked if he had any thing that paid duty: "No, gentlemen," said he, "there is nothing here contraband — but myself."

Two days after his arrival, M. de Voltaire passed the whole night in study; which, with the numerous visits that were paid him, was more than sufficient to hurt his health. He was expected on the 16th, at the representation of *Cinna*, for the benefit of a great nephew of Corneille; but Dr. Tronchin thought it imprudent for his old patient to quit his

chamber so soon. He saw company, however, all the afternoon; he left them indeed at an early hour. "I am smothered," said he, "but it is by roses."

The French academy, at one of their meetings, determined to send three of their members to compliment him, instead of one, as had been usual on like occasions. The prince de Beaveau was at the head of this deputation, which was joined by several other academicians. M. de Voltaire received his brethren with a cordiality and pleasantry difficult to express.

Next day the comedians waited on him in a body, to pay their respects. The *Sieur Bellecourt*, who was their spokesman, artfully hinted at the loss they had just suffered, in these few words! "Behold the remains of the comedians;" adding, "We are come to beg you, Sir, to breathe upon us." M. de Voltaire replied with his usual grace and precision (and the actors had reason to be flattered by his saying) "I only live for you, and by you." He spoke afterwards in the most obliging manner, to every one in particular, and as he had passed the night before in correcting the tragedy of *Irene*\*, he said to Madame Vestris, "I have devoted a whole

\* Or *Alexis Comnêmus*, a new tragedy by Voltaire. — One of the principal personages is a monk of St. Basil. — Voltaire has also lately written another  
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whole night to your service, as if I were only twenty."

Having a great desire to be acquainted with Dr. Franklin, this celebrated American was introduced to him. Voltaire accosted and conversed with him some time in English, till Mad. Denis interrupted him by saying, that Dr. Franklin understood French, and the rest of the company wished to know the subject of their discourse. "Excuse me, my dear," replied Voltaire, "I have the vanity to shew, that I am not unacquainted with the language of a Franklin."

On presenting the Marchioness de Villette to several ladies of the court, who came to see him, he said, "see ladies, the fair and the good \*! she has taken pity on my age; to her I am indebted for the happiness of seeing you, and for the little existence that I have left."

This young lady, whose maiden name was Varicourt, is of a good family in the county of Gex, and was destined to a convent; but about four years ago was adopted by Voltaire, and educated ever since by his niece, Madam Denis. She was married, at Ferney, to the Marquis de Villette.

Voltaire also wrote their epithalamium, and entitled it, *A Translation of an Epistle from Propertius to Tibullus, on his Marriage with Delia.*

To the numerous panegyric verses that swarmed at his arrival, his enemies opposed several epigrams and other satires, no less witty than malicious. Many of these came to his hands, which occasioned his saying, "I receive such filth at Ferney every week, and I pay the postage of it: here it is sent me every day, and costs me nothing. By this I am a gainer." Flattered, but not elated, with the attention that was shewn him, he often repeated, "I am, like Spartacus, amazed at my glory."

On the morning of the 25th, being desirous of reading his tragedy of Irene to the players, he had such a violent flux of blood, that Dr. Tronchin was obliged to order a vein to be opened. In the evening he was quite easy, and a few days rest entirely recovered him. But as if the continual exertion of his genius was become necessary to him, though he very readily followed the prescription of his physician in not talking, yet he could by no means be prevented reading the whole evening.

On March 16th, M. Voltaire's new tragedy of Irene, or Alexis Comnêmus, was acted at Paris for the first time to a most splendid and crowded audience. All the royal family were present, and never were more applauses heard.

tragedy entitled *Agathocles*, that tyrant of Syracuse, who from being the son of a potter, rose to the throne, and reigned with so much splendour. It is wonderful that this extraordinary man, at the age of 83, should retain that strength of pencil, and freshness of colouring, which distinguish the productions of his youth.

\* *Belle et bonne* was a name which Voltaire had given to her.



Enlivened, as it were, and recovered by the success of his play, M. de Voltaire went abroad a few days after, and walked in the *Elysian Fields*. On this success he was complimented by a deputation from the French Academy, and his bust has been placed in the theatre by the side of that of the great Corneille; a compliment which, though never before paid to any living bard, can be authorised only by the great age and talents of this writer,

On March 30th, M. de Voltaire went to a private meeting of the French Academy, which was very numerous. The Academy went to meet and receive him. He was conducted to the seat of the Director, which that officer and the Academy intreated him to take. Afterwards the Academy, with acclamations, nominated him Director for the April quarter, without drawing lots as usual. The meeting was crowded on account of the reading the elogium of Despreaux by M. d'Alembert, which that celebrated academician had before read, in a public meeting, with the greatest success.

The same day M. de Voltaire went to the theatre, and was present at the sixth representation of his tragedy of Irene. As soon as the people saw his coach, they ran in crowds to meet him, and nothing but their regard for him could have moderated a curiosity, which might otherwise, perhaps, have been fatal to him. The audience impatiently expected him in the house, and by repeated shouts and applauses, shewed their satisfaction on seeing at last a writer, who has contributed so much to their amusement, and whom they have

so long idolized. As soon as he was seated in his box, the Sieur Brizard appeared, holding a crown, which he placed on his head. M. Voltaire stretched out his hand and perceiving the honours that were intended him, removed it, saying with an affected tone, "Ah! my God, you are resolved to kill me." The new tragedy was played with more spirit and accuracy than it had ever been before. As soon as it was over, an unexpected and (if possible) still more interesting scene succeeded. The curtain was drawn up, and all the actors and actresses were seen surrounding the bust of M. de Voltaire, and placing by turns some crowns of laurel on his head. This homage was attended with universal applauses, and in about a quarter of an hour, Mad. Vestris advancing with a paper in her hand, had much difficulty to obtain a moment's silence: at length she read these verses, which were just composed by the Marquis de St. Marc:

"Aux yeux de Paris enchanté,  
Reçois en ce jour un hommage  
Que confirmera d'âge en âge  
La sévère postérité.  
Non, tu n'a pas besoin d'atteindre au noir  
rivage  
Pour jouir de l'honneur d'immortalité;  
Voltaire, reçois la couronne  
Que l'on vient de te présenter,  
Il est beau de la mériter,  
Quand c'est la France qui la donne."

The public confirmed by fresh applauses these extraordinary honours, and encored the verses. Numerous as have been the triumphs of M. de Voltaire for above sixty years, this day, no doubt, was the most glorious of his life.



Next day M. de Voltaire sent the Marquis de St. Marc the following reply :

Vous daignez couronner, aux jeux de  
Melpomene,

D'un vieillard affoibli les efforts impuissans.

Ces lauriers, dont vos mains couvroient  
mes cheveux blancs,

Etoient nés dans votre domain.

On fait que de son bien tout mortel est  
jaloux;

Chacun garde pour soi ce que le ciel lui  
donne.

Le Parnasse n'a vu que vous

Qui fût partager sa couronne.

There are various accounts given of the causes of his death ; it is probable, that a decay of nature, owing to old age, and his being hurried into a variety of amusements, to which he had not latterly been accustomed, were amongst the principal. Other accounts add, that he had conceived a plan of reforming and correcting the French language, on which he laboured from six to nine hours in a day for some weeks before his death, taking no other sustenance but coffee, which had been a favourite refreshment with him many years. — Complaining one day to the Duke de Richelieu that he found himself deprived of sleep, that nobleman recommended him to take some opium, and said, he took a certain quantity every day. Voltaire, however, thought he could take a larger dose, which he did, without consulting any of the Faculty, and thereby certainly hastened his death.

The Marquis de Villette, with whom Voltaire resided in Paris, when he perceived his visitor's death approaching, sent for Mons. Bonnet, Curate of St. Sulpice, to persuade him, if possible, to comply with the usual customs of their

religion, in order that the proper honours might be paid to his remains. — The Curé began by questioning Voltaire, ' if he believed in the divinity of Jesus Christ,' but was hastily stopped by the wit's saying, ' Ah ! M. le Curé, if I pass that Article to you, you will demand if I do not also believe in the Holy Ghost, and so on, until you finish by the *Bull Unigenitus*.' — The Curé departed ; but in a few hours after a great change appearing, he came a second time, and began with putting his hand on the dying man's head as he lay in bed ; upon which Voltaire raised his own hand to the Curate's head, and pushed him away, saying, ' I came into the world without a *Bonnet*, and will go out without one, therefore let me die in peace !' He accordingly turn'd his back toward the Curé, and died in a few minutes, without speaking another word, on the 30th of May. The Archbishop of Paris refused every application that was made to him for the rites of Christian burial. — The Marquis de Villette and Voltaire's nephew contested the matter with the Archbishop some days, and the result was that Voltaire should be taken in a coach, *as if living*, to his nephew's abbey at Selles, in Champagne, accompanied by himself and the Marquis, where he was interred with the utmost privacy. — The Marquis de Villette demanded his heart to be given to him, which he has caused to be put into a vase of gold fixed on a pyramid, on which is wrote the following verse by the Marquis himself :

' Son Esprit est par-tout, mais son cœur  
est ici.'

Voltaire



Voltaire was a man somewhat above the middle size, of an arid bodily constitution, a meagre countenance, and a slender form. His eye was ardent, quick, and penetrating; an air of pleasantry, tinged with malignity, reigned in his features; the quickness and vivacity of his animal spirits were singular beyond expression, and the predominant force of his intellectual powers was always verging towards pleasantry. It was this spirit of pleasantry that rendered him so extremely sociable; he frequented the great, to study their follies and their vices, and to collect anecdotes, either of an agreeable or malignant nature, to embellish his writings, and enable him to take the lead in conversation. In discourse, and in his manners, he united the ease of Aristippus with the cynical spirit of Diogenes. He was inconstant in his friendships, if any of his connections ever deserved that name; and he carried even into the solitude of his philosophical retirement, the spirit of a courtier and a sycophant. He was restless and inconstant in all his ways—had no fixed tenor of character or conduct—had fits of reason and principle, as well as of caprice and passion. His head was clear, his imagination was lively, but his heart, it is to be feared, was exceedingly corrupt. He treated every thing connected with religion with constant derision. His pretensions to humanity and benevolence were great; he undertook and performed noble things in behalf of the most essential rights, privileges, and interests of mankind; but these splendid virtues,

were tarnished by an excessive vanity and boundless avarice.

He was ambitious of adding to his well deserved fame, as a poet, the reputation of a profound philosopher and eminent historian. The opinions of the learned have been greatly divided about the degree of merit due to him in these three characters. As a poet, he had certainly more wit than genius; and, generally speaking, he was more pleasing and affecting than arduous and sublime. His versification is easy and melodious; his descriptions lively and touching. His tragedies, in general, are excellent; his *Henriade* is a fine poem—his *Pucelle*, or *Maid of Orleans*, ought to be hid in a privy on the summit of Parnassus; but it is very singular, that with such an abundant and rich vein of pleasantry and humour as he possessed, he was incapable of making any figure in comedy. He was not a profound philosopher, and yet he was far from being ignorant in the Sciences;—he was a tolerable Metaphysician of the second class; and he had, in the earlier parts of his life, made some proficiency in natural philosophy.—We must not look upon him as a mean historian, because he disfigured the Life and Reign of Peter the Great, and composed a slovenly History of Russia: for his *Age of Lewis XIV.* and his *Essay on Universal History*, will give him a very considerable and permanent reputation among the historians of the present age. His knowledge was extensive, his reading prodigious, and his attainments in polite and elegant literature were very great. Notwithstanding all this, he is said to have



been superficial; and this may be more or less true; for though his application to study was keen and assiduous, yet his restlessness and inconstancy of mind were such as rendered him incapable of dwelling long enough upon any subject to understand it thoroughly.

His prose is highly and deservedly esteemed; few of the French writers equal him in purity, elegance, facility, and attic salt; simplicity reigns even in those phrases, where his wit is most lively, and his expression is most ingenious. It must be confessed, and the circumstance is singular, that though his imagination was active, versatile, and lively, he had little invention.—His repetitions are shameful—he is ever melting old thoughts into new forms—nay, often he is not even at the pains of varying the forms.

We would cast a shade over his vices, which were striking; let that despotic jealousy which could bear no rival in literary fame—let that malignant irritability that made him impatient of all contradiction and criticism—let that ungenerous bigotry which made him persevere in, and even repeat his errors, when they had been palpably exposed—let all these be contemplated with compassion, if they cannot be entirely buried in oblivion.—He now rests from his labours of animosity and contention; and we can only hope that his *Works*, in this part of his career, may not follow him!—We shall not enter into a circumstantial detail of his character and conduct with respect to religion and morals. We shall only observe, that his opposition to christianity was not only indecent and disingenuous, but was,

moreover, carried on with a degree of acrimony, spite, bitterness, and bigotry, which has not been perceivable in the writings of any Deist, known to us, in the present age. In natural religion, though he seemed sometimes wavering, undetermined and inconsistent, yet he never appears to have contracted the stupid frenzy of atheism.

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*Dr. George Abbot, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*

*The following character was drawn by the late Mr. Onslow Speaker of the House of Commons, on perusing Lord Clarendon's unfavourable Representation of Abbot, in his Lordship's History of the Rebellion.*

**T**HAT worthy Prelate did surely deserve a better representation to posterity. He was a very wise and prudent man, knew well the temper and disposition of the kingdom with respect to the ceremonies and power of the church, and did therefore use a moderation in the point of ecclesiastical discipline, which if it had been followed by his successor, the ruin that soon after fell on the church might very likely have been prevented. His being without any credit at court from the latter end of King James's reign will bring no dishonour on his memory, if it be considered that his disgrace arose from his dislike of, and opposition to the imprudent and corrupt measures of the court at that time, and from an honest zeal for the laws and liberties of his country, which seemed



seemed then to be in no small danger: and it was a part truly becoming the high station he then bore. His advice upon the affair of the Palatinate and the Spanish match shewed his knowledge of the true interest of England, and how much it was at his heart; and his behaviour and sufferings in the next reign about the loan and Sibthorp's sermon, as they were the reasons of his disgrace at that time, so ought they to render his memory valuable to all who wish not to see the fatal counsels and the oppression of those times revived in this nation. The Duke of Buckingham was his enemy because the Archbishop would not be his creature, and the church perhaps might have been thought to have been better governed, if he had stooped to the Duke, and given into the wantonnesses of his power, but he knew the dignity of his character, and loved his country too well to submit to such a meanness, though very few of his brethren had the courage or honesty to join with him in this; and if the Archbishop himself is to be credited, his successor's rise was by the practice of those arts this good man could not bend to. As to his learning, we need no better testimony of it than his promotion by King James, who had too much affectation that way to prefer any one to such a station who had not borne the reputation of a scholar; but there are other proofs of his sufficiency in this, even for the high place he held in the church. If he had some narrow notions in divinity, they were rather the faults of the age he had his education in, than his; and the same imputation may be laid on the best and most learned of the

reformers. His warmth against popery became the office of a protestant Bishop, though even towards papists there is a remarkable instance of his mildness and charity, which shewed that his zeal against their persons went no farther than the safety of the state required. His parts seem to have been strong and masterly, his preaching grave and eloquent, and his stile equal to any of that time. He was eminent for piety and a care for the poor, and his hospitality fully answered the injunction King James laid on him, which was to carry his house nobly, and to live like an Archbishop. He had no thoughts of heaping up riches; what he did save was laid out by him in the erecting and endowing of an handsome hospital for decayed tradesmen, and the widows of such, in the town of Guildford, in the county of Surry, where he was born and had his first education; and here I cannot omit taking notice that the body of statutes drawn by himself for the government of that house, is one of the most judicious works of that kind I ever saw, and under which, for near one hundred years, that hospital has maintained the best credit of any that I know in England. He was void of all pomp and ostentation, and thought the nearer the church and churchmen came to the simplicity of the first Christians, the better would the true ends of religion be served, and that the purity of the heart was to be preferred to, and ought rather to be the care of a spiritual governor, than the devotion of the hands only. If under this notion some niceties in discipline were given up to goodness of life, and



when the peace of the church as well as of the kingdom was preserved by it, it was surely no ill piece of prudence, nor is his memory therefore deserving of those flanders it has undergone upon that account.

It is easy to see that much of this treatment has being owing to a belief in the admirers and followers of Archbishop Laud, that the reputation of the latter was increased by depreciating that of the former. They were indeed men of very different frames, and the parts they took in the affairs both of church and state as disagreeing. In the church, moderation and the ways of peace guided the behaviour of the first, rigour and severity that of the last. In the state they severally carried the like principles and temper. The one made the liberty of the people and the laws of the land the measure of his actions, when the other, to speak softly of it, had the power of the Prince and the exalting the prerogative only, for the foundation of his. They were indeed both of them men of courage and resolution; but it was sedate and temperate in Abbot, passionate and unruly in Laud. It is not however to be denied that many rare and excellent virtues were possessed by the latter; but it must be owned too, he seems rather made for the hierarchy of another church, and to be the minister of an arbitrary Prince, and the other to have had the qualifications of a protestant Bishop and the guardian of a free state. Thus much I thought was due to the character of this good man, not only for the sake of justice, but as an offering of gratitude to his memory for the great and lasting obligations the

town of Guildford (to which I have some relation) lies under to him. And what I have here said of him I am amply justified in, from several accounts delivered down of him, from letters and other pieces of his own in Rushworth's Collections, and from the statutes of his hospital before mentioned, and other memorials of his worth which are there preserved.

July the 10th,

A. O.

1723.

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*Original Letter of Thomas Leigh (one of the Visitors of the Monasteries) to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal. Dated from the Monastery of Vale Royal, the 22d of August, 1536.*

[From Hardwicke State Papers.]

[This is a curious but authentic picture of country manners about the time of the Reformation: it is no wonder that Visitors, making such reports, were unpopular.]

**I**N my most humble manner I commend me unto your good Lordship, evermore thanking you of your munificency, and great goodness, at all times shewed unto me. Advertising your Lordship, that whereas I have hitherto, according to your commandment, visited the archdeacons of Coventry, Stafford, Derby, and part of Cheshire; for that I can perceive accordingly, as I heretofore have written unto you, there lacketh nothing but good and godly instruction of the rude and poor people, and reformation of the heads, in these parts. For certain of the knights and gentlemen, and most commonly



commonly all, liveth so incontinently, having their concubines openly in their houses, with five or six of their children, and putting from them their wives, that all the country therewith be not a little offended, and taketh evil example of them. Wherefore hitherto I have given and sent commandment to them (forasmuch as I could not speak with them all, by reason they were at the assizes,) to put from them immediately such concubines, as they have hitherto notoriously and manifestly occupied and kept, and to take again their wives; or else to appear before your Lordship, to shew a cause why they should not be compelled; and if your Lordship will command any other thing to be done in the premises, I shall be ready to accomplish the same. And seeing my Lord of Norfolk is come to the court, I shall most humbly desire you to have me in remembrance. And thus God preserve you, and have you in his most firm tuition, with much increase of honour, according to the contentation of your Lordship's most noble good heart's desire.

From the monastery of Vale Royal, the 22d of August

Your Lordship's humble at  
commandment,

THOMAS LEIGH.

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*Mr. Jones to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador in France.*

[This is an extremely curious letter, and, together with the others, in which the Queen's marriage with Lord Robert Dudley is mentioned, plainly shews

the general opinion, both at home and abroad, of her inclination that way. Indeed Elizabeth herself does not disclaim it.]

SIR,

WITH all the diligence I could make, I arrived not at the court here till Monday at night, the 25th of November, at what time I delivered my letters to Mr. Secretary; and attending all the next day upon him, I spake not with the Queen's Majesty till Wednesday at night at Greenwich, whither she came to bed from Eltham, when she dined and hunted all that day with divers of my Lords.

I had declared unto Mr. Secretary, before I spake with her, the day after my arrival, the discourse of the Lord of St. John's, and your Lordship's opinion, touching the declaration in French, which he willed me to put in writing, as I did; Mr. Secretary shewed both the same to the Queen's Majesty, as her highness in my talk with her told me, and a third person knew the same, but how, I know not. I will tell your Lordship the story, and then you may guess at it. There was occasion, as your Lordship knoweth, in the discourse, to speak of the delivery of the letters to the French King and Queen in the favour of the Earl of Arran, and of that the French Queen said, the Queen's Majesty would marry the master of her horses. The 26th of November all my Lords of the council dined at the Scotch Ambassador's lodging, where they were very highly feasted. I repaired thither to shew myself to my Lords, where, after I had attended half dinner



dinner time, my Lord Robert rose up, and went to the court, and in the way sent a gentleman back to will me to repair thither after him, as I did, after I had declared the message to Mr. Secretary. Being come unto him, he asked me, whether the French Queen had said that the Queen's Majesty would marry her horse-keeper, and told me he had seen all the discourse of your Lordship's proceedings, together with the intelligence, and that Mr. Secretary told him, that the French Queen had said so. I answered, that I said no such matter. He laid the matter upon me so strong, as the author thereof being avowed, I would not deny, that the French Queen had said, that the Queen would marry the master of her horses. This was all he said to me, and he willed me, that I should in no case let it be known to Mr. Secretary, that he had told me thus much, as I have not indeed, nor mean not to do; whereby I judge, that Mr. Secretary did declare it only to the Queen, at whose hands my Lord Robert had it. The same night I spake to Mr. Killigrew, and having delivered your Lordship's letter and told him of the intelligence; he said in the end unto me, with as it were, a sad look, I think verily, that my Lord Robert shall run away with the hare, and have the Queen; to whom I answered nothing. Thus much I thought good to write before I came to speak of my

proceeding with the Queen's Majesty.

The 27th, I spake with her Majesty at Greenwich, at six o'clock at night, and declared unto her the talk of the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice, and the Marquis\*, and your advice, touching the general council†. When I had done with the first point of my first tale, By my troth, said she, I thought it was such a matter, and he need not have sent you hither, for it had been more meet to have kept you there still. I said, that if it had been written in cypher, it must have come to the knowledge of some others. Of nobody, said she, but of my Secretary; or else he might have written it in my own cypher. When I came to touch nearer the quick, I have heard of this before, quoth she, and he need not to have sent you withal: I said, that the care you had was so great, as you could not but advertise her Majesty of such things‡ as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened, but to herself. When I came to the point that touched his race§, which I set forth in as vehement terms as the case required, and that the Duke's|| hatred was rather to her than to the Queen her sister; she laughed, and forthwith turned herself to the one side and to the other, and set her hand upon her face. She thereupon told me, that the¶ matter had been tried in the country\*\*, and found to be con-

\* Of Northampton.

† That the Queen should send thither.

‡ Of the talk in France of her marriage.

§ Lord Robert Dudley's.

|| Of Northumberland.

¶ This relates to the report of Lord Robert's having his wife privately murdered.

\*\* Probably coroner's inquest.



trary to that which was reported, saying that he was then in the court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house; and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour. Quoth she, my Ambassador knoweth somewhat of my mind in these matters. She heard me very patiently, I think the rather because I made, before I spake unto her Majesty, a long protestation, as methought I had need to do, considering that my Lord Robert knew thereof as much as he did. Her Majesty promised me *fidem, taciturnitatem, & favorem*, the last whereof I found towards myself, but as for your Lordship, she not once made mention of you unto me, unless that once or twice she asked, whether your Lordship willed me to declare this matter unto her, as I affirmed you did. Thus much have I thought good to write, touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For\* the Venerian Ambassador's talk, she protested, that she never to any Ambassador or other, disclosed any and nobody but Mr. Secretary knew of these matters; who was, she said, wise enough. When I rehearsed the terms of *veneficii & maleficii reus*; she caused me to repeat the same twice or thrice, which methought did move her more than that I said touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For the Marquis, she believed the first part, touching his affection towards her; and for the last of that he reported, touching her Majesty's discourse with him for the not marrying of any other subjects, she affirmed

unto me, that it was never spoken unto him, touching any such matter.

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*Letters from the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*

[These political love-letters (for they can pass under no other denomination,) from a very artful woman to a very weak man, are, from the characters of the parties, and the consequences of their intimacy, thought to deserve publication. It is singular, that, with all the commendation bestowed on the beauty of Mary Queen of Scots, there are no two portraits of her which resemble each other; that by Isaac Oliver, in the King's possession, and that in the Duke of Devonshire's at Chiswick, by Zuccero, are undoubtedly more advantageous to her than any others we know of. Brantome commends her person and her wit; and Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, says of her to Secretary Cecil, "She hath an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness. Then, joy is a lively infective passion, and carrieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the rest; mine own affections, by seeing the Queen's Majesty are doubled, and therefore I guess what sight might work in others. But, if I might give advice, there should very few subjects of this land have ac-

\* It should seem that all these talks related to Lord Robert.



cess to, or have conference with this lady." Hatfield Papers, Vol. I. p. 510.]

*From the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*

Mine own Lord,

**I** Wrote to you before, to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any enterprize; if it please you, I care not for my danger; but I would wish you would seek to do the like; for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough; and for your lands I hope they should not be lost; for, being free and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries, and the Queen of England, as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful; you have promised to be myne, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it. By means of friends, therefore, you have sought your liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised me you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do; for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and myne. As you please command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were out by humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you

are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This last of January.

Your own, faithful to death,  
Queen of Scots, my Norfolk.

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*From the Same to the Same.*

Myne own good Lord,

**I** Have forborn this long time to write to you, in respect of the dangers of writing, which you seemed to fear; but I must remember you of your own at tymes, as occasion serveth, and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I see by this last look much detested. But, if you mind not to shrink at the matter, I will die and live with you. Your fortune shall be mine; therefore, let me know, in all things, your mind. The Bishop of Ross writes to me, that I should make the offers to the Queen of England now in my letter, which I write generally; because I would enter into nothing till I know your pleasure, which I shall now follow. I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke, whereof I am heartily sorry; albeit that, nor other matter, trouble you to your heart; for else you leave all your friends and me, for whose cause you have done so much already, that I trust you will preserve you to a happier meeting in despite of all such raylers; wherein I suspect Huntingdon, for such like talk. But, for all their sayings, I trust in God you shall be satisfied with my conditions and behaviour, and faithful



faithful duty to you, whenever it shall please God I be with you, as I hope for my part the maker shall never have the pleasure to see, or hear my repentance or miscontentment therein. I have prayed God to preserve you, and grant us both his grace; and then let them, like blasphemers, feel. So I end with the humble and heartiest recommendations to you, of your own faithful to death. This 19th of March.

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*From the Same to the Same.*

**I** Have received, my own good constant Lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hopes I see you are in to have some better fortune than you had yet, through all your friends favour. And albeit my friends case in Scotland be of heavy displeasure unto me, yet nothing to the fear I had of my son's delivery up to Queen Elizabeth, and those that I thought might be cause of longer delaying your affairs. And, therefore, I took greater displeasure than I have done since, and that diminisheth my health a little. For, the Earl of Shrewsbury came one night so merry to me, shewing that the Earl of Northumberland had been in rebellion, and was rendered to the Earl of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant of the North; which, since, I have found false; but, at the sudden, such fear for friends combring me, I wept so till I was all swollen three days after. But since I have heard from you, I have gone abroad and sought all means to avoid displeasure for fear of you; but I have

need to care for my health, since the Earl of Shrewsbury looks me to, and the pestylence was in other places. The Earl of Shrewsbury looks for Bateman to be instructed how to deal with me, because he is ablest and clean turned from the Earl of Leycester; this I assure you, and pray keep that quiet. I have no long leisure, for I trust to write by one of my gentlemen shortly more surely. I pray you thin k and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily shall pray to God to send you happy and hasty deliverance of all troubles, not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, not remembering your own faithful to death, who shall not have any advancement or rest without you. And so I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. This 17th day of May.

Your own Queen.

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*Two Letters from Sir Dudley Carleton (afterwards Viscount Dorchester) concerning Sir W. Raleigh's Plot.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton, to Mr. John Chamberlain.*

S I R,

**I** Was taking care how to send unto you, and little looked for so good a means as your man, who came to me this morning; and though he would in all haste be gone, I have stayed him this night, to have time to discourse unto you these tragical proceedings.

I was not present at the first or second arraignment, wherein Brooke, Markham, Brookesby, Copley,



Copley, and the two priests were condemned, for practising the sur-prize of the King's person, the taking of the Tower, the deposing of counsellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands, as declarations; and compiled with such labour and care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves. Pirra was acquitted, being only drawn in by the priests as an assistant, without knowing the purpose; yet had he gone the same way as the rest (as it is thought), save for a word the Lord Cecil cast in the way as his cause was in handling, that the King's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent, as condemning the guilty.

The commissioners for this trial were, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord of Devon, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, the Vice Chamberlain, the two Chief Justices, Justice Gawdy, and Warburton. Of the King's council, none were employed in that, or the arraignment, but the attorney\*, Heale, and Philips; and in effect, none but the attorney. Sir Walter Raleigh served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. His cause was disjoined from the priests, as being a practice only between himself and the Lord Cobham, to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raised rebellion in the realm, by fastening money upon discontents, to have set up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions; as

to have a perpetual peace with Spain; not to have bestowed herself in marriage but at the direction of the Spaniard; and to have granted liberty of religion. The evidence against him, was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Raleigh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them; which served to turn against him; though he shewed, to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted. After sentence given, his request was, to have his answers related to the King, and pardon begged; of which, if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage and judgment, that save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted.

The two first that brought the news to the King, were Roger Ashton and a Scotchman; whereof one affirmed, that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come; and the other said, that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life.

\* Coke.



In one word, never was man so hated, and so popular, in so short a time. It was thought the lords should have been arraigned on Tuesday last, but they were put off till Friday and Saturday; and had their trials apart before the Lord Chancellor \* (as Lord Steward for both those days,) eleven earls, nineteen barons. The Duke †, the Earl of Marr, and many Scottish lords, stood as spectators; and of our ladies, the greatest part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella, who heard herself much spoken of these days. But, the arraignment before, she was more particularly remembered, as by Sir Walter Raleigh, for a woman, with whom he had no acquaintance, and one, whom, of all that he ever saw, he never liked; and by Serjeant Hale, as one that had no more right to the crown than himself; and for any claim that he had to it, he utterly disavowed it. Cobham led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting day's piece of work of it, that he discredited the place to which he was called; never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it, by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted; so as, by his fashion, it was known ere he spake, what he would confess or deny. In his first answer, he said, he had changed his mind since he came to the bar; for whereas he came with an intention to have made his confession, without denying any thing, now seeing many things inserted in this

indictment with which he could not be charged, being not able in one word to make distinction of many parts, he must plead to all *not guilty*. For any thing that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he denied the whole accusation; only said, she had sought his friendship, and his brother Brooke had sought her's. For the other purposes, he said, he had hammered in his brains some such imaginations; but never had purpose to bring them to effect. Upon Raleigh, he exclaimed as one who had stirred him up to discontent, and thereby overthrown his fortunes. Against him he said, that he had once propounded to him a means for the Spaniard to invade England, which was, to bring down an army to the Groyne, under pretence to send them into the Low Countries, and land them at Milford Haven: that he had made himself a pensioner to Spain for 1500 crowns by the year, to give intelligence; and, for an earnest of his diligence, had already related to the Count D'Aremberg, the particularities of what passed in the states audiences at Greenwich. His brother's confession was read against him, wherein he accused him of a contract made with Aremberg for 500,000 crowns to bestow amongst discontents, whereof Raleigh was to have had 10,000, Grey as much, and Brooke 1000; the rest, as they should find fit men to bestow it on. He excepted against his brother as an incompetent accuser, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpose) the getting of his wife's sister with

\* Ellesmere.

† Of Lenox, then the only one of that degree.

child;



child ; in which it is thought he did young Coppinger some wrong.

A letter was produced which he wrote to Aremberg for so much money ; and Aremberg's answer, consenting for the furnishing of that sum. He then flew to his former retreat, that in this likewise he had no ill meaning, and excused Aremberg as one that meant only thereby to further the peace. When particularities were farther urged, that, in his intended travel, he meant to have gone into the low countries to the Archduke ; from thence into Savoy ; so into Spain ; then have returned by Jersey ; and there to have met Raleigh, and to have brought some money from the Well Spring, where it was to be had, he confessed imaginations, but no purposes ; and still laid the fault upon his own weaknesses, in that he suffered himself to be misled by Raleigh. Being asked of his two letters to different purposes, the one excusing, the other condemning Raleigh ; he said, the last was true, but the other was drawn from him by device in the Tower, by young Harvey the Lieutenant's son, whom Raleigh had corrupted, and carried intelligence betwixt them (for which he is there committed, and is likely to be arraigned at the King's Bench). Having thus accused all his friends, and so little excused himself, the Peers were not long in deliberation what to judge ; and after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour, alledging his confession as a meritorious act. Grey, quite in another key, began with great assur-

ances and alacrity ; spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the lords, and then to the judges, and lastly to the King's council ; and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and escapes ; but the evidence was too perspicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with the surprize \* ; yet the lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard a censure against him. For though he had some heavy enemies, as his old antagonist, who was mute before his face, but spake within very unnobly against him ; yet most of them strove with themselves, and would fain (as it seemed) have dispensed with their consciences to have shewed him favour. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the lords, and the demand whether he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be given against him, these only were his words, " I have nothing to say ; " there he paused long ; " and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind, *Non eadem omnibus decora* : the house of the Wiltons had spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. God send the King a long and prosperous reign, and to your lordships all honour."

After sentence given, he only desired to have one Travers †, a divine, sent for to come to him, if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was

\* Of the court.

† A Puritan, the antagonist of Hooker.



great compassion had of this gallant young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials. Yet the Lord Steward condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the judges liked him as little, because he disputed with them against their laws. We cannot yet judge what will become of him or the rest, for all are not like to go one way. Cobham is of the surest side, for he is thought least dangerous, and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend. They say the priests shall lead the dance to-morrow; and Brooke next after; for he proves to be the knot that tied together the three conspiracies; the rest hang indifferent betwixt mercy and justice, wherein the king hath now subject to practise himself. The lords are most of them returned to the court. The Lord Chancellor and Treasurer remain here till Tuesday, to shut up the term. My lord goeth from hence to Petworth; but I pick quarrel to stay behind, to see an end of these matters. The court is like to Christmas at Windsor; and many plays and shews are bespoken, to give entertainment to our ambassadors.

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*The Same to the Same.*

SIR,

I KNOW not when or how to send to you; yet here happening an accident worth your knowledge, I cannot but put it in re-

cord, whilst the memory of it is fresh; and for the rest, stand to the venture. But because I have taken a time of good leisure, and it is likely this letter will take his leisure, ere it come at you; I may as well leap in where I left, when I wrote to you by your man, and proceed in an order by narration; since this was a part of the same play, and that other acts came betwixt, to make up a tragical comedy.

The two priests that led the way to the execution, were very bloodily handled; for they were both cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck; for he both strove to help himself, and spake after he was cut down. They died boldly, both; and Watson (as he would have it seem) willing; wishing he had more lives to spend, and one to lose, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treason. Clarke stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were set on Winchester gates, and their heads on the first tower of the castle. Brooke was beheaded in the Castle-yard, on Monday last; and to double his grief had St. Crostes in his sight, from the scaffold, which drove him first to discontent\*. There was no greater assembly than I have seen at ordinary executions; nor no man of quality more than the Lord of Arundel and young Somerset; only the Bishop of Chichester, who was sent

\* Missing, I suppose, the Mastership.



from the court two days before, to prepare him to his end, could not get loose from him; but, by Brooke's earnest entreaty was fain to accompany him to the scaffold, and serve for his ghostly father. He died constantly (and, to seeming, religiously); spake not much; but what he said was well and assured. He did somewhat extenuate his offences, both in the treasons, and the course of his life; naming these rather errors than capital crimes; and his former faults, sins; but not so heinous as they were traduced; which he referred to the God of truth and time to discover; and so left it, as if somewhat lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his justification. The Bishop went from him to the Lord Cobham; and, at the same time, the Bishop of Winchester was with Raleigh; both by express order from the King; as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accusation, and the other's peremptory denial. The Bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a willingness to die, and readiness to die well; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh; but the other Bishop had more to do with his charge; for though, for his conscience, he found him well settled, and resolved to die a Christian, and a good Protestant, for the point of confession, he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation; only, the pension, he said, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in. Grey, in the mean

time, with his minister Field, having had the like summons for death, spent his time in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that, with which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be any ways distracted from his accustomed fashions. Markham was told he should likewise die; but by secret message from some friends at court, had still such hope given him, that he would not believe the worst news till the last day; and though he could be content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him, it was rather to pass time, than for any good purpose; for he was catholically disposed; to think of death no way disposed. Whilst these men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about them at court, for life or death; some pushing at the wheel one way, some another. The Lords of the council joined in opinion and advice to the King, now in the beginning of his reign, to shew as well examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title of *Clemens*, as well as *Justus*; but some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins. The King held himself upright betwixt two waters; and first, let the lords know, that since the law had passed upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances;



and to others, gave as good reasons, let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving; but would be led as his own judgment and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his course, and the execution halted.

Warrants were signed, and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last at night, for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns, as yesterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock. A fouler day could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for such a tragedy. Markham being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by, to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and those ended, prepared himself to the block. The Sheriff, in the mean time, was secretly withdrawn, by one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bedchamber; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy as his countenance, sad and heavy. The sheriff at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared, he should yet have two hours respite, so led him from the

scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall, to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. In his confession, he said, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greatest, yet he knew, and could but acknowledge his heart to be faulty; for which he asked pardon of the King; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the King's good estate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour; but being come to a full point, the sheriff stayed him, and said, he had received orders from the King, to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him; whereupon he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's hall, and his going away seemed more strange unto him, than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him, than of an hour's respite; neither could any man yet dive into the mystery of this strange proceeding.

The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing but



but *matiere pour rive*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance, and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so outprayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander-by said, *he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single*. Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his offence to the King, and craved pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh, he took it, upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true; and with those words would have taken a short farewell of the world, with that constancy and boldness, that we might see by him, it is an easier matter to die well than live well.

He was stayed by the sheriff, and told, that there resteth yet somewhat else to be done; for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham being brought back to the scaffold, as they then were, but nothing acquainted with what had passed, no more than the lookers on with what should follow, looked strange one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed; to all which they assented; then, saith the sheriff, see the mercy of your prince, who, of himself, hath sent hither a countermand, and

given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some such like accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of justice and mercy; that in this last, no man could cry loud enough, *God save the King*; and at the holding up of Brooke's head, when the executioner began the same cry, he was not seconded by the voice of any one man, but the sheriff. You must think, if the spectators were so glad, the actors were not sorry; for even those that went best resolved to death, were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor again, never so much as to beg his life; and Grey, that since he had his life, without begging, he would deserve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the scaffold. Raleigh, you must think (who had a window opened that way), had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the King has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two lords to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brooksby and Copley, are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the King without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action; for the lords knew no other, but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed; and then, calling them before him, he told them, how much he had been troubled



bled to resolve in this business ; for to execute Grey, who was a noble, young, spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism ; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, till travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance, that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, *and therefore I have saved them all.* The miracle was as great there, as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect ; for the applause that began about the King, went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court.

I send you a copy of the King's letter, which was privately written the Wednesday night, and the messenger dispatched the Thursday about noon. But one thing had like to have marred the play ; for the letter was closed, and delivered him unsigned ; which the King remembered himself and called for him back again. And at Winchester, there was another cross adventure ; for John Gib could not get so near the scaffold, that he could speak to the sheriff, but was thrust out amongst the boys, and was forced to call out to Sir James Hayes, or else Markham might have lost his neck. There were other bye passages, if I could readily call them to mind ; but here is enough already for *un petit mot de lettre*, and therefore, I bid you heartily farewell. From Salisbury, Dec. 11. 1603. Yours, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

Of CHAUCER and LYDGATE ; from Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry.

**I** CONSIDER Chaucer as a genial day in an English spring. A brilliant sun enlivens the face of nature with an unusual lustre : the sudden appearance of cloudless skies, and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmosphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the visionary prospect of a speedy summer : and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal serenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors : the clouds condense more formidably than before ; and those tender buds, and early blossoms, which were called forth by the transient gleam of a temporary sunshine, are nipped by frosts, and torn by tempests.

Most of the poets that immediately succeeded Chaucer, seem rather relapsing into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification, and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet should soon arise equal to Chaucer : and it must be remembered, that the national distractions which ensued, had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among these, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the shortest interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry the sixth, and he seems to have arrived at his highest



point of eminence about the year 1430. Many of his poems, however, appeared before. He was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of his profession. Yet his genius was so lively, and his accomplishments so numerous, that I suspect the holy father saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine disciple. After a short education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy; and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly studied the Italian and French Poets, particularly Dante, Boccacio, and Alain Chartier; and became so distinguished a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a school in his monastery, for teaching the sons of the nobility the arts of versification, and the elegance of composition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the fashionable philosophy; he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, an astronomer, a theologian, and a disputant. On the whole I am of opinion, that Lydgate made considerable additions to those amplifications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way: and that he is the first of our writers whose style is cloathed with that perspicuity, in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns, and his

ballads, have the same degree of merit; and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of saint Austin or Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a history or an allegory, he writes with facility. His transitions were rapid from works of the most serious and laborious kind to sallies of levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muse was of universal access; and he was not only the poet of his monastery, but of the world in general. If a disguising was intended by the company of goldsmiths, a mask before his majesty at Eltham, a may-game for the sheriffs and aldermen of London, a mumming before the lord-mayor, a procession of pageants from the creation for the festival of Corpus Christi, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was consulted and gave the poetry.

Lydgate's manner is naturally verbose and diffuse. This circumstance contributed in no small degree to give a clearness and a fluency to his phraseology. For the same reason he is often tedious and languid. His chief excellence is in description, especially where the subject admits a flowery diction. He is seldom pathetic or animated.

We are surprised to find verses of so modern a cast as the following at such an early period; which in this sagacious age we should judge to be a forgery, was not their genuineness authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton, and a multitude of unquestionable manuscripts.

Like as the dewe descendeth on the rose  
With silver drops.— — —

Our



Our Saviour's crucifixion is expressed by this remarkable metaphor.

Whan he of purple did his baner sprede,  
On Calvarye abroad upon the rode,  
To save mankynde. ———

Our author, in the course of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms, that she exceeded Hester in meekness, and Judith in wisdom; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido, Bathsheba, and Rachel. It is amazing, that in an age of the most superstitious devotion so little discrimination should have been made between sacred and prophane characters and incidents. But the common sense of mankind had not yet attained a just estimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has versified the rubrics of the missal, which he applies to the god Cupid: and declares with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of those constant martyrs, who were not afraid to suffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity. There are instances, in which religion was even made the instrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous despair, promises to found a multitude of annual masses, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the shrines of saints, for the important purpose of obtaining the affections of an obdurate mistress.

I close this section with an apology for Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve; who are supposed, by the severer etymologists, to have corrupted the purity of the English language, by affecting to introduce so many foreign words and phrases.

But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we shall find these poets, as also some of their successors, much less blameable in this respect, than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward the Third, were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period, resided in France; with their families, for many years. John, King of France, kept his court in England; to which, exclusive of those French lords who were his fellow-prisoners, or necessary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom must have occasionally resorted. Edward the black prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his brother the Duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro, King of Castile. All these circumstances must have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable to suppose, that instead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and fashionable modes of speech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of those courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The cotemporaries of these poets never complained of their obscurity. But whether defensible on these principles or not, they much improved the vernacular style by the use of this exotic phraseology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The English language owes its copiousness, elegance, and harmony, to these innovations.



SKELTON, *from the Same.*

**M**OST of the poems of John Skelton, were written in the reign of Henry the VIII. But as he was laureated at Oxford, about the year 1489, I consider him as belonging to the 15th century.

Skelton having studied in both our universities, was promoted to the rectory of Dis in Norfolk, but for his buffooneries in the pulpit, and his satyrical ballads against the mendicants, he was severely censured, and perhaps suspended by Nykke his diocesan, a rigid bishop of Norwich, from exercising the duties of the sacerdotal function. But these persecutions only served to quicken his ludicrous disposition, and to exasperate the acrimony of his satire. As his sermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuse, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length, daring to attack the dignity of cardinal Wolsey, he was closely pursued by the officers of that powerful minister; and, taking shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster-Abbey, was kindly entertained and protected by Abbot Islip, to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, in the year 1529.

Skelton was patronised by Henry Algernoon Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland, who deserves particular notice here; as he loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almost the only professed poet of the reign

of Henry the VII. to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But still stronger proofs of his literary turn, especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid manuscript, which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and is at present preserved in the British Museum. It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, which had been thus sumptuously transcribed for his use. The pieces are chiefly those of Lydgate, after which follow the aforesaid Elegy of Skelton, and some smaller compositions. Among the latter are a metrical history of the family of Percy, presented to him by one of his own chaplains; and a prolix series of poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his castles of Lekinfield and Wressil. His cultivation of the arts of external elegance appears, from the stately sepulchral monuments which he erected in the minister, or collegiate church, of Beverly in Yorkshire, to the memory of his father and mother; which are executed in the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day, the conspicuous and striking evidences of his taste and magnificence. In the year 1520 he founded an annual stipend of ten marks for three years, for a preceptor or professor, to teach grammar and philosophy in the monastery of Alnewick, contiguous to another of his magnificent castles. A further instance of his attention to letters and studious



dious employments, occurs in his *HOUSEHOLD-BOOK*, dated 1512, yet remaining; in which the *LIBRARIES* of this earl and of his lady are specified: and in the same curious monument of antient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains should be a *MAKER OF INTERLUDES*. With so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting; and who despised learning, as an ignoble and petty accomplishment, fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics. Nor was he totally given up to the pursuits of leisure and peace: he was, in the year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath against Lord Audley and his partisans; and was often engaged, from his early years, in other public services of trust and honour. But Skelton hardly deserved such a patronage.

It is in vain to apologise for the coarseness, obscenity, and scurrility of Skelton, by saying that his poetry is tinged with the manners of his age. Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpolished than those of the reign of Henry the VIIth. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in describing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is gross and illiberal, was the opinion of his contemporaries; at least of those critics who lived but a few years af-

terwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the *ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE*, published in the year 1589, speaking of the species of short metre used in the minstrel-romances, for the convenience of being sung to the harp at feasts, and in *CAROLS* and *ROUNDS*, "and such other light or lascivious poems which are commonly more commodiously uttered by those buffoons or vices in plays than by any other person," and in which the sudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately subjoins: "Such were the rimes of Skelton, being indeed but a rude rayling rimer, and all his doings ridiculous; he used both short distances and short measures, pleasing only the popular eare." And Meres, in his *PALLADIS TAMIA*, or *WIT'S TREASURY*, published in 1598. "Skelton applied his wit to skurilities and ridiculous matters: such among the Greekes were called *pantomimi*, with us buffoons."

Skelton's characteristic vein of humour is capricious and grotesque. If his whimsical extravagancies ever move our laughter, at the same time they shock our sensibility. His festive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His subjects are often as ridiculous as his metre: but he sometimes debases his matter by his versification. On the whole, his genius seems better suited to low burlesque, than to liberal and manly satire. It is supposed by Caxton, that he improved our language; but he sometimes affects obscurity, and sometimes adopts the most familiar phraseology of the common people.

HUM-



HUMPHREY Duke of GLOCESTER;  
*from the same.*

DUKE Humphrey, at the dawn of science, was a singular promoter of literature, and, however unqualified for political intrigues, the common patron of the scholars of the times. A sketch of his character in that view, is therefore too closely connected with our subject to be censured as an unnecessary digression. About the year 1440, he gave to the university of Oxford a library containing six hundred volumes, only one hundred and twenty of which were valued at more than one thousand pounds. These books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatises, in the university register, and said to be *admirandi apparatus*. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations. Among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Only a single specimen of these valuable volumes was suffered to remain: it is a beautiful manuscript in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a design of being placed in this sumptuous collection. All the rest of the books, which, like this, being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of popish superstition, were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors of the university in the reign of Edward the VIth, whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of classics, in this grand work of re-

formation, were condemned as antichristian. — John Whethamstede, a learned abbot of St. Alban's, and a lover of scholars, but accused by his monks for neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in studious employments and in procuring transcripts of useful books, notwithstanding his unwearied assiduity in beautifying and enriching their monastery, was in high favour with this munificent prince. The Duke was fond of visiting this monastery, and employed Abbot Whethamstede to collect valuable books for him. Some of Whethamstede's tracts, manuscript copies of which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the Duke: who presented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whethamstede's *GRANARIUM*, an immense work, which Leland calls *ingens volumen*, to the new library. The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamstede. Many other abbots paid their court to the Duke by sending him presents of books, whose margins were adorned with the most exquisite paintings. Gilbert Kymer, physician to King Henry the VIth, among other ecclesiastic promotions, Dean of Salisbury, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, inscribed to Duke Humphrey his famous medical system *Diaetarium de sanitatis custodia*, in the year 1424. Lydgate translated Boccacio's book de *CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM* at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and superintendence, of Duke Humphrey: whose condescension in conversing with learned ecclesiastics,



fiastics, and diligence in study, the translator displays at large, and in the strongest expressions of panegyric. He compares the Duke to Julius Cæsar, who amidst the weightiest cares of state, was not ashamed to enter the rhetorical school of Cicero at Rome. Nor was his patronage confined only to English scholars. His favour was solicited by the most celebrated writers of France and Italy, many of whom he bountifully rewarded. Leonard Aretine, one of the first restorers of the Greek tongue in Italy, which he learned of Emanuel Chrysoloras, and of polite literature in general, dedicates to this universal patron his elegant Latin translation of Aristotle's *POLITICS*. The copy presented to the Duke by the translator, most elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. To the same noble encourager of learning, Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Villa, and secretary to the great Cosmo Duke of Milan, inscribed, by the advice of the Archbishop of Milan, a Latin version of Plato's *REPUBLIC*. An illuminated manuscript of this translation is in the British Museum, perhaps the copy presented, with two epistles prefixed, from the Duke to Petrus Candidus. Petrus de Monte, another learned Italian, of Venice, in the dedication of his treatise *DE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM DIFFERENTIA* to the Duke of Gloucester, mentions the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the singular avidity with which he pursued every species of literature. A tract, entitled *COMPARATIO STUDIORUM ET REI MILITARIS*, written by

Lapus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator into Latin of the Greek classics, is also inscribed to the Duke, at the desire of Zeno, Archbishop of Bayeux. I must not forget, that our illustrious Duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio of Foro-Juli, whom he naturalised, and constituted his poet and orator. Humphrey also retained learned foreigners in his service, for the purpose of transcribing, and of translating from Greek into Latin. One of these was Antonio de Beccaria, a Veronese, a translator into Latin prose of the Greek poem of Dionysius Afer *DE SITU ORBIS*: whom the Duke employed to translate into Latin six tracts of Athanasius. This translation, inscribed to the Duke, is now among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following insertion: "*C'est livre est a moi Homphrey Duc le Gloucestre: le'quel je fis translater de Grec en Latin par un de mes secretaires Antoyne de Beccara, nè de Verone.*"

An astronomical tract, entitled by Leland *TABULÆ DIRECTIONUM*, is falsely supposed to have been written by Duke Humphrey. But it was compiled at the Duke's instance, and according to tables which himself had constructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illustrissimi principis et nobilissimi domini mei Humfredi, &c.* In the library of Gresham College, however, there is a scheme of calculations in astronomy, which bears his name. Astronomy was then a favourite science: nor is it to be doubted, that he was intimately acquainted with



with the politer branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire estimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to restore.

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*Gustavus the Third, King of Sweden; from Sheridan's History of the late Revolution.*

**G**USTAVUS the Third was about five-and-twenty when he was proclaimed King of Sweden. From his mother, the present Queen Dowager, sister to the King of Prussia, he seems to inherit the spirit and abilities of his uncle; from his father, that benevolence of heart, which still renders the memory of Frederic Adolphus dear to the Swedes.

Born with talents that would have reflected lustre on any rank, but peculiarly suited to the exalted one he was destined to hold; his natural endowments were cultivated to the highest pitch, by an education the most finished, and most nicely adapted to a situation, which would probably one day require their fullest exertion.

By a graceful and commanding oratory, the most captivating manner and insinuating address, he caught the hearts of those who beheld him only in public; by an extent of knowledge and depth of judgment, he excited the admiration of such as had an opportunity of being nearer his person. But neither of these could as yet suspect him of that genius for intrigue, of that bold and enterprising spirit which have since distinguished him; neither could hope that such a ge-

nus, whilst it was exerted to promote the particular interests of the prince who possessed it, should yet never lose sight of the happiness of the people; that such a spirit should be under the direction of prudence, and in its course be marked by a moderation as amiable as it is rare.

Neglectful of pleasures, yet not averse to them, without being dissipated, he tasted the amusements of a court; and in the midst of the closest application to study, retained all that graceful ease which qualifies to shine in a circle. He cultivated with equal success the arts of governing, and of pleasing; and knew alike how to gain the respect, and win upon the affections of his future subjects.

Under the appearance of the most disinterested patriotism, an ambition great as his talents, lay concealed: and covered by a zeal for the welfare of his subjects, his designs upon their liberties might have escaped the penetration of the most sagacious.

Such were the talents, such the ambition of a prince designed to wield a sceptre, that could afford no scope for the one, no gratification to the other. Who, master of every popular art, was in a popular government, to submit to the caprice of a senate, or the dictates of a foreign minister: who, fully equal to the task of governing others, was to be himself allowed no will of his own; and who, possessed of the hearts of his people, was to be their king only in name; was to content himself with the gaudy trappings of royalty, which he despised; and was to refrain from grasping at that power which  
formed



formed the first object of his wishes.

Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of joy testified by the people at the arrival of the King at Stockholm, but the amiable affability with which he received all who approached him. No conduct could be better calculated to extend his popularity to the remotest parts of his dominions, than that which he adopted.

Three times a week he regularly gave audience to all who presented themselves. It required neither rank, fortune, or interest to obtain access to him; it was sufficient to have been injured, and to have a legal cause of complaint to lay before him. He listened to the meanest of his subjects with the dignity of a sovereign indeed, but at the same time with the tenderness of a parent. He entered into the minutest details that concerned them; he informed himself of their private affairs; and seemed to take all that interest in their happiness which is so grateful to the unfortunate, and so rarely to be met with in persons whose elevated station place them in a manner beyond the reach, or even the knowledge, of the sufferings of the lower classes of mankind.

When a sovereign condescended to cares like these, he could not fail to be considered as the father of his people. In the warmth of their gratitude, they forgot that motives of ambition might have had some share in forming a conduct which to them appeared to proceed wholly from the purest benevolence; a conduct, in which the tenor of his majesty's actions has indeed proved he consulted his feelings, but which has likewise

been since proved by the event, to have been the wisest he could have chosen for the purpose of carrying the design he meditated into execution.

If his Swedish Majesty aimed thus successfully at popularity, he likewise endeavoured to persuade the leading men of the kingdom into an opinion of his sincere and inviolable attachment to the constitution of his country; of his being perfectly satisfied with the share of power that constitution had allotted to him; and took every opportunity to declare that he considered it as his greatest glory to be the first citizen of a free people.

He seemed intent only on banishing corruption, and promoting union; he declared he would be of no party but that of the nation; and that he would ever pay the most implicit obedience to whatever the Diet should enact.

These professions created suspicions among a few, but they lulled the many into a fatal security. Those however who possessed a greater share of penetration, thought his Majesty promised too much to be in earnest; and notwithstanding he maintained an outward appearance of impartiality, they could not help observing that all his favourites were of the French party, as well as that the whole administration was at the beck of the court of Versailles.

Of the manner in which the revolution was effected, the same author gives the following account:

His Swedish Majesty, in the morning of the 19th of August, determined to throw off the mask, and seize by force upon that power which the states had so long abused, or perish in the attempt.

As



As he was preparing to quit his apartment, some agitation appeared in his countenance : but it did not seem to proceed from any apprehensions for his own fate. Great as this Prince's ambition is, his humanity is not inferior to it. He dreaded lest the blood of some of his subjects might be spilt in consequence of an enterprize, which he could not flatter himself to succeed in without having recourse to violence.

His whole conduct during that day, as well as after the revolution had taken place, justifies this conjecture.

A considerable number of officers, as well as other persons, known to be attached to the royal cause, had been summoned to attend his Majesty on that morning. Before ten he was on horseback and visited the regiment of artillery. As he passed through the streets he was more than usually courteous to all he met, bowing familiarly to the lowest of the people. On the King's return to his palace, the detachment which was to mount guard that day being drawn up together with that which was to be relieved, his Majesty retired with the officers into the guard-room. He then addressed them with all that eloquence of which he is so perfect a master ; and after insinuating to them that his life was in danger, he exposed to them in the strongest colours the wretched state of the kingdom ; the shackles in which it was held by means of foreign gold ; and the dissensions and troubles arising from the same cause, which had distracted the diet during the course of fourteen months. He assured them that his only design was to put an end to these disorders ; to banish corrup-

tion, restore true liberty, and revive the ancient lustre of the Swedish name, which had been long tarnished by a venality as notorious as it was disgraceful. Then assuring them in the strongest terms that he disclaimed for ever all absolute power, or what the Swedes call sovereignty, he concluded with these words ; “ I am obliged to defend my own liberty, and that of the kingdom, against the aristocracy which reigns. Will you be faithful to me as your forefathers were to Gustavus Vasa, and Gustavus Adolphus ? I will then risk my life for your welfare, and that of my country.”

The officers, most of them young men, of whose attachment the King had been long secure, who did not thoroughly perhaps see into the nature of the request his Majesty made them, and were allowed no time to reflect upon it, immediately consented to every thing, and took an oath of fidelity to him.

Three only refused. One of these, Frederic Cederstrom, captain of a company of the guards, alledged he had already and very lately taken an oath to be faithful to the states, and consequently could not take that which his Majesty then exacted of him. The King, looking at him sternly, answered, “ Think of what you are doing.” “ I do,” replied Cederstrom, “ and what I think to-day I shall think to-morrow ; and were I capable of breaking the oath by which I am already bound to the states, I should be likewise capable of breaking that your Majesty now requests me to take.”

The King then ordered Cederstrom to deliver up his sword, and put him in arrest.

His



His Majesty however, apprehensive of the impression which the proper and resolute conduct of Cederstrom might make upon the minds of the other officers, shortly afterwards softened his tone of voice, and again addressing himself to Cederstrom, told him, that as a proof of the opinion he entertained of him, and the confidence he placed in him, he would return him his sword without insisting upon his taking the oath, and would only desire his attendance that day. Cederstrom continued firm; he answered, that his Majesty could place no confidence in him that day, and that he begged to be excused from the service.

While the King was shut up with the officers, Senator Ralling, to whom the command of the troops in the town had been given two days before, came to the door of the guard-room, and was told that he could not be admitted. The Senator insisted upon being present at the distribution of the orders, and sent in to the King to desire it; but was answered, he must go to the senate, where his Majesty would speak to him.

The officers then received their orders from the King; the first of which was, that the two regiments of guards and of artillery should be immediately assembled, and that a detachment of thirty-six grenadiers should be posted at the door of the council-chamber, to prevent any of the senators from coming out.

But before these orders could be carried into execution, it was necessary that the King should take another step; a step upon which the whole success of his enterprize

was to depend. This was to address himself to the soldiers; men wholly unacquainted with his designs, and accustomed to pay obedience only to the orders of the senate, whom they had been taught to hold in the highest reverence.

As his Majesty, followed by the officers, was advancing from the guard-room to the parade for this purpose, some of them more cautious, or perhaps more timid than the rest, became, on a short reflection, apprehensive of the consequences of the measure in which they were engaged: they began to express their fears to the King, that unless some persons of greater weight and influence than themselves were to take a part in the same cause, he could hardly hope to succeed in his enterprize. The King stopped a while, and appeared to hesitate—the fate of the revolution hung upon that moment. A serjeant of the guards overheard their discourse, and cried aloud—“It shall succeed—long live Gustavus.” His Majesty immediately said, “then I will venture”—and stepping forward to the soldiers, he addressed them in terms nearly similar to those he had made use of to the officers, and with the same success. They answered him with loud acclamations; one voice only said, no; but it was not attended to.

In the mean time some of the King’s emissaries had spread a report about the town that the King was arrested. This drew the populace to the palace in great numbers, where they arrived as his Majesty had concluded his harangue to the guards. They testified by reiterated shouts their joy at seeing him



him safe; a joy which promised the happiest conclusion to the business of the day.

The senators were now immediately secured. They had from the window of the council-chamber beheld what was going forward on the parade before the palace; and at a loss to know the meaning of the shouts they heard, were coming down to enquire into the cause of them, when thirty grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, informed them it was his Majesty's pleasure they should continue where they were. They began to talk in a high tone, but were answered only by having the door shut and locked upon them.

The moment the secret committee heard that the senate was arrested, they separated of themselves, each individual providing for his own safety. The King then mounting his horse, followed by his officers with their swords drawn, a large body of soldiers, and numbers of the populace, went to the other quarters of the town where the soldiers he had ordered to be assembled were posted. He found them all equally willing to support his cause, and take an oath of fidelity to him. As he passed through the streets, he declared to the people, that he only meant to defend them, and save his country; and that if they would not confide in him, he would lay down his sceptre, and surrender up his kingdom. So much was the King beloved, that the people (some of whom even fell down upon their knees) with tears in their eyes implored his Majesty not to abandon them.

The King proceeded in his course, and in less than an hour

made himself master of all the military force in Stockholm.

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*Account of the Kingdom of Thibet, in a Letter from John Stewart, Esq; F. R. S. to Sir John Pringle, Bart. P. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions.*

**T**HE kingdom of Thibet, although known by name ever since the days of Marco Paolo and other travellers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had never been properly explored by any Europeans till the period of which I am now to speak. It is true, some straggling missionaries of the begging orders had, at different times, penetrated into different parts of the country; but their observations, directed by ignorance and superstition, placed in a narrow sphere, could give no ideas but what were false and imperfect. Since then, the Jesuits have given the world, in Duhalde's History of China, a short account of this country, collected, with their usual pains and judgment, from Tartar relations, which, as far as it goes, seems to be pretty just.

This country commonly passes in Bengal under the name of Boutan. It lies to the northward of Hindostan, and is all along separated from it by a range of high and steep mountains, properly a continuation of the great Caucasus, which stretches from the ancient Media and the shores of the Caspian sea, round the north-east frontiers of Persia, to Candahar and Cassamire, and thence, continuing its course more easterly, forms the great northern barrier to the various provinces



provinces of the Mogul empire, and ends, as we have reason to believe, in Affam or China. This stupendous Tartar bulwark had ever been held impassable by the Moguls, and all other Mussulman conquerors of India: and, although in the vallies lying between the lower mountains, which run out perpendicular to the main ridge, there resides various Indian people, whom they had occasionally made tributary to their power, they never had attempted a solid or permanent dominion over them. It was on occasion of a disputed succession between the heirs of one of the rajahs or petty sovereigns of those people, that the Boutaners were called down from their mountains to the assistance of one of the parties; and our government engaged on the opposite side. The party assisted by us did not fail in the end to prevail; and, in the course of this little war, two people became acquainted who, although near neighbours, were equally strangers to each other. At the attack of a town called Cooch Behar, our troops and the Boutaners first met; and nothing could exceed their mutual surprise in the encounter. The Boutaners, who had never met in the plains any other than the timid Hindoos flying naked before them, saw, for the first time, a body of men, uniformly cloathed and accoutred, moving in regular order, and led on by men of complexion, dress, and features, such as they had never beheld before: and then the management of the artillery, and incessant fire of the musquetry, was beyond any idea which they could have conceived of it. On the other hand, our people found

themselves on a sudden engaged with a race of men unlike all their former opponents in India, uncouth in their appearance, and fierce in their assault, wrapped up in firs, and armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons peculiar to them.

The place was carried by our troops; and a great many things taken in the spoil, such as arms, cloathing, and utensils of various sorts. Images in clay, in gold, in silver, and in enamel, were sent down to Calcutta; all which appeared perfectly Tartar; as we have them represented in the relations and drawings of travellers; and there were besides several pieces of Chinese paintings and manufactures. Whilst those things continued to be the subject of much conversation and curiosity to us in Bengal, the fame of our exploits in the war had reached the court of Thibet, and awakened the attention of Tayshoo Lama, who (the Delai Lama being a minor) was then at the head of the state. The Dah Terria, or Deb Rajah as he is called in Bengal (who rules immediately over the Boutaners, and had engaged them in the war) being a feudatory of Thibet, the Lama thought it proper to interpose his good offices, and in consequence sent a person of rank to Bengal, with a letter and presents to the Governor, to solicit a peace for the Dah, as his vassal and dependant.

Mr. Hastings, the Governor, did not hesitate a moment to grant a peace at the mediation of the Lama, on the most moderate and equitable terms; and, eager to seize every opportunity which could promote the interest and glory of this



this nation, and tend to the advancement of natural knowledge, proposed in council to send a person in a public character to the court of the Tayshoo Lama, to negotiate a treaty of commerce between the two nations, and to explore a country and people hitherto so little known to Europeans. Mr. Bogle, an approved servant of the company, whose abilities and temper rendered him every way qualified for so hazardous and uncommon a mission, was pitched on for it. It would be foreign to my purpose to enter into a detail of his progress and success in this business: it will be sufficient to say, that he penetrated, across many difficulties, to the center of Thibet; resided several months at the court of the Tayshoo Lama; and returned to Calcutta, after an absence of fifteen months on the whole, having executed his commission to the entire satisfaction of the administration. I have reason to believe that Mr. Bogle will one day give to the world a relation of his journey thither, accompanied with observations on the natural and political state of the country. I only, in the mean time, beg leave to mention a few particulars, such as my recollection of his letters and papers enable me to give.

Mr. Bogle divides the territories of the Delai Lama into two different parts. That which lies immediately contiguous to Bengal, and which is called by the inhabitants Docpo, he distinguishes by the name of Boutan; and the other, which extends to the northward as far as the frontiers of Tartary, called by the natives Pû, he styles Thibet. Boutan is ruled by the Dah Terriah or Deb Rajah, as I

have already remarked. It is a country of steep and inaccessible mountains, whose summits are crowned with eternal snow; they are intersected with deep vallies, through which pour numberless torrents that increase in their course, and, at last, gaining the plains, lose themselves in the great rivers of Bengal. These mountains are covered down their sides with forests of stately trees of various sorts; some (such as pines, &c.) which are known in Europe; others such as are peculiar to the country and climate. The vallies and sides of the hills, which admit of cultivation, are not unfruitful, but produce crops of wheat, barley, and rice. The inhabitants are a stout and warlike people, of a copper complexion, in size rather above the middle European stature, hasty and quarrelsome in their temper, and addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, but honest in their dealings, robbery by violence being almost unknown among them. The chief city is Tasley Seddein, situated on the Patchoo. Thibet begins properly from the top of the great ridge of the Caucasus, and extends from thence in breadth to the confines of Great Tartary, and perhaps to some of the dominions of the Russian empire. Mr. Bogle says, that, having once attained the summit of the Boutan mountains, you do not descend in an equal proportion on the side of Thibet; but, continuing still on a very elevated base, you traverse vallies which are wider and not so deep as the former, and mountains that are neither so steep, nor apparently so high. On the other hand, he represents it as the most bare and desolate country he ever saw. The woods,



woods, which every-where cover the mountains in Boutan, are here totally unknown; and, except a few straggling trees near the villages, nothing of the sort to be seen. The climate is extremely severe and rude. At Chamnàning, where he wintered, although it be in latitude 31 deg. 39 min. only 8 deg. to the northward of Calcutta, he often found the thermometer in his room at 29 deg. under the freezing point by Fahrenheit's scale; and in the middle of April the standing waters were all frozen, and heavy showers of snow perpetually fell. This, no doubt, must be owing to the great elevation of the country, and to the vast frozen space over which the north-wind blows uninterruptedly from the pole, through the vast deserts of Siberia and Tartary, till it is stopped by this formidable wall.

The Thibetians are of a smaller size than their southern neighbours, and of a less robust make. Their complexions are also fairer, and many of them have even a rudeness in their countenance unknown in the other climates of the east. Those whom I saw at Calcutta appeared to have quite the Tartar face. They are of a mild and chearful temper; and Mr. Bogle says, that the higher ranks are polite and entertaining in conversation, in which they never mix either strained compliments or flattery. The common people, both in Boutan and Thibet, are cloathed in coarse woollen stuffs of their own manufacture, lined with such skins as they can procure; but the better orders of men are dressed in European cloth, or China silk, lined with the finest Siberian furs. The

Ambassador from the Deb Rajah, in his summer-dress at Calcutta, appeared exactly like the figures we see in the Chinese paintings, with the conical hat, the tunic of brocaded silk, and light boots. The Thibetian, who brought the first letter from the Lama, was wrapped up from head to foot in furs. The use of linen is totally unknown among them. The chief food of the inhabitants is the milk of their cattle, prepared into cheese, butter, or mixed with the flour of a coarse barley or of peas, the only grain which their soil produces; and even these articles are in a scanty proportion; but they are furnished with rice and wheat from Bengal and other countries in their neighbourhood. They also are supplied with fish from the rivers in their own and the neighbouring provinces, salted and sent into the interior parts. They have no want of animal food from the cattle, sheep, and hogs, which are raised on their hills; and are not destitute of game, though I believe it is not abundant. They have a singular method of preparing their mutton, by exposing the carcase intire, after the bowels are taken out, to the sun, and bleak northern winds which blow in the months of August and September, without frost, and so dry up the juices and parch the skin, that the meat will keep uncorrupted for the year round. This they generally eat raw, without any other preparation. Mr. Bogle was often regaled with this dish, which, however unpalatable at first, he says, he afterwards preferred to their dressed mutton just killed, which was generally lean, tough, and rank. It was also very common for the head



men, in the villages through which he passed, to make him presents of sheep so prepared, set before him on their legs as if they had been alive, which at first had a very odd appearance.

The religion and political constitution of this country, which are intimately blended together, would make a considerable chapter in its history. It suffices for me to say, that at present, and ever since the expulsion of the Eluth Tartars, the kingdom of Thibet is regarded as depending on the empire of China, which they call Cathay; and there actually reside two Mandarins, with a garrison of a thousand Chinese, at Lahassa the capital, to support the government; but their power does not extend far: and in fact the Lama, whose empire is founded on the surest grounds, personal affection and religious reverence, governs every thing internally with unbounded authority. Every body knows that the Delai Lama is the great object of adoration for the various tribes of heathen Tartars, who roam through the vast tract of continent which stretches from the banks of the Volga to Corea on the sea of Japan, the most extensive religious dominion, perhaps on the face of the globe. He is not only the Sovereign Pontiff, the Vicegerent of the Deity on earth; but, as superstition is ever the strongest, where it is most removed from its object, the more remote Tartars absolutely regard him as the Deity himself. They believe him immortal, and endowed with all knowledge and virtue. Every year they come up from different parts, to worship and make rich offerings at his shrine; even the Emperor of Chi-

na, who is a Manchou Tartar, does not fail in acknowledgments to him in his religious capacity, and actually entertains, at a great expence, in the palace of Pekin, an inferior Lama, deputed as his Nuncio from Thibet. It is even reported, that many of the Tartar chiefs receive certain presents, consisting of small portions of that, from him, which is ever regarded in all other persons as the most humiliating proof of human nature, and of being subject to its laws, and treasure it up with great reverence in gold boxes, to be mixed occasionally in their ragouts. It is, however, but justice to declare, that Mr. Bogle strenuously insists, that the Lama never makes such presents; but that he often distributes little balls of consecrated flour, like the pain benit of the Roman Catholics, which the superstition and blind credulity of his Tartar votaries may afterwards convert into what they please. The orthodox opinion is, that, when the grand Lama seems to die, either of old age or of infirmity, his soul in fact only quits an actual crazy habitation to look for another younger or better, and it is discovered again in the body of some child, by certain tokens known only to the Lama or Priests, in which order he always appears. The present Delai Lama is an infant, and was discovered only a few years ago by the Tayshoo Lama, who in authority and sanctity of character is next to him, and consequently during the other's minority, acts as Chief. The Lamas, who form the most numerous as well as the most powerful body in the state, have the priesthood intirely in their hands; and, besides,



besides, fill up many monastic orders which are held in great veneration among them. Celibacy, I believe, is not positively enjoined to the Lamas; but it is held indispensable for both men and women, who embrace a religious life: and indeed their celibacy, their living in communities, their cloisters, their service in the choirs, their strings of beads, their fasts, and their penances, give them so much the air of christian monks, that it is not surprising an illiterate capuchin should be ready to hail them brothers, and think he can trace the features of St. Francis in every thing about them. It is an old notion, that the religion of Thibet is a corrupted christianity; and even Father Disederii, a Jesuit (but not of the Chinese mission) who visited the country about the beginning of this century, thinks he can resolve all their mysteries into ours; and asserts, with a true mystical penetration, that they have certainly a good notion of the Trinity, since, in their address to their Deity, they say as often Konciokoik in the plural as Konciok in the singular, and with their rosaries pronounce these words, Om, ha, hum. The truth is, that the religion of Thibet, from whence-ever it sprung, is pure and simple in its source, conveying very exalted notions of the Deity, with no contemptible system of morality; but in its progress it has been greatly altered and corrupted by the inventions of worldly men, a fate we can hardly regret in a system of error, since we know that that of truth has been subject to the same. Polygamy, at least in the sense we commonly receive the word, is not in practice among

them; but it exists in a manner still more repugnant to European ideas; I mean in the plurality of husbands, which is firmly established and highly respected there. In a country, where the means of subsisting a family are not easily found, it seems not impolitic to allow a set of brothers to agree in raising one, which is to be maintained by their joint efforts. In short, it is usual in Thibet for the brothers in the family to have a wife in common, and they generally live in great harmony and comfort with her; not but sometimes little dissensions will arise (as may happen in families constituted upon different principles) an instance of which Mr. Bogle mentions in the case of a modest and virtuous lady, the wife of half a dozen of the Tayshoo Lama's nephews, who complained to the uncle, that the two youngest of her husbands did not furnish that share of love and benevolence to the common stock which duty and religion required of them. In short, however strange this custom may appear to us, it is an undoubted fact that it prevails in Thibet in the manner I have described.

The manner of bestowing their dead is also singular: they neither put them in the ground like the Europeans, nor burn them like the Hindoos; but expose them on the bleak pinnacle of some neighbouring mountain, to be devoured by wild beasts and birds of prey, or wasted away by time and the vicissitudes of weather in which they lie. The mangled carcases and bleached bones lie scattered about; and, amidst this scene of horror, some miserable old wretch, man or woman, lost to all feelings but



those of superstition, generally sets up an abode, to perform the dismal office of receiving the bodies, assigning each a place, and gathering up the remains when too widely dispersed.

The religion of Thibet, although it be in many of its principal dogmata totally repugnant to that of the bramins or of India, yet in others it has a great affinity to it. They have, for instance, a great veneration for the cow; but they transfer it wholly from the common species to that which bears the tails, of which I shall speak hereafter. They also highly respect the waters of the Ganges, the source of which they believe to be in heaven; and one of the first effects which the treaty with the Lama produced, was an application to the Governor-general, for leave to build a place of worship on its banks. This it may be imagined was not refused; and, when I left Bengal, a spot of ground was actually assigned for that purpose, about two or three miles from Calcutta. On the other hand, the Sunniasses, or Indian pilgrims, often visit Thibet as a holy place, and the Lama always entertains a body of two or three hundred in his pay. The residence of the Delai Lama is at Pateli, a vast palace on a mountain near the banks of the Barampooter, about seven miles from Lahassa. The Tayshoo Lama has several palaces or castles, in one of which Mr. Bogle lived with him five months. He represents the Lama as one of the most amiable as well as intelligent men he ever knew; maintaining his rank with the utmost mildness of authority, and living in the greatest purity of manners, without starchness

or affectation. Every thing within the gates breathed peace, order, and dignified elegance. The castle is of stone or brick, with many courts, lofty halls, terraces, and porticos; and the apartments are in general roomy, and highly finished in the Chinese style, with gilding, painting, and varnish. There are two conveniences to which they are utter strangers, stair-cases and windows. There is no access to the upper rooms but by a sort of ladders of wood or iron; and for windows they have only holes in the ceilings, with penthouse covers, contrived so as to shut up on the weather-side. Fireing is so scarce, that little is used but for culinary purposes; and they trust altogether for warmth in their houses to their furs and other cloathing. The Lama, who is completely conversant in what regards Tartary, China, and all the kingdoms in the East, was exceedingly inquisitive about Europe, its politics, laws, arts, and sciences, government, commerce, and military strength; on all which heads Mr. Bogle endeavoured to satisfy him, and actually compiled for his service a brief state of Europe in the Hindostan language, which he ordered to be translated into that of Thibet. The Lama, being born at Latack, a frontier province next Cassemire, is fully master of the Hindostan language, and always conversed with Mr. Bogle in it; but the people, who are persuaded he understands all languages, believed he spoke to him in English, or, as they call it, the European tongue. The Russian empire was the only one in Europe known to him: he has a high idea of its riches and strength, and had heard of its wars and success against the



the empire of Rome (for so they call the Turkish state); but could not conceive it could be in any wise a match for Cathay. Many of the Tartar subjects of Russia came to Thibet; and the Czar has even, at various times, sent letters and presents to the Lama. Mr. Bogle saw many European articles in his hands; pictures, looking glasses, and trinkets of gold, silver, and steel, chiefly English, which he had received that way, particularly a Graham's repeating watch, which had been dead, as they said, for some time. While he was there, several Mongols and Calmucs arrived from Siberia, with whom he conversed.

The city of Lahassa, which is the capital, is of no inconsiderable size, and is represented as populous and flourishing. It is the residence of the chief officers of government, and of the Chinese Mandarins and their suite. It is also inhabited by Chinese and Cassemirian merchants and artificers, and is the daily resort of numberless traders from all quarters, who come in occasional parties, or in stated caravans. The waters of the Great River, as it is emphatically called in their language, wash its walls. Father Duhalde, with great accuracy, traces this river, which he never suspects to be the Barampooter, from its origin in the Cassemirian mountains (probably from the same spring which gives rise to the Ganges) through the great valley of Thibet, till, turning suddenly to the southward, he loses it in the kingdom of Assam; but still, with great judgment and probability of conjecture, supposes it reaches the Indian sea somewhere in Pegu or Aracan.

The truth is, however, that it turns suddenly again in the middle of Assam, and, traversing that country, enters Bengal towards Rangametry, under the above-mentioned name, and, thence bending its course more southerly, joins the Ganges, its sister and rival, with an equal, if not more copious stream; forming at the conflux a body of running fresh water, hardly to be paralleled in the known world, which disembogues itself into the Bay of Bengal. Two such rivers uniting in this happy country, with all the beauty, fertility, and convenience which they bring, well intitles it to the name of the Paradise of Nations, always bestowed upon it by the Moguls.

The chief trade from Lahassa to Peking is carried on by caravans that employ full two years in the journey thither and back again; which is not surprising, when we consider that the distance cannot be less than two thousand English miles; and yet it is to be observed, that an express from Lahassa reaches Peking in three weeks, a circumstance much to the honour of the Chinese police, which knows to establish so speedy and effectual a communication through mountains and deserts for so long a way. The trade with Siberia is carried on by caravans to Seling, which is undoubtedly the Selinginsky of the Russian travellers on the borders of Baykale lake. And this accounts for an extraordinary fact mentioned by Bell, that, on the banks of the river of that name, he one day found a man busy in redeeming, from some boys who were angling, the fish they caught, and throwing them into the water again; and, from this circumstance, and the



mark on his forehead, knew him to be an Indian. On conversing with him, he found his conjecture to be right. The man told him, he came from Madrafs, had been two years on his journey, and mentioned by name some of the principal English Gentlemen there. This Indian, no doubt, must have travelled as a Faquier or Sunniaffy through Bengal into Thibet, and from thence passed with the caravan to Selinginsky, where Bell found him. It is proper to remark, that the Indians have an admirable method of turning godliness into great gain, it being usual for the Faquiers to carry with them, in their pilgrimages from the sea-coasts to the interior parts, pearls, corals, spices, and other precious articles, of small bulk, which they exchange on their return for gold-dust, musk, and other things of a similar nature, concealing them easily in their hair and in the cloths round their middle, and carrying on, considering their numbers, no inconsiderable traffic by these means. The Goffeigns are also of a religious order, but in dignity above the Faquiers; and they drive a more extensive and a more open trade with that country.

A particular account of the commerce would be foreign to the purport of this letter; but, as it would leave the information which I wish to convey very incomplete, did I not mention the sources from which this country, so apparently poor and unfruitful, draws a supply of the foreign articles of convenience and luxury, which I have occasionally said they possess; I shall just observe, that, besides their less traffic with their neighbours in horses, hogs, rock-salt,

course cloths, and other articles, they enjoy four staple articles, which are sufficient in themselves to procure every foreign commodity of which they stand in need; all of which are natural productions, and deserve to be particularly noticed. The first, though the least considerable, is that of the cow-tails, so famous all over India, Persia, and the other kingdoms of the East. It is produced by a species of cow or bullock, different from what I believe is found in any other country. It is of a larger size than the common Thibet breed, has short horns, and no hump on its back. Its skin is covered with whitish hair of a silky appearance; but its chief singularity is in its tail, which spreads out broad and long, with flowing hairs, like that of a beautiful mare, but much finer and far more glossy. Mr. Bogle sent down two of this breed to Mr. Hastings, but they died before they reached Calcutta. The tails sell very high, and are used, mounted on silver handles, for Chowras, or brushes, to chase away the flies; and no man of consequence in India ever goes out, or sits in form at home, without two Chowrawbadars, or brushers, attending him, with such instruments in their hands.

The next article is the wool from which the Shaul, the most delicate woollen manufacture in the world, so much prized in the East, and now so well known in England, is made. Till Mr. Bogle's journey our notions on that subject were very crude and imperfect. As the Shauls all come from Cassimire, we concluded the material from which they were fabricated to be also of that country's growth.

It



It was said to be the hair of a particular goat, the fine under hair from a camel's breast, and a thousand other fancies; but we now know it for certain to be the produce of a Thibet sheep. Mr. Hastings had one or two of these in his paddock when I left Bengal. They are of a small breed, in figure nothing differing from our sheep, except in their tails, which are very broad; but their fleeces, for the fineness, length, and beauty of the wool, exceed all others in the world. The Cassemirians engross this article, and have factors established for its purchase in every part of Thibet, from whence it is sent to Cassemire, where it is worked up, and becomes a source of great wealth to that country, as well as it is originally to Thibet.

Musk is another of their staples, of which it will be needless to say much, as the nature, quality, and value, of this precious commodity are so well known in Europe. I shall only remark, that the deer which produces it is common in the mountains; but, being excessively shy, and frequenting solely the places the most wild and difficult of access, it becomes a trade of great trouble and danger to hunt after. We have the musk sent down to Calcutta in the natural bag, not without great risk of its being adulterated; but still it is far superior to any thing of the kind that is to be met with in sale in Europe.

The last of the articles which I reckon staple is gold, of which great quantities are exported from Thibet. It is found in the sands of the Great River, as well as in most of the small brooks and tor-

rents that pour from the mountains. The quantity gathered in this manner, though considerable with respect to national gain, pays the individual but very moderately for the labour bestowed on it. But, besides this, there are mines of that metal in the northern parts, which are the reserved property of the Lama, and rented out to those who work them. It is not found in ore, but always in a pure metallic state (as I believe it to be the case in all other mines of this metal) and only requires to be separated from the spar, stone, or flint, to which it adheres. Mr. Hastings had a lump sent to him at Calcutta, of about the size of a bullock's kidney, which was a hard flint veined with solid gold. He caused it to be sawed in two, and it was found throughout interlarded (if I may be allowed the expression) with the purest metal. Although they have this gold in great plenty in Thibet, they do not employ it in coin, of which their government never strikes any; but it is still used as a medium of commerce, and goods are rated there by the purse of gold-dust, as here by money. The Chinese draw it from them to a great amount every year, in return for the produce of their labour and arts.

I could wish to add to this account somewhat respecting the plants and other botanical productions of this country; but I would not presume to offer any thing but what is authentic and exact, as far as my knowledge goes. Mr. Bogle will, no doubt, be able to satisfy the learned in that branch, respecting many things of which I have at present no information.

He



He sent down to Calcutta many seeds, grains, kernels, and fruits, part of which only arrived safe. Of the last I tasted several, they were chiefly of the European sorts, such as peaches, apples, pears, &c. and therefore more desirable for us in Bengal; but they were all to me insipid and bad.

I am now, Sir, to close these remarks with craving your forgiveness for having thus started a new subject of curiosity, without the means of giving more complete light concerning it. Time and opportunity may put more in my power on my return to India. In the mean time, I hope the society will accept as a rarity the translation of the original letter which the Tayshoo Lama wrote to Mr. Hastings, by the Envoy whom he sent to solicit a peace for the Deb Rajah. It came into my hands in the course of my office, and, by the permission of the Governor-general, I retained a copy.

The original is in Persian, a language which the Lama was obliged to employ, that of Thibet, although very elegant and expressive, as it is said, being totally unintelligible in Bengal. A letter, under the sanction of a character so long talked of in the western world, but so little known, alone renders it an object of curiosity; but, when it is found to contain sentiments of justice, benevolence, and piety, couched in a simple style, not without dignity, and in general exempt from the high-flown compliments and strained metaphors so common among the other people of the East, I have no doubt of its being received with approbation; at any rate, it will serve as a specimen of the way of

thinking and writing among a people whose country and manners I have made the subject of the foregoing sketch.

Translation of a Letter from the TAYSHOO LAMA to Mr. HASTINGS, Governor of Bengal, received the 29th of March, 1774.

THE affairs of this quarter in every respect flourish; I am night and day employed for the increase of your happiness and prosperity. Having been informed, by travellers from your quarter, of your exalted fame and reputation, my heart, like the blossom of spring, abounds with satisfaction, gladness, and joy. Praise God that the star of your fortune is in its ascension. Praise him, that happiness and ease are the surrounding attendants of myself and family. Neither to molest or persecute is my aim: it is even the characteristic of our sect to deprive ourselves of the necessary refreshment of sleep, should an injury be done to a single individual; but, in justice and humanity, I am informed you surpass us. May you ever adorn the seat of justice and power, that mankind may, in the shadow of your bosom, enjoy the blessings of peace and affluence! By your favour I am the Rajah and Lama of this country, and rule over a number of subjects; a particular with which you have no doubt been acquainted by travellers from these parts. I have been repeatedly informed, that you have been engaged in hostilities against the Dah-Terria, to which it is said the Dah's own criminal conduct, in committing ravages and other outrages on your frontiers, gave rise.



rise. As he is of a rude and ignorant race, past times are not destitute of the like misconduct which his avarice tempted him to commit. It is not unlikely but he has now renewed those instances, and the ravages and plunder which he may have committed on the skirts of the Bengal and Bahar Provinces, have given you provocation to send your vindictive army against him. However, his party has been defeated, many of his people have been killed, three forts have been taken from him, and he has met with the punishment he deserved. It is as evident as the sun that your army has been victorious; and that, if you had been desirous of it, you might, in the space of two days, have entirely extirpated him, for he had not power to resist your efforts. But I now take upon me to be his mediator; and to represent to you, that, as the said Dah Terria is dependant upon the Delai Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway (but, on account of his being in his minority, the charge of the government and administration for the present is committed to me) should you persist in offering further molestation to the Dah's country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you. Therefore, from a regard to our religion and customs, I request you will cease all hostilities against him; and, in doing this, you will confer the greatest favour and friendship upon me. I have reprimanded the Dah

for his past conduct; and I have admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future, and to be submissive to you in all things. I am persuaded he will conform to the advice which I have given him; and it will be necessary that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As to my part, I am but a Faquier\*; and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands, to pray for the welfare of mankind, and for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country; and I do now, with my head uncovered, intreat that you may cease all hostilities against the Dah in future. It would be needless to add to the length of this letter, as the bearer of it, who is a Coseign†, will represent to you all particulars; and it is hoped you will comply therewith. In this country, worship of the Almighty is the profession of all. We poor creatures are in nothing equal to you; having, however, a few things in hand, I send them to you by way of remembrance, and hope for your acceptance of them.

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*Account of the Morlacchi; from Travels into Dalmatia, by L'abbé Fortis.*

THE Morlacchi inhabit the pleasant valleys of Kotar, along the rivers Kerha, Cottina, Narenta, and among the mountains of Inland Dalmatia. Their country is of much larger extent,

\* The original being in Persian, this word is used, which can only be applied with propriety to a person of the Mussulman faith: here it can only mean a religious person in general. Perhaps Monk would have been the best translation.

† This means a religious person of the Hindoo sect.



not only towards Greece, but towards Germany and Hungary. But our author confines his account to the small part of it which he saw. The inhabitants of the sea coast of Dalmatia, tell many frightful stories about the cruelty of those people; but our author assures us, that they are for the most part totally without foundation.

The greatest danger to be feared, is from the Haiducks, of whom great numbers have retreated, among the woods, and caves of those dreadful mountains on the confines; there, a traveller ought to get himself escorted by a couple of these honest fellows, and he is quite safe; for they are not capable of betraying him, although a banditti; and, indeed, their case is commonly more apt to raise compassion, than diffidence; for their character is not essentially bad; if it were so, their numbers would soon become very formidable to the maritime inhabitants of Dalmatia. They lead their life among the wolves, wandering from one precipice to another, agitated by continual fears and suspicions, exposed to the severity of the seasons, and, often deprived of the necessities of life, languish in the most solitary hideous caverns. It would be no wonder, if such men, irritated by the constant view of their miserable situation, were to commit acts of violence, especially against those to whom they attribute the cause of their calamities. Yet they very seldom disturb the tranquillity of others, and prove always faithful guides to travellers. The chief objects of their rapine are oxen and sheep, to supply themselves with food and shoes; and I have often heard them bit-

terly and justly censured, for the barbarous indiscretion of killing a poor man's ox, in order to serve themselves only with a small portion of the meat, and the skin. This certainly admits of no apology; yet humanity bids us to reflect, that the things coveted by these wretches, are articles of the greatest necessity, as they are condemned to live among desolate mountains, which have no covering either of grass or earth, and are full of hard sharp stones, that have been rendered still more rough and cutting by the action of the air and time. It happens sometimes, in their extreme necessity, that the Haiducks go in parties to the shepherds cottages, and rudely demand something to eat, which they immediately take by force, if the least hesitation is made; though they seldom meet with a refusal, or resistance, as their resolution and fury are well known to be equal to their wants, and to the savage life which they lead. Four Haiducks are not afraid to assault a caravan of fifteen or twenty Turks, and generally plunder and put them to flight. When a Haiduck happens to be taken by the *Panduri*, they do not bind him, as our *Birri* are used to do, but untying the string of his breeches, they fall down on his heels, and prevent a possibility of escape, if he attempted it; an humane contrivance to secure a man without binding him like a beast. The greatest part of the Haiducks look upon it as a meritorious action, to shed the blood of the Turks; a mistaken zeal for religion, joined to their natural and acquired ferocity, easily leads them to commit such acts of violence; and the ignorance,



norance, and national prejudices of their priests are too apt to inflame their barbarous fanaticism.

*On the moral and domestic Virtues of the Morlacchi.*

THE morals of a Morlack, at a distance from the sea coast and garrisons, are generally very different from ours. The sincerity, trust, and honesty of these poor people, not only in contracts, but in all the ordinary actions of their life, would be called simplicity and weakness among us. It is true, that the Italians, who trade in Dalmatia, and the littoral inhabitants themselves, have but too often taken advantage of this integrity; and hence the Morlacchi are become much more diffident, than they were in former times; insomuch, that the want of probity, which they have so often experienced, in dealing with the Italians, is passed into a proverb among them, and the word *passiaviro*, and *Lanzmanzka-viro*, that is, the faith of a dog, and faith of an Italian, are used to express the same reproachful meaning. This prepossession against us might prove incommodious to an unknown traveller, and yet it seldom happens. For the Morlack, naturally hospitable and generous, opens his poor cottage to the stranger, and serves him to the utmost of his power, without demanding, nay, often obstinately refusing, the least recompence; and I have more than once got a dinner from one of those men, who knew nothing about me, had never seen me, and could not expect ever to see me again.

I shall never forget the cordial reception and treatment given me

by *Pervan Vajvod*, of *Coccorich*; to whom I had nothing else to recommend me but my being in friendship with a family who were also his friends. He sent his horses, and an escort to meet me on the road; and, during the few days which I spent in that neighbourhood, loaded me with all the luxury of national hospitality. He sent his own son, and several of his people, to escort me as far as the plains of *Narenta*, a good day's journey from his house, and furnished me with provisions in abundance; and all this was done without my being allowed to spend a single penny. On my departure from that hospitable mansion, he and all his family came out and followed me with their eyes, till I was out of sight; which affectionate manner of taking leave raised a kind of agitation in my mind, which I never felt before, and can scarcely ever hope to feel again, in travelling over Italy.

The Morlacchi are extremely sensible of mild treatment, and, when they meet with it, are ready to perform every possible service, and to become cordial friends. Their hospitality is equally conspicuous among the poor as among the more opulent. The rich prepares a roasted lamb, or sheep; and the poor, with equal cordiality, gives his turkey, milk, honey, or whatever else he has. Nor is their generosity confined to strangers, but generally extends itself to all who are in want.

When a Morlack is on a journey, and comes to lodge at a friend's house, the eldest daughter of the family, or the new-married bride, if there happens to be one, receives, and kisses him when he alights



alights from his horse, or at the door of the house. But a foreigner is rarely favoured with these female civilities: on the contrary, the women, if they are young, hide themselves, and keep out of his way. Perhaps more than one violation of the laws of hospitality has made them thus reserved to strangers; or perhaps the jealous customs of the neighbouring Turks have spread among the Morlacchi.

While there is any thing to eat in the houses of those villagers, the poor of the neighbourhood are welcome to partake of it; and hence it is, that no Morlack ever humbles himself to ask alms of a passenger; at least, I never met with one example of it. I indeed have often been forced to ask something from poor shepherds, but I always found them liberal; and many times, in travelling through the fields in the heat of summer, I have met poor reapers, who, of their own accord, presented me with their flasks to drink, and offered me a part of their rustick provisions, with an affecting cordiality.

The Morlacchi, in general have little notion of domestic œconomy, and readily consume in a week, as much as would be sufficient for several months, whenever any occasion of merriment presents itself. A marriage, the holiday of the Saint, protector of the family, the arrival of relations or friends, or any other joyful incident, consumes, of course, all that there is to eat and drink in the house. Yet the Morlack is a great œconomist in the use of his wearing apparel; for, rather than spoil his new cap, he takes it off, let it

rain ever so hard, and goes bare-headed in the storm. In the same manner he treats his shoes, if the road is dirty, and they are not very old. Nothing but an absolute impossibility hinders a Morlack from being punctual; and if he cannot repay the money he borrowed, at the appointed time, he carries a small present to his creditor, and requests a longer term. Thus it happens sometimes, that, from term to term, and present to present, he pays double what he owed, without reflecting on it,

#### *Of their Friendships and Quarrels.*

FRIENDSHIP, that among us is so subject to change on the slightest motives, is lasting among the Morlacchi. They have even made it a kind of religious point, and tie the sacred bond at the foot of the altar. The Sclavonian ritual contains a particular benediction for the solemn union of two male or two female friends in the presence of the congregation. I was present at the union of two young women, who were made *Posestre* in the church of *Perussich*. The satisfaction that sparkled in their eyes, when the ceremony was performed, gave a convincing proof, that delicacy of sentiments can lodge in minds not formed, or rather not corrupted by society, which we call civilized. The male friends thus united, are called *Pobratimi*, and the females *Posestre* which mean half-brothers, and half-sisters. Friendships between those of different sexes, are not at this day bound with so much solemnity, though perhaps in more ancient and innocent ages it was also the custom.

From



From these consecrated friendships among the Morlacchi and other nations of the same origin, it should seem, that the *sworn brothers* arose, a denomination frequent enough among our common people, and in many parts of Europe. The difference between these and the *Pobratimi* of Morlacchia, consists, not only in the want of the ritual ceremony, but in the design of the union itself. For, among the Morlacchi the sole view is reciprocal service and advantage; but such a brotherhood among us, is generally commenced by bad men, to enable them the more to hurt and disturb society. The duties of the *Pobratimi* are, to assist each other in every case of need or danger, to revenge mutual wrongs, and such like. The enthusiasm is often carried so far as to risk, and even to lose their life for the *Pobratimi*, although these savage friends are not celebrated like a *Pilades*. If discord happens to arise between two friends, it is talked of over all the country as a scandalous novelty; and there have been some examples of it of late years, to the great affliction of the old Morlacchi, who attribute the depravation of their countrymen to their intercourse with the Italians. Wine and strong liquors, of which the nation is beginning to make daily abuse, after our example, will, of course, produce the same bad effects as among us.

But as the friendships of the Morlacchi are strong and sacred, so their quarrels are commonly unextinguishable. They pass from father to son, and the mothers fail not to put their children in mind of their duty, to revenge their fa-

ther, if he has had the misfortune to be killed, and to shew them often the bloody shirt and arms of the dead. And so deeply is revenge rooted in the minds of this nation, that all the missionaries in the world would not be able to eradicate it. A Morlack is naturally inclined to do good to his fellow-creatures, and is full of gratitude for the smallest benefit; but implacable if injured or insulted. With him, revenge and justice have exactly the same meaning, and truly it is the primitive idea; and I have been told, that in Albania, the effects of revenge are still more atrocious and more lasting. There a man of the mildest character, is capable of the most barbarous revenge, believing it his positive duty, and preferring the mad chimera of false honour, to the violation of the most sacred laws, and to the punishment to which he exposes himself, with premeditated resolution.

A Morlack, who has killed another of a powerful family, is commonly obliged to save himself by flight, and keep out of the way for several years. If, during that time, he has been fortunate enough to escape the search of his pursuers, and has got a small sum of money, he endeavours to obtain pardon and peace; and, that he may treat about the conditions in person, he asks, and obtains a safe conduct, which is faithfully maintained though only verbally granted. Then, he finds mediators, and, on an appointed day, the relations of the two hostile families are assembled, and the criminal is introduced, dragging himself along on his hands and feet, the musket, pistol or cutlass with which he

com-



committed the murder, hung about his neck; and while he continues in that humble posture, one or more of the relations recites a pagnyrick on the dead, which sometimes rekindles the flames of revenge, and puts the poor prostrate in no small danger. It is the custom in some places for the offended party to threaten the criminal, holding all kind of arms to his throat, and after much intreaty, to consent at last to accept of his ransom. These pacifications cost dear in Albonia, but the Morlacchi make up matters sometimes at a small expence; and every where the business is concluded with a feast at the offender's charge.

*Of the Talents and Arts of the Morlacchi.*

THE natural vivacity and enterprizing spirit of the Morlacchi, qualify them to succeed in any kind of employment. In particular, they make excellent soldiers, and, towards the end of the last age, they performed very useful service, under the brave general *Delfino*, who conquered an important tract of country belonging to the Porte, chiefly by their means. They also become very expert in the direction of mercantile business; and easily learn to read and write, even after they are grown up. It is said, that the Morlack shepherds, about the beginning of this age, were very fond of reading a large book of the christian doctrine, moral and historical, compiled by father *Dionovich*, and reprinted several times at Venice, in the Cerilian Bosnian character, which is somewhat different from the Russian. It hap-

pened often, that the priest of the parish, more pious than learned, in his citations, mistook, or altered material circumstances, and then one of the audience would say aloud, *nie tako*, it is not so. It is added, that to prevent that scandal, great pains were taken to collect all those books, and in fact, very few of them are now found among the shepherds. This nation is also endowed with remarkable quickness of fancy, and are very ready, on any occasion, at giving pointed answers.

Notwithstanding their excellent disposition to learn every art, the Morlacchi have the most imperfect notions of husbandry, and are very unskilful in the management of their cattle, and in curing their diseases. They have a singular veneration for old customs, and little care has hitherto been taken either to remove their prejudices, or to teach them better methods. Their ploughs, and other rural utensils seem to be of the most rude invention, and are as unlike ours, as the other fashions used in the days of *Triptolemus* would be to those of the present age. They make cheese, butter, and cream-cheese too, in their way; all which might pass well enough, if they were only done with more cleanliness. The taylor's art is confined to ancient and unalterable patterns, which are always cut from the same kind of cloth, so that any difference in the usual breadth would quite disconcert a Morlack taylor. They have some notion of dying, and their colours are not despicable. Their black is made of the bark of the ash-tree, called by them *Jassen*, laid in warm water for eight days, with some iron dross,



drofs, which they gather from the blacksmith's forges ; then they make use of this water, when cold, to give the colour. They also extract a fine blue colour from the infusion of wood, dried in the shade, in a lie of ashes well purified ; they let this mixture boil several hours, and tinge the cloth in the water when cold. *Scodamus*, by them called *Rug*, gives yellow and brown ; and they also obtain a yellow from the *Evonimus*, known there by the name of *Puz-zolina*.

Almost all the Morlack women are skilful in works of embroidery and knitting. Their embroidery is curious, and exactly the same on both sides. They also make a sort of knit, or net-work, that our Italian women cannot imitate, and use it chiefly as a kind of buskin to their slippers and brogues, called *Nazuvka*. They do not want looms to weave their serge and other coarse cloth ; but the women have not much time to apply to these things, their offices among the Morlacchi not admitting of sedentary labours.

In some of their villages, particularly at *Verlika*, they make earthen ware, very coarse indeed, but very durable.

### *Of the Superstition of the Morlacchi.*

THE Morlacks, whether they happen to be of the Roman, or of the Greek church, have very singular ideas about religion ; and the ignorance of their teachers daily augments this monstrous evil. They are as firmly persuaded of the reality of witches, fairies, en-

chantments, nocturnal apparitions and fortileges, as if they had seen a thousand examples of them. Nor do they make the least doubt about the existence of Vampires ; and attribute to them, as in Transylvania, the sucking the blood of infants. Therefore when a man dies suspected of becoming a vampire, or *Vukodlak*, as they call it, they cut his hams, and prick his whole body with pins ; pretending, that after this operation he cannot walk about. There are even instances of Morlacchi, who imagining that they may possibly thirst for children's blood after death, in-treat their heirs, and sometimes oblige them to promise to treat them as vampires when they die.

The boldest Haiduc would fly trembling from the apparition of a spectre, ghost, phantom, or such like goblins as the heated imaginations of credulous and prepossessed people never fail to see. Nor are they ashamed, when ridiculed for this terror, but answer, much in the words of Pindar : " fear that proceeds from spirits, causes even the sons of the gods to fly." The women, as may be naturally supposed, are a hundred times more timorous and visionary than the men ; and some of them, by frequently hearing themselves called witches, actually believe they are so. The old witches are acquainted with many spells ; and one of the most common is to transfer the milk of other people's cows to their own. But they can perform more curious feats than this ; and I know a young man, who had his heart taken out by two witches, while he was fast asleep, in order to be roasted and eat by them. The poor man did not perceive his



loss, as may easily be imagined, till he awoke; but then he began to complain, on feeling the place of his heart void; a begging friar, who lay in the same place, but was not asleep, beheld the whole anatomical operation of the witches, but could not hinder them, because they had charmed him. The charm, however, lost its force, when the young man without the heart awoke; and both wanted to chastise the witches; but they, rubbing themselves with a certain ointment flew away. The friar, went to the hearth, took the heart, then well broiled, and gave it to the young man to eat; which he had no sooner done, than he was perfectly cured, as may reasonably be supposed. The good father told this story, and will tell it often, swearing to the truth of it; and the people dare not suspect that wine had made him see one thing for another, and that the two women, one of whom was not old, had flown away for quite another reason, than for being witches. The enchantresses are called *Ges-rize*; and that the remedy may be at hand, there are others called *Babornize*, equally well skilled in undoing the spells; and to doubt of these two opposite powers, would be worse than infidelity.

A most perfect discord reigns in Morlacchia, as it generally does in other parts, between the Latin and Greek communion, which their respective priests fail not to foment, and tell a thousand little scandalous stories of each other. The churches of the Latins are poor, but not very dirty: those of the Greeks are equally poor, and shamefully ill kept. I have seen the curate of a Morlack village

sitting on the ground in the church-yard, to hear the confession of women on their knees by his side; a strange posture indeed! but a proof of the innocent manners of those good people, who have the most profound veneration for their spiritual pastors, and a total dependance upon them, who, on their part, frequently make use of a discipline rather military, and correct the bodies of their offending flock with the cudgel. Perhaps this particular is carried to an abuse as well as that of publick penance, which they pretend to inflict after the manner of the ancient church. They moreover, through the silly credulity of those poor mountaineers, draw illicit profits, by selling certain superstitious scrolls and other scandalous merchandize of that kind. They write in a capricious manner, on the scrolls called *Zapiz*, sacred names which ought not to be trifled with, and sometimes adding others very improperly joined. The virtues attributed to these *Zapiz* are much of the same nature as those which the Basilians attributed to their monstruously cut stones. The Morlacchi use to carry them sewed to their caps, to cure, or to prevent diseases; and they also tie them for the same purpose to the horns of their oxen. The composers of this trumpery take every method to maintain the credit of their profitable trade, in spite of its absurdity, and the frequent proofs of its inutility. And so great has their success been, that not only the Morlacchi, but even the Turks near the borders, provide themselves plentifully with *Zapiz* from the christian priests, which not a little increases their income,



income, as well as the reputation of the commodity. The Morlacchi have also much devotion, and many of our ignorant people have little less, to certain copper and silver coins of the low empire; or to Venetian cotemporary pieces, which pass among them for medals of St. Helen, and they think they cure the epilepsy and such like. They are equally fond of an Hungarian coin called *petizza*, which has the Virgin and Child on the reverse; and one of these is a most acceptable present to a Morlack.

The bordering Turks not only keep with devotion the superstitious *Zapiz*, but frequently bring presents, and cause masses to be celebrated, to the images of the Virgin; which is doubtless in contradiction to the Alcoran; yet when saluted, in the usual manner in that country, by the name of Jesus, they do not answer. Hence when the Morlacchi, or other travellers, meet them on the confines, they do not say *buaglian Issus*, Jesus be praised; but *buaglian Bog*, God be praised.

*Concerning the Manners of the Morlacchi.*

Innocence, and the natural liberty of pastoral ages, are still preserved among the Morlacchi, or at least, many traces of them remain in the places farthest distant from our settlements. Pure cordiality of sentiment is not there restrained by other regards, and displays itself without any distinction of circumstances. A handsome young Morlack girl, who meets a man of her district, on the

road, kisses him affectionately, without the least malice, or immodest thought; and I have seen all the women and girls, all the young men and old, kissing one another as they came into the church yard on a holiday; so that they looked as if they had been all belonging to one family. I have often observed the same thing on the road, and at the fairs in the maritime towns, where the Morlacchi came to sell their commodities. In times of feasting and merriment, besides the kiss, some other little liberties are taken with the hands, which we would not reckon decent, but are not minded among them; and when they are told of it, they answer, it is only toying and means nothing. From this toying, however, their amours often take their beginning, and frequently end seriously when the two lovers are once agreed. For it very rarely happens, in places far distant from the coast, that a Morlacco carries off a girl against her will, or dishonours her; and were such attempts made, the young woman would, no doubt, be able to defend herself; the women in that country being generally very little less robust than the men. But the custom is for the woman herself to appoint the time and place of being carried off; and she does so in order to extricate herself from other suitors, from whom she may have received some love token, such as a brass ring, a little knife, or such like trifles. The Morlack women keep themselves somewhat neat till they get a husband, but after marriage they abandon themselves totally to a loathsome dirtiness, as if they intended to justify the contempt with which



they are treated. Indeed it cannot be said that even the young women have a grateful odour, as they are used to anoint their hair with butter, which soon becoming rancid, exhales no agreeable effluvia.

*Of the Morlack Women's Dress.*

THE dress of the Morlack women, is different in different parts of the country, but it appears every where strange to an Italian. That of the unmarried women is the most complex and whimsical, in respect to the ornaments of the head; for when married they are not allowed to wear any thing else but a handkerchief, either white or coloured, tied about it. The girls use a scarlet cap, to which they commonly hang a veil falling down on the shoulders, as a mark of their virginity. The better sort adorn their caps with strings of silver coins, among which are frequently seen very ancient and valuable ones; they have moreover earrings of very curious work, and small silver chains with the figures of half moons fastened to the ends of them. But the poor are forced to content themselves with plain caps, or if they have any ornaments, they consist only of small exotic shells, round glass beads, or bits of tin. The principal merit of these caps, which constitute the good taste, as well as vanity of the Morlack young ladies, is to attract and fix the eyes of all who are near them, by the multitude of ornaments, and the noise they make on the least motion of their heads. Hence half moons of silver, or of tin, little chains and hearts, false stones and shells,

together with all kinds of splendid trumpery, are readily admitted into their head dresses. In some districts, they fix tufts of various coloured feathers, resembling two horns on their caps, in others, tremulous plumes of glass; and in others, artificial flowers, which they purchase in the sea port towns; and it must be confessed, that in the variety of those capricious and barbarous ornaments, sometimes a fancy not inelegant is displayed. Their holiday shifts are embroidered with red silk, and sometimes with gold, which they work themselves, while they attend their flocks; and it is surprising to see how nicely this work is executed. Both old and young women wear about their necks large strings of round glass beads of various size and colour; and many rings of brass, tin, or silver on their fingers. Their bracelets are of leather covered with wrought tin, or silver: and they embroider their stomachers, or adorn them with beads or shells. But the use of stays is unknown, nor do they put whalebone or iron in the stomacher. A broad woollen girdle surrounds their petticoat, which is commonly decked with shells and of blue colour, and therefore called *Modrina*. Their gown, as well as petticoat, is of a kind of serge; and both reach near to the ankle; the gown is bordered with scarlet and called *Sadack*. They use no *Modrina* in summer, and only wear the *Sadack* without sleeves over a linen petticoat or shift. The girls always wear red stockings, and their shoes are like those of the men, called *Opanke*. The sole is of undressed ox hide, and the upper part of sheep's skin thongs knotted,



knotted, which they call *Apute*, and these they fasten above the ankles, something like the ancient *Coturnus*.

The unmarried women, even of the richest families, are not permitted to wear any other sort of shoes; though after marriage they may, if they will, lay aside the *Opanke*, and use Turkish slippers. The girls keep their hair tressed under their caps, but when married they let it fall dishevelled on the breast; sometimes they tie it under the chin; and always have medals, beads, or bored coins, in the Tartar or American mode, twisted amongst it. An unmarried woman who falls under the imputation of want of chastity, runs the risk of having her red cap torn off her head publickly in church by the curate, and her hair cut by some relation in token of infamy. Hence, if any of them happen to have fallen into an illicit amour, they commonly of their own accord, lay aside the badge of virginity, and remove into another part of the country.

*Of their Marriages, Pregnancy, and Childbirth.*

NOTHING is more common among the Morlacchi than marriages concluded between the old people of the respective families, especially when the parties live at a great distance, and neither see nor know each other; and the ordinary motive of these alliances is the ambition of being related to a numerous and powerful family, famous for having produced valiant men. The father of the future bridegroom, or some other near relation, of mature age, goes

to ask the young woman, or rather a young woman of such a family, not having, commonly, any determinate choice. Upon this, all the girls of the house are shewn to him, and he chooses which pleases him best, though generally respecting the right of seniority. A denial in such cases is very rare, nor does the father of the maid enquire much into the circumstances of the family that asks her. Sometimes a daughter of the master is given in marriage to the servant, or tenant, as was usual in patriarchal times: so little are the women regarded in this country. On these occasions, however, the Morlacchi girls enjoy a privilege which ours would also wish to have, as in justice they certainly ought. For he who acts by proxy, having obtained his suit, is obliged to go and bring the bridegroom; and if, on seeing each other, the young people are reciprocally content, the marriage is concluded, but not otherwise. In some parts, it is the custom for the bride to go to see the house and family of the proposed husband, before she gives a definitive answer; and, if the place or persons are disagreeable to her, she is at liberty to annul the contract. But, if she is contented, she returns to her father's house, escorted by the bridegroom and nearest relations. There the marriage day is appointed; on which the bridegroom comes to the bride's house, attended by all his friends of greatest note, who, on this occasion, are called *Svati*, and are all armed, and on horseback, in their holiday cloaths, with a peacock's feather in their cap, which is the distinctive ornament used by those who are invited to weddings,



The company go armed to repulse any attack, or ambush, that might be intended to disturb the feast. For, in old times, these encounters were not unfrequent, according to the records of many national heroic songs. In one of these is told the story of *Janco Vojvod* of *Sebigne*, who was cotemporary with the famous *George Castriotrich*, named *Scanderberg*, and betrothed to *Jagna* of *Temeswar*, whose brothers, being not his friends, when he came to conclude the marriage, engaged him in the punctilio of performing certain feats, upon condition, that, if he succeeded, he was to have the bride, and, if not, he was to lose his life. These were, as the song relates; that, he was to pierce an apple stuck on the point of a spear, with his dart, at a certain distance; then he was to spring over nine horses, placed one beside another, at one leap; and lastly, to discover his future spouse, among nine young women, all covered with veils. *Janco*, it seems, was a valiant soldier, but not expert in such trials of skill; however, his nephew undertook them in his place, and no objection was made, as they say, is the custom in a certain island, to hire one to fight for another at a boxing match. The expedient made use of by *Zeculo*, *Janco's* nephew, to know the bride among the other nine young women, was singular, and merits a prolongation of my digression.

He spread his mantle on the ground, threw a handful of gold rings on it, and then gallantly addressed the Ladies as follows; "Lovely maid, who art destined to be *Janco's* wife, do thou pick up these golden rings, and wear them; but if any other dares to touch one of them, I will cut off her arm at a blow." The nine young women were very naturally afraid of the danger, and did not chuse to advance, so *Janco's* bride collected the rings, and thus the nuptial games were finished. When, upon trials of this nature, one of the parties found himself excluded, and another preferred, as he thought unjustly, he commonly had recourse to arms for redress; and much blood was often shed in those combats: and many tombs of the ancient Slavi, are still to be seen in the woods, and desert places of *Morlacchia*, whereon these feuds are engraved in coarse bas-relief\*.

The bride is conducted to a church, veiled, and surrounded by the *Svati* on horseback, and the sacred ceremony is performed amidst the noise of musquets, pistols, barbaric shouts, and acclamations, which continue till she returns to her father's house, or to that of her husband, if not far off. Each of the *Svati* has his particular inspection, as well during the cavalcade, as at the marriage feast, which begins immediately on their return from church. The *Parvi-*

\* Some of these tombs are to be seen, particularly in the wood between *Glubuski* and *Ve goraz*, on the banks of the *Trebesat*; and along the military way, that leads from *Salona* to *Narona*. At *Levrech*, *Gista*, *Mramor*, and between *Soign* and *Imoski*, there are many. There is one isolated at *Der-venich*, in *Primajo*, called *Costagnichia Greb*; and another at *Nakucaz*, which, they say, was erected on the spot where the combat happened.



*nax* precedes all the rest, singing such songs, as he thinks suitable to the occasion. The *Bariaſtar* brandishes a lance with a filken banner fastened to it, and an apple stuck on the point; there are two *Bariaſtars*, and sometimes four, at the more noble marriages. The *Stari-ſvat* is the principal personage of the brigade, and the most respectable relation is commonly invested with this dignity. The *Stacheo*'s duty is to receive and obey the orders of the *Stari-ſvat*. The two *Diveri*, who ought to be the bridegroom's brothers, when he has any, are appointed to serve the bride. The *Knum* corresponds to our sponsors; and the *Komorgia*, or *Sekſana* is deputed to receive, and guard the dowery. A *Ciaous* carries the mace, and attends to the order of the march, as master of the ceremonies; he goes singing aloud, *Breberi*, *Davori*, *Dobraſ-richia*, *Jara*, *Pico*, names of ancient propitious deities. *Buklia* is the cup-bearer of the company, as well on the march, as at table; and all the offices are doubled, and some times tripled, in proportion to the number of the company.

The first day's entertainment is sometimes made at the bride's house, but generally at the bridegroom's, whither the *Svati* hasten immediately after the nuptial benediction; and at the same time, three or four men run on foot to tell the good news; the first who gets to the house has a kind of towel, embroidered at the ends, as a premium. The *Domachin*, or head of the house, comes out to meet his daughter-in-law, and a child is handed to her, before she alights, to caress it; and, if there

happens to be none in the house, the child is borrowed from one of the neighbours. When she alights, she kneels down, and kisses the threshold. Then the mother-in-law, or, in her place, some other female relation, presents a corn sieve, full of different kinds of grain, nuts, almonds, and other small fruit, which the bride scatters upon the *Svati*, by handfuls, behind her back. The bride does not sit at the great table, the first day, but has one apart for herself, the two *Diveri* and the *Stacheo*. The bridegroom sits at table with the *Svati*, but in all that day, consecrated to the matrimonial union, he must neither unloose, nor cut any thing whatever. The *Knum* carves his meat, and cuts his bread. It is the *Domachin*'s business to give the toasts; and the *Stari-ſvat* is the first who pledges him. Generally the *Buk-kara*, a very large wooden cup, goes round, first to the Saint Protector of the family; next to the prosperity of the holy faith; and, sometimes, to a name, the most sublime, and venerable. The most extravagant abundance reigns at these feasts, and each of the *Svati* contributes, by sending a share of provisions. The dinner begins with fruit, and cheese, and the soup comes last, just contrary to our custom. All sorts of domestic, fowls, kid, lamb, and sometimes venison, are heaped in prodigal quantities upon their tables; but very rarely a Morlacco eats veal, and perhaps never, unless he has been persuaded to do it out of his own country. This abhorrence to calves flesh is very ancient among the Morlacci. St. Jerome, against Jo-



vinian\*, takes notice of it; and *Tomeo Marnawich*, a Bosnian writer, who lived in the beginning of the last age, says, that the Dalmatians, uncorrupted by the vices of strangers, abstained from eating calves flesh, as an unclean food, even to his day†. The women relations, if they are invited, never dine at table with the men, it being an established custom for them to dine by themselves. After dinner, they pass the rest of the day in dancing, singing ancient songs, and in games of dexterity, or of wit, and fancy: and in the evening, at a convenient hour after supper, the three ritual healths having first gone round, the *Knum* accompanies the bridegroom to the matrimonial apartment, which commonly is the cellar, or the stable, whither the bride is also conducted by the *Diveri*, and the *Stacheo*; but the three last are obliged to retire, and the *Knum* remains alone with the new married couple. If there happens to be any bed prepared better than straw, he leads them to it, and having untied the bride's girdle, he causes them both to undress each other reciprocally. It is not long since the *Knum* was obliged to undress the bride entirely, but that custom is now out of use; and, instead of it, he has the privilege of kissing her as often as he pleases, wherever he meets her; which privilege may possibly be agreeable for the first months, but must soon become very disgusting. When they are both un-

dressed the *Knum* retires, and stands listening at the door, if there be a door. It is his business to announce the consummation of the marriage, which he does, by discharging a pistol, and is answered by many of the company. The next day, the bride, without her veil, and virginal cap, dines at table with the *Svati*, and is forced to hear the coarse equivocal jests of her indelicate, and sometimes intoxicated company.

These nuptial feasts, called *Sdrave* by the ancient Huns, are by our Morlacchi called *Sdravize*, from whence our Italian word *Stravizzo* is undoubtedly derived. They continue three, six, eight or more days, according to the ability or prodigal disposition of the family where they are held. The new married wife gets no inconsiderable profit in these days of joy. And it usually amounts to much more than all the portion she brings with her, which often consists of nothing but her own cloaths, and perhaps a cow; nay, it happens, sometimes, that the parents, instead of giving money with their daughter, get something from the bridegroom by way of price. The bride carries water every morning, to wash the hands of her guests, as long as the feasting lasts; and each of them throws a small piece of money into the basin, after performing that function, which is a very rare one among them, excepting on such occasions. The brides are also permitted to raise other little contribu-

\* At in nostra Provincia scelus putant vitulos devorare. D. Hier. contra Jovin.

† Ad hanc diem Dalmatæ, quos peregrina vitia non infecere, ab esu vitulorum non secus ac ab immunda esca abhorrent. Jo. Tom. Marn. in op. ined. de Illyrica, Cæsaribusque Illyricis.



tions among the Svati, by hiding their shoes, caps, knives, or some other necessary part of their equipage, which they are obliged to ransom by a piece of money, according as the company rates it. And, besides all these voluntary, or extorted contributions already mentioned, each guest must give some present to the new married wife, at taking leave the last day of the *Sdravize*, and then she also distributes some trifles in return, which commonly consists in shirts, caps, handkerchiefs, and such like.

The nuptial rites are almost precisely the same through all the vast country inhabited by the Morlachi; and those in use among the peasants, and common people of the sea coasts of Dalmatia, Istria, and the islands, differ but little from them. Yet among these particular varieties, there is one of the islands *Zlarine*, near *Sebenico*, remarkable enough; for there, the *Stari-Svat* (who may naturally be supposed drunk at that hour) must, at one blow, with his naked broad sword, strike the bride's crown of flowers off her head, when she is ready to go to bed. And in the island of *Pago*, in the village of *Novoglia*, (probably the *Giffa* of ancient geographers) there is a custom more comical, and less dangerous, but equally savage and brutal. After the marriage contract is settled, and the bridegroom comes to conduct his bride to church; her father, or mother, in delivering her over to him, makes an exaggerated enumeration of her ill qualities; "Know, since thou wilt have her, that she is good for nothing, ill-natured, obstinate, &c." On which the bridegroom, affecting an angry look, turns to

the young woman, with an "Ah! since it is so, I will teach you to behave better;" and at the same time regales her with a blow, or a kick, or some piece of similar gallantry, which is by no means figurative. And it seems in general, that the Morlack women, and perhaps the greatest part of the Dalmatians, the inhabitants of the cities excepted, do not dislike a beating, either from their husbands, or lovers.

In the neighbourhood of *Dernish*, the women are obliged, during the first year after marriage, to kiss all their national acquaintances who come to the house; but after the first year, they are dispensed from that compliment; and indeed, they become so intolerably nasty, that they are no longer fit to practise it. Perhaps the mortifying manner in which they are treated by their husbands, and relations, is at the same time, both the cause and effect of this shameful neglect of their persons. When a Morlack husband mentions his wife, he always premises, by your leave, or begging your pardon. And when the husband has a bedstead, the wife must sleep on the floor near it. I have often lodged in Morlack houses, and observed, that the female sex is universally treated with contempt; it is true, that the women are by no means amiable in that country; they even deform, and spoil the gifts of nature.

The pregnancy and births of those women, would be thought very extraordinary among us, where the ladies suffer so much, notwithstanding all the care and circumspection used before and after labour. On the contrary, a Morlack woman neither changes  
her



her food, nor interrupts her daily fatigue, on account of her pregnancy ; and is frequently delivered in the fields, or on the road, by herself ; and takes the infant, washes it in the first water she finds, carries it home and returns the day after to her usual labour, or to feed her flock. The custom of the nation is invariable in washing the new-born infants in cold water ; and the Morlacchi may justly say of themselves what the ancient inhabitants of Italy did.

*Durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum  
Deferimus sævoque gelu duramus, et undis.*

And it is certain that the cold bath produces not such bad effects on infants, as *Machard* pretends\* ; who condemns the present custom of the Scotch and Irish, as prejudicial to the nerves, and derives the immersions of the ancient Germans from superstition and ignorance.

The little creatures, thus carelessly treated in their tenderest moments, are afterward wrapped in miserable rags, where they remain three or four months, under the same ungentle management ; and when that term is elapsed, they are set at liberty, and left to crawl about the cottage, and before the door, till they learn to walk upright by themselves ; and at the same time acquire that singular degree of strength, and health, with which the Morlacchi are endowed, and are able, without the least inconvenience, to expose their naked breasts to the severest frost and snow. The infants are allowed to suck their mother's milk while she has any, or till she is with child again ; and if that should not hap-

pen for three, four, or six years, they continue all that time to receive nourishment from the breast. The prodigious length of the breasts of the Morlacchian women is somewhat extraordinary ; for it is very certain, that they can give the teat to their children over their shoulders, or under their arms. They let the boys run about, without breeches, in a shirt that reaches only to the knee, till the age of thirteen or fourteen, following the custom of *Bossina*, subject to the *Porte*, where no *Haraz*, or capitation tax is paid for the boys till they wear breeches, they being considered before that time as children, not capable of labouring, or of earning their bread. On the occasion of births, especially of the first, all the relations, and friends send presents of eatables to the woman in childbed, or rather to the woman delivered ; and the family make a supper of all those presents together. The women do not enter the church till forty days after child birth.

The Morlacchi pass their youth in the woods, attending their flocks and herds, and in that life of quiet, and leisure, they often become dexterous in carving with a simple knife ; they make wooden cups, and whistles adorned with fanciful bassreliefs, which are not void of merit, and at least shew the genius of the people.

#### *Of the Food of the Morlacchi.*

MILK coagulated in various ways, is the ordinary nourishment of the Morlacchi ; they sometimes give it an agreeable acid by the

\* *Memoires de la Soc. Oecon. de Berne*, an. 1764, iii. partie.



infusion of vinegar, whereby the curd becomes extremely refreshing; and the whey is their favourite common drink, nor is it at all unpleasant to a stranger's taste. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, their readiest and best dish, is new cheese fried with butter. They are not much accustomed to bread baked after our manner, but they make cakes of millet, barley, Indian corn, and sometimes of wheat, which they bake, or toast on the hearth every day, for present use; but wheaten bread is hardly ever seen in the cottages of the poor. They make a large provision of our cabbages, like those used in Germany; and roots, and all kinds of esculent herbs, which they find in the woods, or in the fields, serve them for a cheap and salutary diet. But garlick and shalots are the food most universally pleasing to that people, next to roast meat, which is their most luxurious dish. I remember to have read somewhere, that *Stilpo*, being reprov'd for going to the temple of Ceres, after having eaten garlick, which was forbid, answered; "give me something better, and I will leave it off." But the Morlacchi would not accept even of that condition; and if they did so, it is more than probable they would repent it: for it is reasonable to think, that the constant use of these plants, corrects in part the bad quality of their water, and contributes to keep them long healthy and robust. Nothing is more common in that country, than to see very old men, strong, active, and lively to an extraordinary degree; and I am in-

clined to think that this is partly owing to the garlick, and their regular vegetable diet. Yet, notwithstanding the large quantity of onions, garlick, and shalots, which the Morlacchi consume, it is wonderful to observe, that in their own vast and rich fields, not one of these articles is produced; and thus they find themselves obliged, year after year, to give away no inconsiderable sum to the people of Ancona, and Rimini, which might so easily be saved. It would certainly be a salutary violence, or rather an act of paternal charity, to force them to cultivate those products, without which they cannot live, and which require so small a degree of industry. It would perhaps be looked upon with derision, if, on this occasion, premiums were offered them to serve themselves; and yet, that is doubtless the best and easiest way of improving agriculture.

A late governor-general of Dalmatia introduced and encouraged the cultivation of hemp in Morlacchia, and it succeeded well; but the public encouragement not continuing, industry also decayed, and now only a small voluntary cultivation goes on, which nevertheless somewhat diminishes the sum required to purchase foreign linen, and maintains a few looms in the country.

Many a *Macrobius* is to be found in Morlacchia, especially on the brows of hills, where the purity of the air joined to frugality, and a laborious life, lengthens out old age without infirmity. Yet I did not find, nor indeed enquire after a *Dandon*\*; though I thought I saw

\* Alex. Cornelius memorat Dandonem Illyricum D. annos vixisse Plin. l. 7 c. 48.



more than one old man who might be compared to the old English Parr; but the Morlacchi are so carelessly ignorant, that they can give no account of their own age, long before they come to that period of their existence.

*Of the Utensils, Cottages, Cloaths, and Arms of the Morlacchi.*

A Morlack in easy circumstances has no other bed than a coarse blanket made of goats hair, and of Turkish manufacture; very few of the richest people in the country have such a piece of luxurious furniture as a bed after our fashion; and there are not many who have so much as a bedstead; which however, when they happen to get made in their rough manner, they sleep in, between two goat hair blankets, without sheets, or any other bedding. The greatest part of the inhabitants content themselves with the bare ground, wrapt in the usual blanket, and only sometimes a little straw under it. But in summer they chuse to sleep in the open air, perhaps to be delivered from the domestic insects. Their household furniture consists of few and simple articles, such as shepherds, and peasants, little advanced in arts, require. Their houses are not often covered with tiles, or slates; and when they have any beams intended to support a second floor, the family's wardrobe is placed on them, and may be imagined well provided where there is so much magnificence; yet the ladies sleep on the floor, even in such noble houses. I have been lodged in one of them, where several of these women were grinding corn till past midnight,

screaming certain diabolical songs, in the same place where I was laid to sleep, and where ten others were stretched on the ground, and actually fast asleep, notwithstanding their frightful vociferation. The Morlacchi, who have little or no correspondence with the sea towns, and are at a great distance from them, have seldom any other houses but cottages covered with straw, or *zimble*; so they call a kind of laths, used instead of tiles. The animals inhabit the same cottage, divided from the masters, by a slight partition made of twigs, and plaistered with clay, and the dung of cattle; the walls of the cottage are either of the same materials, or of large stones laid one upon another, without cement.

The fire-place stands in the middle of the cottage, and the smoke finds its way out of the door, there being rarely any other aperture. Hence every thing within these wretched habitations is varnished with black, and loathsome with smoke; not excepting the milk, which forms a great part of their sustenance, and of which they are very liberal to strangers. Their cloaths, persons, and every thing in short, contract the same smokey smell. The whole family sits round this fire-place, in the cold season; and, when they have supped, lay themselves down to sleep in the same place where they sat at supper; for, in every cottage, they have not even benches to sit, and to lie upon. They burn butter instead of oil, in their lamps; but for the most part they use pieces of cleft fir, in lieu of candles, the smoke of which sometimes tinges their mustaches curiously. A very few rich Morlacchi have houses in the  
Turkish



Turkish fashion, with stools, and some few of our moveables; but in general, the richest of them live but a savage kind of life. Although they have no idea of cleanliness in their habitations, yet, in one respect, they are nicer than we are; nor do they fail to reproach us on that account, and call us barbarous and beastly: and it is a real fact, that no man, nor woman of that nation, let the disorder be ever so severe, or painful, was ever known to ease nature within the cottage; even dying persons are carried out to perform that operation in the open air; and if a stranger should through ignorance, or contempt, pollute their house in that manner, he would scarcely escape with his life, and certainly not without very ill treatment.

A Morlacco cloaths himself with great plainness and œconomy. The *Opanke* serve for shoes, both to men and women, and under them they wear a kind of short woollen stocking, called *Navlabaza*, which reaches above the ankle, and joins to the breeches, whereby all the leg is covered. The breeches are of coarse white serge, and they draw them tight about their waist, like a purse, by means of a woollen string. Their shirt is very short, and over it they wear a short doublet, which they call *Jacerma*, and in winter they add a kind of short cloak, made of very coarse red cloth, and call it *Kabaniza*, or *Japungia*. On their head they wear a red cloth cap, and above it, a sort of cylindrical turban called *Kalpak*. They shave their heads, leaving only a small tuft behind, like the Poles and Tartars. They bind their loins with a strong reticular fillet of woollen yarn, and some-

times of silk: and in this fillet, or bandage, and their breeches, they carry all their necessary implements: such as, one or two pistols stuck in behind, and before, a very large knife, which they call *Hanzar*, with the handle of brass, set round with false stones. This knife is often made fast to a light brass chain rolled about the bandage; and near it is placed a horn, with grease for their arms, or for themselves. Next follows a little bag with their tinder box, and money, if they have any; and then their tobacco in a dried bladder. The tobacco pipe is placed behind, the reed stuck in below their shirt, and the bowl appears without. No Morlacco ever goes out of doors without his gun upon his shoulder.

The chiefs of the nation, however, are better dressed.

*Of their Musick and Poetry, Dances and Diversions.*

THE Morlacchi have their rustick assemblies, especially in houses where there are several young women; and in these the memory of ancient national stories is perpetuated. A musician always attends these meetings, and sings the old *pisme* or songs, accompanying them with an instrument called *guzla*, which has but one string, composed by many horse-hairs. The tune to which these heroic songs are sung, is extremely mournful, and monotonous; besides, they bring the sound a little through the nose, which agrees perfectly well with their instrument; the verses of the most ancient traditional songs are of ten syllables, not rhimed. Their poetry



try does not want strength of expression, but the smallest ray of imagination rarely appears in it, and the little that is attempted is seldom happy. Yet those songs have a great effect on the minds of the hearers, who are at pains to get them by heart; and I have seen some of them sigh, and weep at a passage, which did not appear to me the least moving. Perhaps the force of the Illyric words, better understood by the Morlacchi, might produce this effect; and perhaps, as seems to me more probable, their artless minds, little stored with ideas, might more readily be affected with any turn of expression that appeared to them extraordinary. That kind of simplicity, and want of order, which are frequently seen in the ancient Provençal Romancers, form, in general, the principal character of the Morlacchian poetry. Yet they have some pieces not deficient in point of order; only, whoever reads, or hears them, must be contented to supply the want of detail, and precision, which the Morlacchi neglect, and which are carefully attended to by the civilized nations of Europe, in all compositions, whether in prose or verse. I could find none of their songs, of well authenticated date, before the fourteenth century; and I fear the reason is analogous to that, by which we lost so many Greek and Latin books, in the times of religious barbarism. I suspect, nevertheless, that something more ancient might be found, further within the country, among the *Merediti*, and the inhabitants of the Clementine mountains, who lead a pastoral life, separated entirely from the commerce of other nations. But, who

can flatter himself to be able to penetrate with safety among those unsociable, and savage tribes? I confess, I should like such a journey, and want not courage to attempt it: not only with the view of discovering ancient pieces of poetry, but to become acquainted with the natural history of those countries, hitherto undescribed and unknown; and also with a view to discover some rare Greek, or Roman antiquities: but too many things are wanting to put such a project in execution.

I have translated several heroic songs of the Morlacchi, and some of them appear to me both well conducted and interesting; but I very readily allow, that they cannot be put in competition with the poems of the celebrated Scotch bard which we have lately had the pleasure of seeing translated into our language, with true poetical spirit, by the *Abbé Cesarotti*, and republished in a more complete form, through the generous bounty of a noble countryman of the bard, who patronizes learning in all parts of Europe. Yet the Morlack poetry is not destitute of merit; and has, at least, the simplicity of Homer's times, and serves to illustrate the manners of the nation. The Illyrian language is also well adapted to poetry, and music; being harmonious and abounding with vowels; and yet it is almost totally abandoned, even by the civilized nations who speak it. Ovid, when he lived among the *Slavi* on the Black Sea, condescended to exercise his poetical talent, by writing verses in their language, and gained applause from those savages; but his Roman pride returning, he was ashamed of having profaned the Latin



Latin harmony \*. The city of *Ragusi* has produced many elegant poets, and some poetesses in the Illyrian tongue; and among them *Giovanni Gondola* is much celebrated; nor were the other cities, and islands of Dalmatia without their poets; but the many Italianisms now introduced into their dialects have corrupted the ancient simplicity of the language. Even the dialect of the Morlacchi is become equally barbarous, and full of foreign words, and phrases, as I am informed by those who have a perfect knowledge of the language, and particularly by *Matteo Sovich* Archdeacon of *Offero*, the most learned man of that country. Yet, I confess, that the Bosnian dialect, spoken by the inland Morlacchi, is more harmonious, in my opinion, than the littoral Illyrian; but I hope not to incur the displeasure of the maritime Dalmatians by this declaration, as I do not pretend to be a competent judge of the matter.—Let us, if you please, return to the songs.

A Morlacco travels along the desert mountains singing, especially in the night time, the actions of ancient *Slavi* kings, and barons, or some tragic event; and if another happens to be travelling on a neighbouring mountain, he repeats the same verse, when the other has sung it, and this alternation continues, as long as they can hear each other. A loud, and long howl, which is an *oh!* barbarously modulated, constantly precedes the verse,

the words of which are pronounced rapidly, almost without any modulation, which is all reserved for the last syllable, and ends with another long howl, by way of trill, raised louder and louder, while the breath lasts.

Although the Morlacchi usually sing their ancient songs, yet other poetry is not altogether extinguished among them; and their musicians, after singing an ancient piece, accompanied with the *guzla*, sometimes finish it with some extempore verses, in praise of the personage by whom they are employed; and some of them are capable of singing extempore during the whole entertainment; always accompanying the voice with the *guzla*. There is also some written poetry among them, when the memory of a signal event happens to be preserved in that manner. The whistle, or flagelet, and a kind of pastoral bagpipe, are the common musical instruments among the Morlacchi. These traditional songs contribute much to maintain the ancient customs; hence their rites, games, and dances, are derived from very remote originals.

Their games and diversions almost all consist in trials of strength, or agility; such, as, leaping, running, or flinging a large heavy stone. They dance to the sound of the bag-pipe, and the voices of their singers, a favourite dance, which they call *kolo*, or circle, which soon turns into *skocci-gosi*, that is, high dancing. All the dancers, men,

\* Ah! pudet, et Getico scripsi sermone libellum,  
Structaque sunt nostris barbara verba modis.  
Et placui (gratare mihi) cepique Poetæ  
Inter homanos nomen habere Getas.

De Pont. iv. Ep. 13.



and women, taking hold of each other's hands, form a circle, and turn slowly round, to the harsh notes of the instrument. Then the circle changes its form, sometimes into an ellipsis, and sometimes a square, according as the dance becomes more animated; and, at last, transforms itself into the most violent springs and leaps, in which the women also join, and the whole becomes wild confusion. The Morlacchi have an incredible transport for this rude dance, for neither the fatigues of the day, nor a long journey, nor hunger itself, can detain them from it, or from continuing several hours, with very little intermission, in such a violent exercise.

*On the medical Art among the Morlacchi.*

IT happens frequently enough, that inflammatory fevers are the immediate consequences of these violent dances just mentioned; in which case, and in all others of the like nature, the Morlacchi do not apply to the physician, because, happily for them, there is none of that profession among them, but cure themselves, after their own way. A large draught of a spirituous liquor, which they call *rakia*, is commonly their first medicinal potion; and if that does not effectuate the cure, they repeat the dose, together with a large infusion of pepper, or gun-powder. After this, they cover themselves up, in winter; or lie down in the hottest rays of the sun, if in summer, to sweat the illness, as they express it. Their cure for agues is more me-

thodical; the first and second day, they take a glass of wine, in which as much pepper as they can take up between their finger and thumb, has been infused for several hours; and the third and fourth day, the dose is doubled; and I have actually seen more than one Morlacco perfectly cured by this strange febrifuge. Their remedy for obstructions is to lay a large flat stone on the sick person's belly; and for rheumatisms, they use a most violent friction, which, at least, renders the patient's back quite livid, and sometimes strips off the skin. Sometimes, they apply a red-hot stone, wrapt in wet rags, for rheumatic pains; and they use to drink a great quantity of vinegar, to recover their appetite, after a long series of fevers. But the last remedy of all, which is taken only in desperate cases, is sugar, when they can find any; and they put it into the mouths of dying persons, to make them pass into the other world with less bitterness. *Criptamus* and *Chamæphtis* are used for articular pains, and they frequently apply horse leeches to the swelled, or aching parts. They apply a red ochrous earth, frequently found in the fields, as the best remedy for excoriations, or wounds; and the same use is made of it in some parts of Bohemia and Misnia, where that earth abounds\*. *Griselius*, who takes notice of this practice, has tried the experiment often with success upon himself; as I have also done in Dalmatia. The Morlacchi are very dexterous in setting dislocated, or broken bones, without having studied osteology like our surgeons, who, notwithstand-

\* Suppl. Aët. Nat. Curios. Dec. 1. an. 2. Obs. 78.



ing, lame us frequently, by the rules of art. They perform phlebotomy with an instrument like that used for horses, and yet there is no example of any bad accident happening by that coarse operation.

*Funerals of the Morlacchi.*

THE family weeps and howls over the dead, while they lie in the house, and when they are carried out to be buried, much in the same manner as with us. But the Morlacchi have several customs peculiar to themselves, on these occasions; such as, whispering in the ear of the dead person, and giving express commissions for the other world. After this ceremony is finished, the body is covered with a white cloth, and carried to church, where the lamentations begin anew, and the praises of the deceased are sung, by the relations, or others appointed for that purpose, weeping. After the corpse is buried, the whole company, together with the curate, returns to the house, where there is a strange mixture of feasting, and lamentation. The men let their beards grow a long time, in sign of mourning; a custom derived from the Jews, as is that of unleavened bread, purifications, and several others. Violet or blue-coloured caps are also the mark of mourning. The women wear black or blue handkerchiefs, and cover all the red of their garments with something black. During the first year, the Morlack women go every holiday to renew their lamentations, strewing flowers and sweet herbs upon the grave; and if necessarily detained from that visit,

they next time make a formal excuse to the dead, giving a minute account of the cause of their neglect. They also ask news about the other world, and propose many curious interrogations. All these ceremonies are sung in a kind of verse in a doleful tone, and sometimes the girls accompany the women in order to learn these funeral arts, and form a concert truly dismal.

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*Of the Manner of making War amongst the Indians of North America. From Carver's Travels.*

THE Indians begin to bear arms at the age of fifteen, and lay them aside when they arrive at the age of sixty. Some nations to the southward, I have been informed, do not continue their military exercises after they are fifty.

In every band or nation there is a select number who are stiled the warriors, and who are always ready to act either offensively or defensively, as occasion requires. These are well armed, bearing the weapons commonly in use among them, which vary according to the situation of their countries. Such as have an intercourse with the Europeans make use of tomahawks, knives, and fire-arms; but those whose dwellings are situated to the westward of the Mississippi, and who have not an opportunity of purchasing these kinds of weapons, use bows and arrows, and also the *Cassé Tête* or war-club.

The Indians that inhabit still farther to the westward, a country which extends to the South Sea,



use in fight a warlike instrument that is very uncommon. Having great plenty of horses, they always attack their enemies on horseback, and encumber themselves with no other weapon, than a stone of a middling size, curiously wrought, which they fasten by a string, about a yard and half long, to their right arms, a little above the elbow. These stones they conveniently carry in their hands till they reach their enemies, and then swinging them with great dexterity, as they ride full speed, never fail of doing execution. The country which these tribes possess abounding with large extensive plains, those who attack them seldom return; as the swiftness of the horses on which they are mounted enables them to overtake even the fleetest of their invaders.

The Naudowessies, who had been at war with this people, informed me, that unless they found morasses or thickets to which they could retire, they were sure of being cut off: to prevent this they always took care, whenever they made an onset, to do it near such retreats as were impassable for cavalry, they then having a great advantage over their enemies, whose weapons would not there reach them.

Some nations make use of a javelin pointed with bone worked into different forms; but their Indian weapons in general are bows and arrows, and the short club already mentioned. The latter is made of a very hard wood, and the head of it fashioned round like a ball, about three inches and a half diameter; in this rotund part is fixed an edge resembling that of

a tomahawk, either of steel or flint, whichever they can procure.

The dagger is peculiar to the Naudowesse nation, and of ancient construction, but they can give no account how long it has been in use among them. It was originally made of flint or bone, but since they have had communication with the European traders, they have formed it of steel. The length of it is about ten inches, and that part close to the handle nearly three inches broad. Its edges are keen, and it gradually tapers towards a point. They wear it in a sheath made of deers leather, neatly ornamented with porcupines quills; and it is usually hung by a string, decorated in the same manner, which reaches as low only as the breast. This curious weapon is worn by a few of the principal chiefs alone, and considered both as a useful instrument, and an ornamental badge of superiority.

I observed among the Naudowessies a few targets or shields made of raw buffalo hides, and in the form of those used by the ancients. But as the number of these was small, and I could gain no intelligence of the æra in which they first were introduced among them, I suppose those I saw had descended from father to son for many generations.

The reasons the Indians give for making war against one another, are much the same as those urged by more civilized nations for disturbing the tranquillity of their neighbours. The pleas of the former are however in general more rational and just, than such as are brought



brought by Europeans in vindication of their proceedings.

The extension of empire is seldom a motive with these people to invade, and to commit depredations on the territories of those who happen to dwell near them. To secure the rights of hunting within particular limits, to maintain the liberty of passing through their accustomed tracks, and to guard those lands which they consider from a long tenure as their own, against any infringement, are the general causes of those dissensions that so often break out between the Indian nations, and which are carried on with so much animosity. Though strangers to the idea of separate property, yet the most uncultivated among them are well acquainted with the rights of their community to the domains they possess, and oppose with vigour every encroachment on them.

Notwithstanding it is generally supposed that from their territories being so extensive, the boundaries of them cannot be ascertained, yet I am well assured that the limits of each nation in the interior parts are laid down in their rude plans with great precision. By theirs, as I have before observed, was I enabled to regulate my own; and after the most exact observations and enquiries, found very few instances in which they erred.

But interest is not either the most frequent or most powerful incentive to their making war on each other. The passion of revenge, which is the distinguishing characteristic of these people, is the most general motive. Injuries are felt by them with exquisite sensibility, and vengeance pursued with unremitted ardour. To

this may be added, that natural excitation which every Indian becomes sensible of as soon as he approaches the age of manhood, to give proofs of his valour and prowess.

As they are early possessed with a notion that war ought to be the chief business of their lives, that there is nothing more desirous than the reputation of being a great warrior, and that the scalps of their enemies or a number of prisoners are alone to be esteemed valuable, it is not to be wondered at that the younger Indians are continually restless and uneasy if their ardour is repressed, and they are kept in a state of inactivity. Either of these propensities, the desire of revenge, or the gratification of an impulse that by degrees becomes habitual to them, is sufficient, frequently, to induce them to commit hostilities on some of the neighbouring nations.

When the chiefs find any occasion for making war, they endeavour to arouse these habitudes, and by that means soon excite their warriors to take arms. To this purpose they make use of their martial eloquence nearly in the following words, which never fails of proving effectual: "The bones of our deceased countrymen lie uncovered, they call out to us to revenge their wrongs, and we must satisfy their request. Their spirits cry out against us, they must be appeased. The genii, who are the guardians of our honour, inspire us with a resolution to seek the enemies of our murdered brothers. Let us go and devour those by whom they were slain. Sit therefore no longer inactive, give way to the impulse of your natural valour,



valour, anoint your hair, paint your faces, fill your quivers, cause the forests to resound with your songs, console the spirits of the dead, and tell them they shall be revenged."

Animated by these exhortations the warriors snatch their arms in a transport of fury, sing the song of war, and burn with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies.

Sometimes private chiefs assemble small parties, and make excursions against those with whom they are at war, or such as have injured them. A single warrior, prompted by revenge, or a desire to show his prowess, will march unattended for several hundred miles, to surprize and cut off a straggling party.

These irregular sallies, however, are not always approved of by the elder chiefs, though they are often obliged to connive at them; as in the instance before given of the Naudowessie and Chipéway nations.

But when a war is national, and undertaken by the community, their deliberations are formal and slow. The elders assemble in council, to which all the head warriors and young men are admitted, where they deliver their opinions in solemn speeches, weighing with maturity the nature of the enterprize they are about to engage in, and balancing with great sagacity the advantages or inconveniencies that will arise from it.

Their priests are also consulted on the subject, and even, sometimes, the advice of the most intelligent of their women is asked.

If the determination be for war, they prepare for it with much ceremony.

The chief warrior of a nation does not on all occasions head the war party himself, he frequently deutes a warrior of whose valour and prudence he has a good opinion. The person thus fixed on being first bedawbed with black, observes a fast of several days, during which he invokes the Great Spirit, or deprecates the anger of the evil ones, holding whilst it lasts no converse with any of his tribe.

He is particularly careful at the same time to observe his dreams, for on these do they suppose their success will in a great measure depend; and from the firm persuasion, every Indian actuated by his own presumptuous thoughts is impressed with, that he shall march forth to certain victory, these are generally favourable to his wishes.

After he has fasted as long as custom prescribes, he assembles the warriors, and holding a belt of wampum in his hand thus addresses them :

" Brothers! by the inspiration of the Great Spirit I now speak unto you, and by him am I prompted to carry into execution the intentions which I am about to disclose to you. The blood of our deceased brothers is not yet wiped away; their bodies are not yet covered, and I am going to perform this duty to them."

Having then made known to them all the motives that induce him to take up arms against the nation with whom they are to engage, he thus proceeds: " I have therefore resolved to march through the



the war-path to surprize them. We will eat their flesh and drink their blood; we will take scalps, and make prisoners; and should we perish in this glorious enterprize, we shall not be for ever hid in the dust, for this belt shall be a recompence to him who buries the dead." Having said this, he lays the belt on the ground, and he who takes it up declares himself his lieutenant, and is considered as the second in command; this, however, is only done by some distinguished warrior who has a right, by the number of his scalps, to the post.

Though the Indians thus assert that they will eat the flesh and drink the blood of their enemies, the threat is only to be considered as a figurative expression. Notwithstanding they sometimes devour the hearts of those they slay, and drink their blood, by way of bravado, or to gratify in a more complete manner their revenge, yet they are not naturally anthropophagi, nor ever feed on the flesh of men.

The chief is now washed from his sable covering, anointed with bears fat, and painted, with their red paint, in such figures as will make him appear most terrible to his enemies. He then sings the war-song, and enumerates his war-like actions. Having done this, he fixes his eyes on the sun, and pays his adorations to the Great Spirit, in which he is accompanied by all the warriors.

This ceremony is followed with dances, such as I have before described; and the whole concludes with a feast which usually consists of dogs flesh.

This feast is held in the hut or tent of the chief warrior, to which all those who intend to accompany him in his expedition send their dishes to be filled; and during the feast, notwithstanding he has fasted so long, he sits composedly with his pipe in his mouth, and recounts the valorous deeds of his family.

As the hopes of having their wounds, should they receive any, properly treated, and expeditiously cured, must be some additional inducement to the warriors to expose themselves more freely to danger, the priests, who also are their doctors, prepare such medicines as will prove efficacious. With great ceremony they collect various roots and plants, and pretend that they impart to them the power of healing.

Notwithstanding this superstitious method of proceeding, it is very certain that they have acquired a knowledge of many plants and herbs that are of a medicinal quality, and which they know how to use with great skill.

From the time the resolution of engaging in a war is taken, to the departure of the warriors, the nights are spent in festivity, and their days in making the needful preparations.

If it is thought necessary by the nation going to war, to solicit the alliance of any neighbouring tribe, they fix upon one of their chiefs who speaks the language of that people well, and who is a good orator, and send to them by him a belt of wampum, on which is specified the purport of the embassy, in figures that every nation is well acquainted with. At the same



time he carries with him a hatchet painted red.

As soon as he reaches the camp or village to which he is destined, he acquaints the chief of the tribe with the general tenor of his commission, who immediately assembles a council, to which the ambassador is invited. There having laid the hatchet on the ground, he holds the belt in his hand, and enters more minutely into the occasion of his embassy. In his speech he invites them to take up the hatchet, and as soon as he has finished speaking delivers the belt.

If his hearers are inclined to become auxiliaries to his nation, a chief steps forward and takes up the hatchet, and they immediately espouse with spirit the cause they have thus engaged to support. But if on this application neither the belt or hatchet are accepted, the emissary concludes that the people whose assistance he solicits have already entered into an alliance with the foes of his nation, and returns with speed to inform his countrymen of his ill-success.

The manner in which the Indians declare war against each other, is by sending a slave with a hatchet, the handle of which is painted red, to the nation which they intend to break with; and the messenger, notwithstanding the danger to which he is exposed from the sudden fury of those whom he thus sets at defiance, executes his commission with great fidelity.

Sometimes this token of defiance has such an instantaneous effect on those to whom it is presented, that in the first transports of their fury a small party will issue forth without waiting for

the permission of the elder chiefs, and slaying the first of the offending nation they meet, cut open the body, and stick a hatchet of the same kind as that they have just received into the heart of their slaughtered foe. Among the more remote tribes this is done with an arrow or spear, the end of which is painted red. And the more to exasperate, they dismember the body, to show that they esteem them not as men but as old women.

The Indians seldom take the field in large bodies, as such numbers would require a greater degree of industry to provide for their subsistence, during their tedious marches through dreary forests, or long voyages over lakes and rivers, than they would care to bestow.

Their armies are never encumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his weapons, carries with him only a mat, and whilst at a distance from the frontiers of the enemy supports himself with the game he kills or the fish he catches.

When they pass through a country where they have no apprehensions of meeting with an enemy, they use very little precaution: sometimes there are scarcely a dozen warriors left together, the rest being dispersed in pursuit of their game; but though they should have roved to a very considerable distance from the war-path, they are sure to arrive at the place of rendezvous by the hour appointed.

They always pitch their tents long before sun-set; and being naturally presumptuous take very little care to guard against a surprise. They place great confidence



dence in their Manitous, or household gods, which they always carry with them; and being persuaded that they take upon them the office of centinels, they sleep very securely under their protection.

These Manitous, as they are called by some nations, but which are termed Wakon, that is, spirits, by the Naudowessies, are nothing more than the otter and martins skins I have already described, for which, however, they have a great veneration.

After they have entered the enemies country, no people can be more cautious and circumspect: fires are no longer lighted, no more shouting is heard, nor the game any longer pursued. They are not even permitted to speak; but must convey whatever they have to impart to each other by signs and motions.

They now proceed wholly by stratagem and ambuscade. Having discovered their enemies, they send to reconnoitre them; and a council is immediately held, during which they speak only in whispers, to consider of the intelligence imparted by those who were sent out.

The attack is generally made just before day-break, at which period they suppose their foes to be in the soundest sleep. Throughout the whole of the preceding night they will lie flat upon their faces, without stirring; and make their approaches in the same posture, creeping upon their hands and feet till they are got within bow-shot of those they have destined to destruction. On a signal given by the chief warrior, to which the whole body makes answer by the most

hideous yells, they all start up, and discharging their arrows in the same instant, without giving their adversaries time to recover from the confusion into which they are thrown, pour in upon them with their war-clubs or tomahawks.

The Indians think there is little glory to be acquired from attacking their enemies openly in the field; their greatest pride is to surprize and destroy. They seldom engage without a manifest appearance of advantage. If they find the enemy on their guard, too strongly entrenched, or superior in numbers, they retire, provided there is an opportunity of doing so. And they esteem it the greatest qualification of a chief warrior, to be able to manage an attack, so as to destroy as many of the enemy as possible, at the expence of a few men.

Sometimes they secure themselves behind trees, hillocks, or stones, and having given one or two rounds retire before they are discovered. Europeans who are unacquainted with this method of fighting too often find to their cost the destructive efficacy of it.

General Braddock was one of this unhappy number. Marching, in the year 1755, to attack Fort Du Quesne, he was intercepted by a party of confederate Indians in the interest of the French, who by this insidious method of engaging found means to defeat his army, which consisted of about three thousand brave and well-disciplined troops. So securely were the Indians posted, that the English scarcely knew from whence or by whom they were thus annoyed. During the whole of the engagement the latter had scarcely a sight



of an enemy; and were obliged to retreat without the satisfaction of being able to take the least degree of revenge for the havock made among them. The General paid for his temerity with his life, and was accompanied in his fall by a great number of brave fellows; whilst his invisible enemies had only two or three of their number wounded.

When the Indians succeed in their silent approaches, and are able to force the camp which they attack, a scene of horror, that exceeds description, ensues. The savage fierceness of the conquerors, and the desperation of the conquered, who well know what they have to expect should they fall alive into the hands of their assailants, occasion the most extraordinary exertions on both sides. The figure of the combatants, all besmeared with black and red paint, and covered with the blood of the slain, their horrid yells, and ungovernable fury, are not to be conceived by those who have never crossed the Atlantic.

I have frequently been a spectator of them, and once bore a part in a similar scene. But what added to the horror of it, was, that I had not the consolation of being able to oppose these savage attacks. Every circumstance of the adventure still dwells on my remembrance, and enables me to describe with greater perspicuity the brutal fierceness of the Indians when they have surprized or overpowered an enemy.

As a detail of the massacre at Fort William Henry, in the year 1757, the scene to which I refer, cannot appear foreign to the design of this publication, but will

serve to give my readers a just idea of the ferocity of this people, I shall take the liberty to insert it, apologizing at the same time for the length of the digression, and those egotisms which the relation renders unavoidable.

General Webb, who commanded the English army in North America, which was then encamped at Fort Edward, having intelligence that the French troops under Mons. Montcalm were making some movements towards Fort William Henry, he detached a corps of about fifteen hundred men, consisting of English and Provincials, to strengthen the garrison. In this party I went as a volunteer among the latter.

The apprehensions of the English general were not without foundation; for the day after our arrival we saw Lake George (formerly Lake Sacrament) to which it lies contiguous, covered with an immense number of boats; and in a few hours we found our lines attacked by the French general, who had just landed with eleven thousand Regulars and Canadians, and two thousand Indians. Colonel Monro, a brave officer, commanded in the fort, and had no more than two thousand three hundred men with him, our detachment included.

With these he made a gallant defence, and probably would have been able at last to preserve the fort, had he been properly supported, and permitted to continue his efforts. On every summons to surrender sent by the French general, who offered the most honourable terms, his answer repeatedly was, That he yet found himself in a condition to repel the  
most



most vigorous attacks his besiegers were able to make; and if he thought his present force insufficient, he could soon be supplied with a greater number from the adjacent army.

But the colonel having acquainted General Webb with his situation, and desired he would send him some fresh troops, the general dispatched a messenger to him with a letter, wherein he informed him that it was not in his power to assist him, and therefore gave him orders to surrender up the fort on the best terms he could procure. This packet fell into the hands of the French general, who immediately sent a flag of truce, desiring a conference with the governor.

They accordingly met, attended only by a small guard, in the centre between the lines; when Mons. Montcalm told the colonel, that he was come in person to demand possession of the fort, as it belonged to the king his master. The colonel replied, that he knew not how that could be, nor should he surrender it up whilst it was in his power to defend it.

The French general rejoined, at the same time delivering the packet into the colonel's hand, "By this authority do I make the requisition." The brave governor had no sooner read the contents of it, and was convinced that such were the orders of the commander in chief, and not to be disobeyed, than he hung his head in silence, and reluctantly entered into a negotiation.

In consideration of the gallant defence the garrison had made, they were to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war,

to be allowed covered waggons to transport their baggage to fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the savages.

The morning after the capitulation was signed, as soon as day broke, the whole garrison, now consisting of about two thousand men, besides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about, and began to plunder. We were at first in hopes that this was their only view, and suffered them to proceed without opposition. Indeed it was not in our power to make any, had we been so inclined; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a single round of ammunition. In these hopes however we were disappointed; for presently some of them began to attack the sick and wounded, when such as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithstanding they endeavoured to avert the fury of their enemies by their shrieks or groans, were soon dispatched.

Here we were fully in expectation the disturbance would have concluded; and our little army began to move; but in a short time we saw the front division driven back, and discovered that we were entirely encircled by the savages. We expected every moment that the guard, which the French, by the articles of capitulation, had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehensions; but none appeared. The Indians now began to strip every one without exception, of their arms and cloaths, and those who made the  
least



least resistance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

I happened to be in the rear division, but it was not long before I shared the fate of my companions. Three or four of the savages laid hold of me, and whilst some held their weapons over my head, the others soon disrobed me of my coat, waistcoat, hat, and buckles, omitting not to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was transacted close by the passage that led from the lines on to the plain near which a French centinel was posted, I ran to him, and claimed his protection; but he only called me an English dog, and thrust me with violence back again into the midst of the Indians.

I now endeavoured to join a body of our troops that were crowded together at some distance; but innumerable were the blows that were made at me with different weapons as I passed on; luckily however the savages were so close together, that they could not strike at me without endangering each other. Notwithstanding which one of them found means to make a thrust at me with a spear, which grazed my side, and from another I received a wound, with the same kind of weapon, in my ankle. At length I gained the spot where my countrymen stood, and forced myself into the midst of them. But before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and wristbands of my shirt were all that remained of it, and my flesh was scratched and torn in many places by their savage gripes.

By this time the war-hoop was given, and the Indians began to

murder those that were nearest to them without distinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid scene that now ensued; men, women, and children were dispatched in the most wanton and cruel manner, and immediately scalped. Many of these savages drank the blood of their victims, as it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had so lately signed, to allow us a sufficient force to protect us from these insults, they tacitly permitted them; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at some distance, discoursing together with apparent unconcern. For the honour of human nature I would hope that this flagrant breach of every sacred law proceeded rather from the savage disposition of the Indians; which I acknowledge it is sometimes almost impossible to controul, and which might now unexpectedly have arrived to a pitch not easily to be restrained, than to any premeditated design in the French commander. An unprejudiced observer would, however, be apt to conclude, that a body of ten thousand christian troops, most christian troops, had it in their power to prevent the massacre from becoming so general. But whatever was the cause from which it arose, the consequences of it were dreadful, and not to be paralleled in modern history.

As the circle in which I stood inclosed by this time was much thinned, and death seemed to be approaching with hasty strides, it was proposed



proposed by some of the most resolute to make one vigorous effort, and endeavour to force our way through the savages, the only probable method of preserving our lives that now remained. This, however desperate, was resolved on, and about twenty of us sprung at once into the midst of them.

In a moment we were all separated, and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till some months after, when I found that only six or seven of them effected their design. Intent only on my own hazardous situation, I endeavoured to make my way through my savage enemies in the best manner possible. And I have often been astonished since, when I have recollected with what composure I took, as I did, every necessary step for my preservation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic, and others I passed by, dextrously avoiding their weapons; till at last two very stout chiefs, of the most savage tribes, as I could distinguish by their dress, whose strength I could not resist, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

I now resigned myself to my fate, not doubting but that they intended to dispatch me, and then to satiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired swamp that lay at some distance. But before we had got many yards, an English gentleman of some distinction, as I could discover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine scarlet velvet, rushed close by us. One of the Indians instantly relinquished his hold, and springing on this

new object, endeavoured to seize him as his prey; but the gentleman being strong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he who held my other arm, quitted me to assist his brother. I seized the opportunity, and hastened away to join another party of English troops that were yet unbroken, and stood in a body at some distance. But before I had taken many steps, I hastily cast my eye towards the gentleman, and saw the Indian's tomahawk gash into his back, and heard him utter his last groan; this added both to my speed and desperation.

I had left this shocking scene but a few yards, when a fine boy about twelve years of age, that had hitherto escaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, so that he might stand some chance of getting out of the hands of the savages. I told him that I would give him every assistance in my power, and to this purpose bid him lay hold; but in a few moments he was torn from my side, and by his shrieks, I judge was soon demolished. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute, to lament the fate of so young a sufferer; but it was utterly impossible for me to take any methods to prevent it.

I now got once more into the midst of friends, but we were unable to afford each other any succour. As this was the division that had advanced the furthest from the fort, I thought there might be a possibility (though but a very bare one) of my forcing a way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighbouring wood, which



which I perceived at some distance. I was still encouraged to hope by the almost miraculous preservation I had already experienced.

Nor were my hopes vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to say that I reached the wood, but by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was so exhausted that I threw myself into a brake, and lay for some minutes apparently at the last gasp. At length I recovered the power of respiration, but my apprehensions returned with all their former force, when I saw several savages pass by, probably in pursuit of me, at no very great distance. In this situation I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavour to conceal myself where I lay, till night came on; fearing, however, that they would return the same way, I thought it most prudent to get farther from the dreadful scene of my past distresses. Accordingly, striking into another part of the wood, I hastened on as fast as the briars and the loss of one of my shoes would permit me; and after a slow progress of some hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had just left, from whence I could discern that the bloody storm still raged with unabated fury.

But not to tire my readers, I shall only add, that after passing three days without subsistence, and enduring the severity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached Fort Edward; where with proper care my body soon recovered its wonted strength, and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its usual composure.

It was computed that fifteen hundred persons were killed or made prisoners by these savages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them and never returned. A few, through favourable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and severe captivity.

The brave Colonel Monro had hastened away, soon after the confusion began, to the French camp, to endeavour to procure the guard agreed by the stipulation; but his application proving ineffectual, he remained there till General Webb sent a party of troops to demand and protect him back to Fort Edward. But these unhappy occurrences, which would probably have been prevented, had he been left to pursue his own plans, together with the loss of so many brave fellows, murdered in cold blood, to whose valour he had been so lately a witness, made such an impression on his mind, that he did not long survive. He died in about three months of a broken heart, and with truth might it be said, that he was an honour to his country.

I mean not to point out the following circumstance as the immediate judgment of Heaven, and intended as an atonement for this slaughter, but I cannot omit that very few of those different tribes of Indians that shared in it ever lived to return home. The small-pox, by means of their communication with the Europeans, found its way among them, and made an equal havock to what they themselves had done. The methods they pursued on the first attack of that malignant disorder, to abate the fever attending



attending it, rendered it fatal. Whilst their blood was in a state of fermentation, and nature was striving to throw out the peccant matter, they checked her operations by plunging into the water: the consequence was, that they died by hundreds. The few that survived were transformed by it into hideous objects, and bore with them to the grave deep indented marks of this much-dreaded disease.

Monfieur Montcalm fell soon after on the plains of Quebec.

That the unprovoked cruelty of this commander was not approved of by the generality of his countrymen, I have since been convinced of by many proofs. One only however, which I received from a person who was witness to it, shall I at present give. A Canadian merchant, of some consideration, having heard of the surrender of the English fort, celebrated the fortunate event with great rejoicings and hospitality, according to the custom of that country; but no sooner did the news of the massacre which ensued reach his ears, than he put an immediate stop to the festivity, and exclaimed in the severest terms against the inhuman permission; declaring at the same time that those who had connived at it, had thereby drawn down on that part of their king's dominions the vengeance of Heaven. To this he added, that he much feared the total loss of them would deservedly be the consequence. How truly this prediction has been verified we all know.

But to return: though the Indians are negligent in guarding against surprizes, they are alert and dexterous in surprizing their ene-

mies. To their caution and perseverance in stealing on the party they design to attack, they add that admirable talent, or rather instinctive qualification, I have already described, of tracing out those they are in pursuit of. On the smoothest grass, on the hardest earth, and even on the very stones, will they discover the traces of an enemy, and by the shape of the footsteps, and the distance between the prints, distinguish, not only whether it is a man or woman who has passed that way, but even the nation to which they belong. However incredible this might appear, yet from the many proofs I received whilst among them of their amazing sagacity in this point, I see no reason to discredit even these extraordinary exertions of it.

When they have overcome an enemy, and victory is no longer doubtful, the conquerors first dispatch all such as they think they shall not be able to carry off without great trouble, and then endeavour to take as many prisoners as possible; after this they return to scalp those who are either dead, or too much wounded to be taken with them.

At this business they are exceedingly expert. They seize the head of the disabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twist their left-hand in the hair; by this means, having extended the skin that covers the top of the head, they draw out their scalping-knives, which are always kept in good order for this cruel purpose, and with a few dexterous strokes take off the part that is termed the scalp. They are so expeditious in doing this, that the whole time required scarcely exceeds



ceeds a minute. These they preserve as monuments of their prowess, and at the same time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.

If two Indians seize in the same instant a prisoner, and seem to have an equal claim, the contest between them is soon decided; for, to put a speedy end to any dispute that might arise, the person that is apprehensive he shall lose his expected reward, immediately has recourse to his tomahawk or war-club, and knocks on the head the unhappy cause of their contention.

Having completed their purposes, and made as much havock as possible, they immediately retire towards their own country, with the spoil they have acquired, for fear of being pursued.

Should this be the case, they make use of many stratagems to elude the searches of their pursuers. They sometimes scatter leaves, sand, or dust over the prints of their feet; sometimes tread in each others footsteps; and sometimes lift their feet so high, and tread so lightly, as not to make any impression on the ground. But if they find all these precautions unavailing, and that they are near being overtaken, they first dispatch and scalp their prisoners, and then dividing, each endeavours to regain his native country by a different route. This prevents all farther pursuit; for their pursuers now despairing, either of gratifying their revenge, or of releasing those of their friends who were made captives, return home.

If the successful party is so lucky as to make good their retreat

unmolested, they hasten with the greatest expedition to reach a country where they may be perfectly secure; and that their wounded companions may not retard their flight, they carry them by turns in litters, or if it is in the winter season draw them on sledges.

Their litters are made in a rude manner of the branches of trees. Their sledges consist of two small thin boards about a foot wide when joined, and near six feet long. The fore part is turned up, and the sides are bordered with small bands. The Indians draw these carriages with great ease, be they ever so much loaded, by means of a string which passes round the breast. This collar is called a *Metump*, and is in use throughout America, both in the settlements and the internal parts. Those used in the latter are made of leather, and very curiously wrought.

The prisoners during their march are guarded with the greatest care. During the day, if the journey is over land, they are always held by some of the victorious party; if by water, they are fastened to the canoe. In the night-time they are stretched along the ground quite naked, with their legs, arms, and neck fastened to hooks fixed in the ground. Besides this, cords are tied to their arms or legs, which are held by an Indian, who instantly awakes at the least motion of them.

Notwithstanding such precautions are usually taken by the Indians, it is recorded in the annals of New England, that one of the weaker sex, almost alone, and unassisted, found means to elude the vigilance of a party of warriors,  
6 and



and not only to make her escape from them, but to revenge the cause of her countrymen.

Some years ago, a small band of Canadian Indians, consisting of ten warriors attended by two of their wives, made an irruption into the back settlements of New England. They lurked for some time in the vicinity of one of the most exterior towns, and at length, after having killed and scalped several people, found means to take prisoner a woman who had with her a son of about twelve years of age. Being satisfied with the execution they had done, they retreated towards their native country, which lay at three hundred miles distance, and carried off with them their two captives.

The second night of their retreat, the woman, whose name if I mistake not was Rowe, formed a resolution worthy of the most intrepid hero. She thought she should be able to get from her hands the manacles by which they were confined, and determined if she did so to make a desperate effort for the recovery of her freedom. To this purpose, when she concluded that her conquerors were in their soundest sleep, she strove to slip the cords from her hands. In this she succeeded; and cautioning her son, whom they had suffered to go unbound, in a whisper, against being surprized at what she was about to do, she removed to a distance with great wariness the defensive weapons of the Indians, which lay by their sides.

Having done this, she put one of the tomahawks into the hands of the boy, bidding him to follow her example; and taking another herself, fell upon the sleeping Indians,

several of whom she instantly dispatched. But her attempt was nearly frustrated by the imbecility of her son, who wanting both strength and resolution, made a feeble stroke at one of them, which only served to awaken him; she however sprung at the rising warrior, and before he could recover his arms, made him sink under the weight of her tomahawk; and this she alternately did to all the rest, except one of the women, who awoke in time, and made her escape.

The heroine then took off the scalps of her vanquished enemies, and seizing also those they were carrying away with them as proofs of their success, she returned in triumph to the town from whence she had so lately been dragged, to the great astonishment of her neighbours, who could scarcely credit their senses, or the testimonies she bore of her Amazonian intrepidity.

During their march they oblige their prisoners to sing their death-song, which generally consists of these or similar sentences: "I am going to die, I am about to suffer; but I will bear the severest tortures my enemies can inflict with becoming fortitude. I will die like a brave man, and I shall then go to join the chiefs that have suffered on the same account." These songs are continued, with necessary intervals, until they reach the village or camp to which they are going.

When the warriors are arrived within hearing, they set up different cries, which communicates to their friends a general history of the success of the expedition. The number of the death-cries they give,



give, declares how many of their own party are lost; the number of war-hoops, the number of prisoners they have taken.

It is difficult to describe these cries, but the best idea I can convey of them, is that the former consists of the sound Whoo, Whoo, Whoop, which is continued in a long shrill tone, nearly till the breath is exhausted, and then broken off with a sudden elevation of the voice. The latter, of a loud cry, of much the same kind, which is modulated into notes by the hand being placed before the mouth. Both of them might be heard to a very considerable instance.

Whilst these are uttering, the persons to whom they are designed to convey the intelligence continue motionless and all attention. When this ceremony is performed, the whole village issue out to learn the particulars of the relation they have just heard in general terms, and according as the news proves mournful or the contrary, they answer by so many acclamations or cries of lamentation.

Being by this time arrived at the village or camp, the women and children arm themselves with sticks

and bludgeons, and form themselves into two ranks, through which the prisoners are obliged to pass. The treatment they undergo before they reach the extremity of the line, is very severe. Sometimes they are so beaten over the head and face, as to have scarcely any remains of life; and happy would it be for them if by this usage an end was put to their wretched beings. But their tormentors take care that none of the blows they give prove mortal, as they wish to reserve the miserable sufferers for more severe inflictions.

After having undergone this introductory discipline they are bound hand and foot, whilst the chiefs hold a council in which their fate is determined. Those who are decreed to be put to death by the usual torments, are delivered to the chief of the warriors; such as are to be spared, are given into the hands of the chief of the nation: so that in a short time all the prisoners may be assured of their fate, as the sentence now pronounced is irrevocable. The former they term being consigned to the house of death, the latter to the house of grace.



# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Account of the interior Parts of Sumatra, and of a neighbouring Island never known to have been visited by any European. From the Philosophical Transactions.*

THE climate is far from being so disagreeably hot as it is represented to be, or as one might expect from our vicinity to the line; the thermometer (of which I have kept a journal for a year past) is never lower in a morning at six than 69 deg. or higher than 76 deg. At noon it varies from 79 to 88 deg. and at eight P. M. from 73 to 78 or 80 deg. I have once only seen it at 90 deg. and in the Batta country, immediately under the line, I have seen it frequently at six A. M. as low as 61 deg. We have always a sea-breeze, which sets in at about nine o'clock, and continues to sun-set, and is generally pretty fresh; this tempers the heat so much, that I have never been incommoded by it (even in the midst of the day) so much as I have frequently been on a summer's day in England. Rain is very frequent here; sometimes very heavy, and almost always attended with thunder and lightning. Earthquakes are not uncommon; we have had one in particular, since my arrival, which was very violent, and did much damage in

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the country. There are several volcanos on the island; one within sight of Malbro', which almost constantly emits smoke, and, at the time of the earthquake, emitted fire.

The English settled here (exclusive of the military) are between seventy and eighty, of which about fifty are at Malbro'. They live full as freely as in England, and yet we have lost but one gentleman during the last six months; a proof that this climate is not very unhealthy.

The people who inhabit the coast are Malays, who came hither from the peninsula of Malacca: but the interior parts are inhabited by a very different people, and who have hitherto had no connexion with the Europeans. Their language and character differ much from those of the Malays, the latter using the Arabic character; but all the interior nations which I have visited, though they differ from one another in language, use the same character.

The people between the districts of the English company, and those of the Dutch at Palimban on the other side the island, write on long narrow slips of the bark of a tree, with a piece of bamboo; they begin at the bottom, and write from the left hand to the right, which I

think



think is contrary to the custom of all other eastern nations.

This country is very hilly, and the access to it exceedingly difficult, there being no possibility of a horse going over the hills. I was obliged to walk the whole way, and in many places bare-foot, on account of the steepness of the precipices. The inhabitants are a free people, and live in small villages called Doofans independent of each other, and governed each by its own chief [Doopattee]. All of them have laws, some written ones, by which they punish offenders, and terminate disputes. They have almost all of them, particularly the women, large swellings in the throat, some nearly as big as a man's head, but in general as big as an ostrich's egg, like the goitres, of the Alps. It is by them said to be owing to their drinking a cold white water; I fancy it must be some mineral water they mean. Near their country is a volcano: it is very mountainous, and abounds with sulphur, and I dare say, with metals too, though no mines are worked here. If this distemper be produced here by this cause, perhaps in the Alpine countries it may take its origin from a similar one, and not, as has been imagined, from snow water: certain it is, there is no snow here to occasion it. In almost all the central parts from Moco-moco northward, they find gold and some iron; but this distemper is unknown there. I have met here with a rivulet of a strong sulphurated water, which was so hot a quarter of a mile below its source, that I could not walk across it.

The country called the Cassia country lies in latitude 1 deg. north

inland of our settlement of Tappanooly: it is well inhabited by a people called Battas, who differ from all the other inhabitants of Sumatra in language, manners, and customs. They have no religious worship, but have some confused idea of three superior beings; two of which are of a benign nature; and the third an evil genius, whom they stile Murgiso, and to whom they use some kind of incantation to prevent his doing them hurt. They seem to think their ancestors are a kind of superior beings, attendant always upon them. They have no king, but live in villages [Compongs] absolutely independent of each other, and perpetually at war with one another: their villages they fortify very strongly with double fences of camphire plank pointed, and placed with their points projecting outwards, and between these fences they put pieces of bamboo, hardened by fire, and likewise pointed, which are concealed by the grass, but will run quite through a man's foot. Without these fences they plant a prickly species of bamboo, which soon forms an impenetrable hedge. They never stir out of these Compongs unarmed; their arms are match-lock guns, which, as well as the powder, are made in the country, and spears with long iron heads. They do not fight in an open manner, but way-lay and shoot or take prisoner single people in the woods or paddy-fields. These prisoners, if they happen to be the people who have given the offence, they put to death and eat, and their skulls they hang up as trophies in the houses where the unmarried men and boys eat and sleep. They allow of polygamy;



a man may purchase as many wives as he pleases; but their number seldom exceeds eight. They have no marriage ceremony; but, when the purchase is agreed on by the father, the man kills a buffalo or a horse, invites as many people as he can; and he and the woman sit and eat together before the whole company, and are afterwards considered as man and wife. If afterwards the man chooses to part with his wife, he sends her back to her relations with all her trinkets, but they keep the purchase money; if the wife dislikes her husband, her relations must repay double the purchase-money.

A man detected in adultery is punished with death, and the body eaten by the offended party and his friends: the woman becomes the slave of her husband, and is rendered infamous by cutting off her hair. Public theft is also punished with death, and the body eaten. All their wives live in the same house with the husband, and the houses have no partition; but each wife has her separate fire-place.

Girls and unmarried women wear six or eight large rings of thick brass wire about their neck, and great numbers of tin rings in their ears; but all these ornaments are laid aside when they marry.

They often preserve the dead bodies of their Radjas (by which name they call every freeman that has property, of which there are sometimes one, sometimes more, in one Compong, and the rest are vassals) for three months and upwards before they bury them: this they continue to do by putting the body into a coffin well caulked with dammar (a kind of resin): they place the coffin in the upper part

of the house, and having made a hole at the bottom, fit thereto a piece of bamboo, which reaches quite through the house, and three or four feet into the ground: this serves to convey all putrid moisture from the corpse without occasioning any smell. They seem to have great ceremonies at these funerals; but they would not allow me to see them. I saw several figures dressed up like men, and heard a kind of singing and dancing all night before the body was interred: they also fired a great many guns. At these funerals they kill a great many buffaloes; every Radja, for a considerable distance, brings a buffalo and kills it at the grave of the deceased, sometimes even a year after his interment; we assisted at the ceremony of killing the 106th buffalo at a radja's grave.

The Battas have abundance of black cattle, buffaloes, and horses, all which they eat. They also have great quantities of small black dogs, with erect pointed ears, which they fatten and eat. Rats and all sorts of wild animals, whether killed by them or found dead, they eat indifferently. Man's flesh may rather be said to be eaten *in terrorem*, than to be their common food; yet they prefer it to all others, and speak with peculiar rapture of the soles of the feet and palms of the hands. They expressed much surprize on being informed that white people did not kill, much less eat, their prisoners.

These people, though cannibals, received me with great hospitality and civility; and though it was thought very dangerous for any European to venture among them,



as they are a warlike people, and extremely jealous of strangers; yet I took only six Malays as a guard, but was escorted from place to place by thirty, forty, and sometimes one hundred of the natives, armed with match-lock guns and matches burning.

It is from this country that most of the cassia sent to Europe is procured; and I went there in hopes of finding the cinnamon, but without success. The cassia tree grows to fifty or sixty feet, with a stem of about two feet diameter, with a beautiful regular spreading head; its flowers or fruit I could not then see, and the country people have a notion that it produces neither.

Camphire and Benjamin trees are in this country in great abundance; the former grows to the size of our largest oaks, and is the common timber in use: I have seen trees near one hundred feet high. Its leaves are acuminate and very different from the camphire tree seen in the botanic gardens, which is the tree from which the Japanese procure their camphire by a chemical process; whereas in these trees the camphire is found native in a concrete form. Native camphire sells here at upwards of 200l. per cwt. to carry to China; what the Chinese do to it, I cannot say; but, though they purchase it at 250l. or 300l. they sell it again for Europe at about a quarter of the money. I have never been able to see the flower of the camphire tree; some abortive fruit I have frequently found under the trees, they are in a cup, like an acorn, but the *laciniae calycis* are four or five times longer than the seed.

I have taken other journies into different parts of the interior country, never before visited by any

Europeans. These journies were performed on foot, through such roads, swamps, &c. as were to appearance almost impassable. I have been hitherto so fortunate as to meet with no obstruction from the natives; but, on the contrary, have been hospitably received every where. Almost all the country has been covered with thick woods of trees mostly new and undescribed, and is not one-hundredth part inhabited.

It is amazing how poor the *Fauna* of this country is, particularly in the *mammalia* and *aves*. We have abundance of the *simia gibbon* of BUFFON: they are quite black, about three feet high, and their arms reach to the ground when they stand erect; they walk on their hind legs only, but I believe very rarely come down to the ground. I have seen hundreds of them together on the tops of high trees. We have several other species of the *simia* also; but one seldom sees them but at a great distance. The *oerang oatan*, or wild-man (for that is the meaning of the words) I have heard much talk of, but never seen; nor can I find any of the natives here that have seen it. The tiger is to be heard of in almost every part of this island: I have never seen one yet, though I have frequently heard them when I have slept in the woods, and often seen the marks of their feet. They annually destroy near one hundred people in the country where the pepper is planted; yet the people are so infatuated that they seldom kill them, having a notion that they are animated by the souls of their ancestors.

Of tiger-cats we have two or three sorts; elephants, rhinoceros, elks, one or two other kind of deer,



deer, buffaloes, two or three sorts of mustelæ, porcupine, and the small hog-deer, almost compleat the catalogue of our *mammalia*.

Birds I have seen very few indeed, and very few species of insects. Ants, of twenty or thirty kinds, abound here so much as to make it almost impossible to preserve birds or insects. I have frequently attempted it, but in vain.

I have met with one instance, and only one, of a stratum of fossil shells. I had some notion that it was an observation (of CONDAMINE's I think) that no such thing was to be found between the tropics.

The island of Enganho, though situated only about ninety miles to the southward of Malbro', was so little known, on account of the terrible rocks and breakers which entirely surround it, that it was even doubtful whether it was inhabited: to this island I have made a voyage. With great difficulty and danger we beat up the whole south-west side of it, without finding any place where we could attempt to land; and we lost two anchors, and had very near suffered shipwreck before we found a secure place into which we might run the vessel. At last, however, we discovered a spacious harbour at the south-east end of the island, and I immediately went into it in the boat, and ordered the vessel to follow me as soon as possible, for it was then a dead calm. We rowed directly into this bay; and as soon as we had got round the points of an island which lay off the harbour, we discovered all the beach covered with naked savages, who were all armed with lances and clubs; and twelve canoes full of them, who,

till we had passed them, had lain concealed, immediately rushed out upon me, making a horrid noise: this, you may suppose, alarmed us greatly; and as I had only one European and four black soldiers, besides the four lascars that rowed the boat, I thought it best to return, if possible, under the guns of the vessel, before I ventured to speak with them. In case we were attacked, I ordered the seapoys to reserve their fire till they could be sure their balls would take effect; and then to take advantage of the confusion our firing would throw the savages into, and attack them, if possible, with their bayonets. The canoes, however, after having pursued for a mile, or a mile and a half, luckily stopped a little to consult together, which gave us an opportunity to escape them, as they did not care to pursue us out to sea. The same afternoon the vessel came to an anchor in the bay, and we were presently visited by fifty or sixty canoes full of people. They paddled round the vessel, and called to us in a language which nobody on board understood, though I had people with me who understood the languages spoken on all the other island. They seemed to look at every thing about the vessel very attentively; but more from the motive of pilfering than from curiosity, for they watched an opportunity and unshipped the rudder of the boat, and paddled away with it. I fired a musquet over their heads, the noise of which frightened them so, that all of them immediately leaped into the sea, but soon recovered themselves and paddled off.

They are a tall, well-made people; the men in general about five



feet eight or ten inches high; the women shorter and more clumsily built. They are of a red colour, and have straight, black hair, which the men cut short, but the women let grow long, and roll up in a circle on the top of their heads very neatly. The men go entirely naked, and the women wear nothing more than a very narrow slip of plantain leaf. The men always go armed with six or eight lances, made of the wood of the cabbage-tree, which is extremely hard; they are about six feet long, and topped with the large bones of fish sharpened and barbed, or with a piece of bamboo hardened in the fire, very sharp-pointed, and its concave part armed with the jaw bones and teeth of fish, so that it would be almost impossible to extract them from a wound. They have no iron or other metal that I could see, yet they build very neat canoes; they are formed of two thin boards sewed together, and the seam filled with a resinous substance. They are about ten feet long, and about a foot broad, and have an outrigger on each side, to prevent their oversetting. They split trees into boards with stone wedges.

Their houses are circular, supported on ten or twelve iron-wood sticks about six feet long: they are neatly floored with plank, and the roof rises immediately from the floor in a conical form, so as to resemble a straw bee-hive; their diameter is not above eight feet.

These people have no rice, fowls, or cattle, of any kind: they seem to live upon cocoa-nuts, sweet potatoes, and sugar-canes. They catch fish, and dry them in the smoke; these fish they either strike

with their lances, or catch in a drawing net, of which they make very neat ones.

They do not chew betel, a custom which prevails universally among the eastern nations.

I went on shore the day after the vessel anchored in the bay, hoping to be able to see something of the country, and to meet with some of the chiefs. I saw a few houses near the beach, and went towards them; but the natives flocked down to the beach, to the number of sixty or seventy men, well armed with their lances, &c. and put themselves in our way; yet, when we approached them, they retreated slowly, making some few threatening gestures. I then ordered my companions to halt and be well on their guard, and went alone towards them: they permitted me to come among them, and I gave them some knives, pieces of cloth, and looking-glasses, with all which they seemed well pleased, and allowed me to take from them their lances, &c. and give them to my servant, whom I called to take them. Finding them to behave civilly, I made signs that I wanted to go to their houses and eat with them; they immediately sent people who brought me cocoa-nuts, but did not seem to approve of my going to their houses: however, I determined to venture thither; and seeing a path leading towards them I went forward attended by about twenty of them, who, as soon as we had got behind some trees, which prevented my people seeing us, began to lay violent hands on my cloaths, and endeavour to pull them off; but having a small hanger, I drew it, and, making a stroke at the most officious of them, retreated



retreated as fast as possible to the beach. Soon after we heard the sound of a conch-shell; upon which all the people retired, with all possible expedition, to a party of about two hundred, who were assembled at about a mile distance. It was now near sun-set, and we were near a mile from our boat; and, as I was apprehensive we might be way-laid in our return if we staid longer, I ordered my people to return with all possible speed; but first went to the houses the natives had abandoned, and found them stripped of every thing; so that I suppose this party had been employed in removing their wives, children, &c. into the woods. I intended to have attempted another day to have penetrated into the country, and had prepared my people for it; but the inconsiderate resentment of an officer, who was sent with me, rendered my scheme abortive. He had been in the boat to some of the natives who had waded out on a reef of rocks and called to us; they had brought some cocoa nuts, for which he gave them pieces of cloth: one of them seeing his hanger laying beside him in the boat, snatched it and ran away; upon which he fired upon them and pursued them to some of their houses, which, finding empty, he burnt. This set the whole country in alarm; conch-shells were sounded all over the bay, and in the morning we saw great multitudes of people assembled in different places, making use of threatening gestures; so that finding it would be unsafe to venture among them again, as, for want of understanding their language, we could not come to any explanation with them, I ordered

the anchor to be weighed, and sailed out of the bay, bringing away two of the natives with me.

In our return home my desire of seeing some yet unexplored parts of the island of Sumatra, occasioned me to order the vessel to put me on shore at a place called Flat Point, on the southern extremity of the island, from whence I walked to Fort Malbro'. In this journey I underwent great hardships, being sometimes obliged to walk on the sandy beach, exposed to the sun, from six in the morning till six at night, without any refreshment; sometimes precipices to ascend or descend, so steep that we could only draw ourselves up, or let ourselves down, by a rattan; at other times rapid rivers to cross, and then to walk the remaining part of the day in wet cloaths. The consequence of these hardships has been a violent fever; but, much as I then regretted having quitted the ship, I had, when I came to Fort Malbro', more reason to rejoice; for I then found, that the vessel, in her voyage home, was lost, and every soul on board perished. This has, however, been a severe stroke upon me; for as I was obliged to leave all my baggage on board, it being impracticable to carry it over land, I lost all my cloaths, books, specimens, manuscripts, notes, arms, &c. from Enganho; in short, almost every thing which I had either brought with me, or collected during my residence in this island.

I forgot to mention, that when I was at Tappanooly I saw what I find in PURCHAS's Pilgrim called *the wonderful plant of Sombrero*: his account, however, is somewhat exaggerated, when he says it bears



leaves and grows to be a great tree. The name by which it is known to the Malays is *Lalan-lout*, that is, sea-grass. It is found in sandy bays, in shallow water, where it appears like a slender strait stick, but, when you attempt to touch it, immediately withdraws itself into the sand. I could never observe any *tentacula*: a broken piece near a foot long, which after many unsuccessful attempts, I drew out, was perfectly strait and uniform, and resembled a worm drawn over a knitting-needle; when dry it is a coral.

The sea cocoa-nut, which has long been erroneously considered as a marine production, and been so extremely scarce and valuable, is now discovered to be the fruit of a palm with flabelliform leaves, which grow abundantly on the small islands to the eastward of Madagascar, called in our Charts, *Mabi*, &c. and by the French, *Les Isles des Sechelles*. To these islands, the French have sent a large colony and planted them with cloves and nutmeg trees, as they have likewise the islands of *Bourbon* and *Mauritius*.

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*A new Case in Squinting, by Dr. Darwin. From the same.*

Litchfield, March 10, 1777.

THE following case in squinting, as a similar one has not been recorded or explained by others, may perhaps merit your attention from its novelty.

About six years ago I was desired to see a child of the reverend Dr. SANDFORD, in Shropshire, to determine if any method could be devised to cure him of squinting.

The child was then about five years old, and exceedingly tractable and sensible, which enabled me to make the following observations upon him with great accuracy and frequent repetition.

1. He viewed every object which was presented to him with but one eye at a time.

2. If the object was presented on his right-side, he viewed it with his left eye; and if it was presented on his left-side, he viewed it with his right eye.

3. He turned the pupil of that eye, which was on the same side with the object, in such a direction that the image of the object might fall on that part of the bottom of the eye where the optic nerve enters it.

4. When an object was held directly before him, he turned his head a little to one side, and observed it with but one eye, *viz.* with that most distant from the object, turning away the other in the manner above described; and when he became tired with observing it with that eye, he turned his head the contrary way, and observed it with the other eye alone, with equal facility; but never turned the axes of both eyes on it at the same time.

5. He saw letters, which were written on bits of paper, so as to name them with equal ease, and at equal distances, with one eye as with the other.

6. There was no perceptible difference in the diameters of the irises, nor in the contractibility of them, after having covered his eyes from the light. These observations were carefully made by writing single letters on shreds of paper, and laying wagers with the child



child that he could not read them when they were presented at certain distances and directions.

From these circumstances it appeared, that there was no defect in either eye, which is the common cause of squinting, so well observed by M. BUFFON and Dr. REID; and hence, that the disease was simply a depraved habit of moving his eyes, and might probably be occasioned by the form of a cap or head-dress, which might have been too prominent on the sides of his face, like bluffs used on coach horses; and might thence, in early infancy, have made it more convenient for the child to view objects placed obliquely with the opposite eye, till by habit the *musculi adductores* were become stronger, and more ready for motion than their antagonists.

A paper gnomon was made, and fixed to a cap; and when this artificial nose was placed over his real nose, so as to project an inch between his eyes, the child, rather than turn his head so far to look at oblique objects, immediately began to view them with that eye which was next to them. But the death of Dr. SANDFORD, which happened soon after, occasioned the removal of his family; and the grief and cares of Mrs. SANDFORD prevented this, and the other methods proposed, from being put in execution.

About a month ago I had again an opportunity of seeing master D. SANDFORD, and observed all the circumstances of his mode of vision to be exactly as they were six years before, except that they seemed established by longer habit; so that I could not by any means induce him to bend the

axes of both his eyes on the same object, not even for a moment.

A gnomon of thin brass was made to stand over his nose, with a half circle of the same metal to go round his temples; these were covered with black silk, and by means of a buckle behind his head, and a cross piece over the crown of his head, this gnomon was managed so as to be worn without any inconvenience, and projected before his nose about two inches and an half. By the use of this gnomon he soon found it less inconvenient to view all oblique objects with the eye next to them, instead of the eye opposite to them.

After this habit was weakened by a week's use of the gnomon, two bits of wood, about the size of a goose-quill, were blackened all but a quarter of an inch at their summits; these were frequently presented for him to look at, one being held on one side the extremity of his black gnomon, and the other on the other side of it. As he viewed these they were gradually brought forwards beyond the gnomon, and then one was concealed behind the other: by these means, in another week, he could bend both his eyes on the same object for half a minute together.

By the practice of this exercise before a glass, almost every hour in the day, he became in another week able to read for a minute together with his eyes both directed on the same objects; and I have no doubt, if he has patience enough to persevere in these efforts, but he will in the course of some months overcome this unsightly habit.

I shall



I shall conclude the account of this case by adding, that all the other squinting people I have had occasion to attend to, have had one eye much less perfect than the other, according to the observations of M. BUFFON and Dr. REID. These patients, where the diseased eye is not too bad, are certainly curable by covering the best eye many hours in a day; as, by a more frequent use of the weak eye, it not only acquires a habit of turning to the objects which the patient wishes to see, but gains at the same time a more distinct vision; and the better eye at the same time seems to lose somewhat in both these respects, which also facilitates the cure.

This evinces the absurdity of the practice of prohibiting those who have weak eyes from using them; since the eye, as well as every other part of the body, acquires strength from that degree of exercise which is not accompanied with pain or fatigue: and I am induced to believe, that the most general cause of squinting in children originates from the custom of covering the weak eye, which has been diseased by any accidental cause, before the habit of observing objects with both eyes was perfectly established.

The facility with which master SANDFORD received the images of oblique objects on the insensible part of the retina of one eye, whilst he viewed them with the other, induced me to observe the size of this insensible spot, and to endeavour to ascertain the cause of it.

There was formerly a dispute among philosophers, whether the choroid coat of the eye or the retina was the immediate organ of

vision, which has lately been revived in some measure in Dr. PRIESTLEY's valuable History of Light and Colours; and it was then thought by one party in this dispute, that the defect of the choroid coat, where the optic nerve enters the eye, was the cause of this want of vision in that part.

But the following observation shews beyond a doubt the fallacy of this supposition: the diameter of the optic nerve, at its entrance into the eye, is about one-sixth of an inch, and the perforation of the choroid coat, through which it passes, must of necessity be of the same diameter: now the dark spot, which is seen in objects, opposed to the center of the optic nerve, if it was occasioned by the deficiency of the choroid coat, should, at nine inches distance from the eye, be fifty-four times the diameter of this aperture, or nine inches in diameter; whereas I find, by experiment, that a paper of one inch in diameter could not be totally concealed at nine inches distance from my eye; and M. LE CAT by accurate observations found, that the insensible part of his eye was but between the thirtieth and fortieth part of an inch in diameter. This experiment is so easily made, that it can be attended with no fallacy; and at the same time that it shews that the insensible spot, where the optic nerve enters the eye, is not owing to the deficiency of the choroid coat, intirely subverts the opinion of the choroid coat being the organ of vision; for vision exists where the choroid coat is not.

Nor is the insensibility of the center of the optic nerve owing to the ingress of the arteries along with



with it into the eye: for a large branch of this artery runs along the bottom of the eye, where vision is most distinct, and because all this artery is covered with the expanse of the retina on the external side of it. Mr. SAVAGE made an experiment for another purpose, which however shews, that the optic artery, where it is branched under or through the retina, does not much disturb the power of vision. It is this: if you look on a white wall on a luminous day, with the sun shining on the wall only by its reflected light, you will discern the parts of the wall become darker and lighter at every pulsation of the optic artery. This darker and lighter appearance is like net-work, and not uniform like the wall itself; but the whole, though rather darker while the diastole of the artery compresses the retina, is yet distinctly visible.

The following circumstance seems to give rise to the insensibility of the central part of the optic nerve at its ingress into the eye, which I have observed in several calves' eyes. The point of a pair of scissors was introduced behind the ciliary circle, and the whole of the cornea, aqueous humour, iris, and crystalline, being removed, the retina was beautifully seen through the vitreous humour somewhat magnified. On exposing this to the sun-shine, and inspecting it with nicety, a white filament, about the tenth of an inch in length, arising from the center of the optic nerve, was seen ascending straight upwards into the vitreous humour, like a thin white worm. The use of this may be to supply the vitreous humour or cry-

stalline with nourishment, whether it be a nerve or an empty blood-vessel; but this is certain, that its rising so high above the surface of the retina must render it incapable of vision: whence there is just reason to conclude, that this conformation must be the true cause of the insensibility of this part of the eye.

I do not affirm, that the human eye, either during infancy or in our riper years, is similar in conformation to that of a calf, nor have we sufficient opportunities to observe them; but I suspect this vessel may, after the growth of the animal, be totally obliterated; and that, in some few instances, the optic nerve may even in this part become sensible to light. One instance I am certain I have seen, as it was in a man capable of the most patient and accurate observation, who on numberless repeated trials, at different times, in my presence, could never lose sight of the smallest object with either of his eyes.

#### *Supplement to the Case in Squinting.*

IT since occurred to me, that the unusual mode of squinting described in the above paper must have arisen from some original difference in the sensibility of some parts of the eye, which might have rendered it more easy for master SANDFORD, when a child, to observe objects with one eye only, and that with the eye most distant from objects presented obliquely to him.

Two circular papers, each of four inches diameter, were stuck against the wall, their centers being exactly at eight inches distance from each other. On closing one eye,



eye, and viewing the central spot of one of these papers with the eye farthest from it, and then retreating twenty-six inches from it, the other paper became invisible. This experiment was made on five people of various ages, from ten years old to forty; and the paper disappeared to them all at about this distance, or an inch or two more or less: but to master SANDFORD the paper disappeared at about thirteen inches distance from the wall. These papers were afterwards removed to twelve inches, and then to four inches interval between them; and by the nicest observations on repeated trials I found, that the paper equally with one eye as with the other, uniformly disappeared to him at about half the distance it did to five others.

Another curious circumstance is, that as large a paper disappeared to him at half the distance as it did to others at the whole distance; and hence the insensible part of the center of the optic nerve in his eyes is, as near as can be estimated, four times the area of the insensible part of the eyes of other people, at the same time that the angle made between the ingress of the optic nerve and the bottom of the eye is twice as great as in others.

It is easy to conceive that, in early infancy, when any object which the child wished to inspect was presented obliquely to him, that on this first indistinct view of it, before either eye could be turned towards it, it would appear much more brilliant and distinct to the contrary eye, than to that nearest the object, as so great a part of it would now fall on the large insensible part of that eye.

This must naturally induce him to view it with the opposite eye, to which it already appeared more brilliant and distinct: and this to him would be so much easier to accomplish, as the insensible part of the neglected eye was great enough to receive as large a part of an object as is usually viewed at once with accuracy, and hence would not confuse the vision of the other.

I must beg leave to add, that by wearing the artificial nose he has greatly corrected the habit of viewing objects with the eye furthest from them; and has more and more acquired the voluntary power of directing both his eyes to the same object, particularly if the object be not more than four or five feet from him; and will, I believe, by resolute perseverance, entirely correct this unsightly deformity. Nothing but the curiosity and novelty of the subject can excuse the length of this paper.

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*A Cure of a Muscular Contraction  
by Electricity. From the same.*

MR. PARTINGTON, in a letter addressed to Mr. HENLY, F. R. S. gives the following account of the condition in which he found his patient, Miss LINGFIELD, when he first waited on her. Her head was drawn down over her right shoulder, the back part of it was twisted so far round, that her face turned obliquely towards the opposite side, by which deformity she was disabled from seeing her feet, or the steps as she came down stairs. The *sterno-mastoideus* muscle was in a state of contraction and rigidity. She had  
no



no material pain on this side of her neck; but, owing to the extreme tension of the teguments of the left side, she had a pain continually, and often it was very violent, particularly in sudden changes of the weather. Her pulse was weak, quick, and irregular. She was subject to a great irritability, had frequently a little fever, which came on of an evening, and left her before morning; her spirits were generally exceedingly oppressed, and at times she was slightly paralytic.

She dated the origin of her disorder at something more than two years from that period. She was suddenly seized, going out of a warm room into the cold air, with a pain upon the back of her head, which admitted of small abatement for some months, contracting gradually the muscles to the melancholy deformity we then beheld; and notwithstanding every prudent means had been used to subdue it, and she strictly adhered to every article prescribed to her by the faculty, she was sensible of little variation since, and that rather on the unfavourable side.

I urged her to make a trial of Electricity. She was willing while she was in London to try the experiment; and, though the weather was remarkably tempestuous, she came to me the first tolerable day, and was electrified the first time February 18, 1777.

I sat her in an insulated chair, and, connecting it by a chain to the prime conductor of a large electrical machine, I drew strong sparks from the parts affected for about four minutes, which brought on a very profuse perspiration (a circumstance she had been unac-

customed to) which seemed to relax the *mastoideus* muscle to a considerable degree; but, as the sparks gave her a good deal of pain, I desisted from drawing them, and only subjected her a few minutes longer to the admission of the fluid, which passed off without interruption from the pores of her skin and adjacent parts. The next time she came to me was the 24th of the same month: as she had been in the afternoon of the first day's experiment a good deal disordered, I changed the mode of conducting, and sat her in a common dining-chair, while I dropped, for five minutes, by the means of a large discharging rod with a glass handle, very strong sparks upon the *mastoideus* muscle, from its double origin at the *sternum* and *clavicula* to its insertion at the back of the head. She bore this better than before, and the same good effect followed in a greater degree, and without any of the subsequent inconveniences. I saw her the third time on the 27th: she assured me she had escaped her feverish symptoms on an evening, and that her spirits were raised by the prospect of getting well; that, since the last time I electrified her, she had more freedom in the motion of her head than she had ever experienced since the first attack of her disorder. I persisted in electrifying her after the same manner, March 3d, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 9th; from each time she gained some advantage, and her feverish tendency and nervous irritability went off entirely.

The weather now setting in very unfavourable, and fearful of losing the advantages we had happily reaped from our early efforts, I requested



requested the favour of you, as her next-door neighbour, to electrify her every evening while she was in town, and she might, if any alteration took place, see me occasionally. Fortunately for her, you accepted the proposal, and to your judgment and caution in the conduct of it for the next fortnight (three evenings only excepted) you brought about the happy event; and have received her testimony of gratitude for relieving her from a condition under which life could not be desirable, to a comfortable association with her family and friends.

I am, &c.

THE method I pursued was, to place the lady upon a stool with glass legs, and to draw strong sparks, for at least ten minutes, from the muscles on both sides of her neck. Besides this, I generally gave her two shocks from a bottle containing 15 square inches of coated surface fully charged, through her neck and one of her arms, crossing the neck in different directions. This treatment she submitted to with a proper resolution; and it gave me sincere pleasure to find it attended with the desired success.

W. HENLY.

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*Observations on the Climate of Russia, in a Letter from J. G. King, D. D. to the Bishop of Durham.*

MY LORD,

I TAKE the liberty to send your Lordship a few remarks I made during my residence in Russia, on the cold in that country;

particularly, with respect to the means by which the inhabitants of those northern climates are enabled not only to protect themselves from suffering by its inclemency; but to turn it to their advantage, and even to enjoy amusements peculiar to it. Which will justify the observation of our excellent philosophical poet, who says,

“What happier natures shrink at with affright,

“The hard inhabitant contends is right.”

ESSAY ON MAN.

If I could have communicated any experiments which might have helped to discover the natural cause of freezing, and have served either to confirm some of the several theories already given of this phenomenon, or to establish a new one; I should have thought my remarks more worthy your Lordship's attention, and have long since put the loose notes, which have lain by me, on this subject, into some form. But though I made many experiments in freezing several substances, I cannot pretend to have found any thing new or singular to remark as to the nature of congelation. Yet still, I hope it may afford your Lordship some amusement to observe the sagacity and address, which the human mind exerts, in the application of the proper means of self preservation: and the consideration of the wonderful provision which the wisdom and goodness of divine providence has suited to the peculiar wants of his creatures, I am sure, your Lordship will always look upon as the most interesting part of natural history.

It is necessary for me to premise, that in the course of these observations



tions I may be obliged to repeat several things which have been said before; but, I flatter myself, I may be able to set some of them in a new light, and to add others which have been overlooked or omitted.

I must first observe to your Lordship, that the cold in St. Petersburg, by Farenheit's scale, is, during the months of December, January, and February, usually from 8 to 15 or 20 degrees below 0; that is, from 40 to 52 degrees below freezing point: though commonly, in the course of the winter, it is for a week or ten days some degrees lower.

It is almost difficult for an inhabitant of our temperate climate to have any idea of a cold so great; it may, perhaps, help to give some notion of it, to tell you that when a person walks out in that severe weather, the cold makes the eyes water, and that water freezing hangs in little icicles on the eyelashes. As the common peasants usually wear their beards, you may see them hanging at the chin like a solid lump of ice. Yet, by the way, the advantage of the beard, even in that state, to protect the glands of the throat, is worth observation: and the soldiers, who do not wear their beards, are obliged to tie a handkerchief under the chin to supply their place. From this account, it may easily be imagined, that the parts of the face, which are exposed, are very liable to be frozen; and it may seem strange, what is a certain fact, and has been often observed, that the party himself does not know when the freezing begins; but is commonly told of it first by somebody who meets him, and

calls out to him to rub his face with snow, the usual way to thaw it. It is also remarkable that the part, which has once been frozen, is ever after most liable to be frozen again.

In some very severe winters, I have seen sparrows, though a hardy bird, quite numbed by the intense cold, and unable to fly. And I have heard that the drivers, who sit on their loaded carriages, have sometimes been found frozen to death in that posture. The seasons however are seldom so severe, and that severity lasts but a few days; though it is not unfrequent, in the course of a winter, that some poor wretches, getting drunk with spirituous liquors, fall down by the road-side, and perish by the cold before any one finds them. I dare say, your Lordship begins to shiver at this relation; but I will soon carry you into one of the houses of the country, where I will promise you, you will find it sufficiently warm: yet I will first beg leave to mention a few experiments with regard to freezing substances, some of which I made myself, and others I have had well authenticated.

When the thermometer has stood at 25 degrees below 0, boiling water thrown up into the air by an engine, so as to spread, falls down perfectly dry, formed into ice. I have made an experiment nearly like this, by throwing the water out of a window two pair of stairs high. A pint bottle of common water, I have found frozen into a solid piece of ice in an hour and a quarter. During the operation, I have observed the *spicula* flying towards the exterior part of the water, full an inch, or an inch

and



and half long, where they form the crystallization; the great length of these spicula is remarkable, and seems to be caused by the intenseness of the cold. A bottle of strong ale has been frozen in an hour and half; but in this substance there is always about a tea-cup full in the middle unfrozen, which is as strong and inflammable as brandy or spirits of wine. I never saw good brandy, or rum freeze to solid ice, though I have seen ice very thin in both, when put in a small flat phial: the phials, I made use of for the experiment, were the common bottles in which there had been lavender water.

It may not be foreign to these instances to mention an experiment made by Prince Orloff, master of the Ordnance to her imperial Majesty, which I had from him, though I was not a witness of it myself. He filled a bomb-shell with water, and then stopped up the hole very closely with a plug; and, as soon as the congelation began, the contents of the shell swelling issued out by the side of the plug, like a small *jet d'eau*, or fountain. He then made a screw to fasten up the hole of the bomb-shell, after it was filled with water; and in twenty minutes the frost burst the shell with some degree of violence, so that some of the pieces flew to the distance of four or five yards.

Severe, however, as the cold in this climate is, it is seldom any body suffers from it, so easy are the means and so plentiful are the provisions to guard against it; besides, the inconveniences of the excess of cold are much less than those of the opposite extreme, in countries subject to an excess of

heat. Indeed, just in St. Peterbourg, the poor sometimes suffer; as in all capitals the hardships of the poor are greatest; but, for others, they are so well protected, both without doors and within, that you seldom hear them complain of cold. It is well known that in Russia the method of warming the houses is by an oven constructed with several flues, and that the country abounds with wood, which is the common fuel; however, these ovens consume a much smaller quantity of wood than could be imagined, and yet they serve at the same time for the ordinary people to prepare their food by. They put a very moderate faggot into them, and suffer it to burn only till the thickest black smoak is evaporated; they then shut down the chimney to retain all the rest of the heat in the chamber, which keeps its heat twenty-four hours, and is commonly so warm that they sit with very little covering, especially children, who are usually in their shirts.

The windows in these huts are very small, as it is obvious that part must be liable to be coldest; in the houses of persons of condition the windows are caulked up against winter, and commonly have double glass frames. In short, they can regulate the warmth in their apartments by a thermometer with great exactness, opening or shutting the flues to increase or diminish the heat. In the severest weather a Russian would think it strange to sit in a room where the cold condensed his breath sufficiently to render it visible, as it commonly does in England in frosty weather; and surely it is agreeable to have the warmth equal  
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in every part of the room. It might perhaps be thought that the air, in apartments so close, must needs be very unfit for respiration; but the fact is full against the conjecture; for Petersbourg is reckoned as wholesome a place as any city in Europe; probably, the natural elasticity of the air is so great, in all those high latitudes, that it is not easily destroyed.

Thus the inhabitants suffer no hardships from the cold within doors; I will venture to assert not so much as the inhabitants of England, where the duration of severe cold is so short, that it is hardly an object of attention to guard against it, either in their dwellings or their apparel. Whereas the Russians, when they go out, are clothed so warmly they bid defiance to frost and snow; and it is observable, that the wind is never violent in the winter, and in general there is very little wind: but when it does happen to blow the cold is exceedingly piercing. The animals naturally require warm cloathing in these severe climates, man is therefore enabled readily to supply himself with covering from them: the wolf and the bear lend him their fur, as well as several other creatures; the fox, the squirrel, and the ermine: but none contribute so much to supply this want as the hare and the sheep. With regard to the hare one must not omit to remark, that the better to conceal so timorous and weak an animal from its enemies, Providence has wisely ordered that in countries like these, which are covered with snow, the fur of this creature changes in the winter to white; it being in summer brown, the natural colour of the ground: and its

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fur is much longer, and consequently warmer than in more southern latitudes. The poorer women commonly line their cloaks with hare-skin; and the men for the most part have a dress made of sheep's skin with the wool turned inwards. On their heads they wear a warm fur cap, and they are very careful to cover their legs and feet not only with warm stockings, but with boots lined with fur, or a quantity of flannel which they wrap several times round them. Yet, in the severest cold, you will see them go with their neck and breast quite open and exposed. This seems a kind of natural instinct, the parts nearest the heart, where the blood receives its first impulse, being perhaps less liable to be injured by cold than the extremities of the body. Or does such practice depend intirely upon custom? For we see in our own country that custom will do a great deal; at the same time that the men with us guard their breast with the warmest part of their dress, the most delicate lady exposes her bosom quite uncovered; as well as her whole person in a garment so thin, that few men would think sufficiently warm even in the mildest weather.

It must be confessed, the winters seem very long and tedious in these northern climates, the whole surface of the ground being covered with snow for six months or upwards; and the eye is, at least my eye was, tired with the unvaried scene, *where Nature herself seems dead for half the year.* However, use makes even this much more tolerable to the natives, as well as their happy ignorance of better climes: and it is certain they en-

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joy many advantages, which are peculiar to the nature of their situation.

The first advantage I shall mention is the facility of transport, and in consequence expedition in travelling. Their carriages for the winter season, it is well known, are sledges, made with a frame at the bottom shod with iron like skates. The friction and resistance are so small on the ice and hard frozen snow, that when one pulls one of these machines, with a considerable load on it, on level ground, we seem surprized to find we can move it, with almost as much ease as we move a boat in still water. The consequence of this is a ready and cheap communication from one place to another; for a single horse will draw a great load in proportion to his strength; and in parts distant from the capital, they do not keep any road with the sledges, but make their way indifferently over rivers and bogs, and sometimes I am told they travel by a compass. It may not perhaps be unworthy observation to remark that the roads over the rivers near Petersburg are set out by large boughs of fir trees planted on each side, forming an avenue; for the tracks of the carriages are very slight, and those soon covered by drifted snow or a fresh fall. Near the capital, where the traffick is naturally the greatest, the roads are kept in repair in winter with the same attention as in summer; when a thaw happens to injure them they are mended with fresh ice laid in the holes and covered with snow, and water thrown upon it to freeze again. Such precautions are necessary, as these roads serve half the year: if the ice on

the river be cracked, by a swell in the water, a bridge of planks is laid over it. It may be added that the strong northern light and the reflection of the snow, generally afford a light sufficient to travel by, when there is no moon.

It is obvious to imagine that with such means wealth and luxury would find out very commodious methods of travelling. The late Empress Elizabeth had a sledge, which I have seen, made with two complete little rooms in it, in one of which was a bed. I can believe the motion in such a vehicle not to be greater than in a ship, when the sea is tolerably smooth. The common travelling equipage, for persons of condition, is made large enough to lie at length in, and when the bed or mattrafs is rolled up, it makes a seat to sit upon. I need not take notice of the great expedition with which people travel, as it is so notorious; I mean with horses, for I am unacquainted with those parts where rein-deer are used. The accommodations on the road are, indeed, very poor; but travellers want them but little, as they usually take their provisions with them, and travel by night as well as by day.

Another advantage peculiar to the northern climates, is the preserving provisions by the frost. Frost may certainly be looked upon as the best pickle while it serves; that is, it alters the quality and taste of whatever is preserved by it less than any other. It is evident, the three common preservers, sugar, vinegar, and salt, impart their respective tastes so strongly, that very few things so preserved retain the least of their natural flavour. Whereas frost seems only to fix the



parts and juices, and by that means to prevent fermentation. I shall mention a fact, in proof of this, which I had from my late worthy friend Mr Swallowe, his Majesty's Consul General in Russia. He assured me that having, one winter, occasion to go from Peterbourg to Moscow, where eels are a great rarity, he ordered some to be taken before he set out on his journey to carry as a present; as soon as they were taken out of the water, they were thrown upon the ground to be frozen, they appeared quite dead and almost a piece of ice; they were then packed up in the usual manner with snow; and when he arrived at Moscow, which was in four days, the eels being thrown into cold water, and so thawed before they were dressed, discovered evident marks of life in them, and soon perfectly recovered. The inference I would draw from this fact is, that freezing does not dilacerate the parts. Veal frozen at Archangel and brought to Petersburg is esteemed the finest they have; nor can it be distinguished at the table from what is fresh killed, being equally juicy.

The markets in the capital are by this means supplied in winter with all manner of provisions, at a cheaper rate than would otherwise be possible; and it is not one of the least curious things to see the vast stacks of whole hogs, sheep, fish, and other animals, piled up in the markets for sale. Good housewives, as soon as the frost sets in for the winter, about the end of October, kill their poultry, and keep them in tubs packed up with a layer of snow between them, as one would put salt to pickle pork or beef, and then take them out

for use as occasion requires: by this means they save the nourishment of the animal several months.

I hinted that the method of thawing any thing must be by immersing it in cold water: that operation effected by heat seems to occasion a violent fermentation, and almost a sudden putrefaction: but when produced by cold water, the ice seems to be attracted out of the body, and forms a transparent incrustation round it. This I have constantly seen round grapes; when thawed, which looked as if set in glass. Nay, I have thawed a bottle of water, when frozen to a solid piece of ice, by this means without breaking the bottle, and the ice has formed an incrustation round it, in the manner I describe. The same thing may be observed if a cabbage which is thoroughly frozen be thawed by cold water; it is as fresh as if just gathered out of the garden; but if it be thawed by fire or hot water, it becomes so rancid and strong it cannot be eaten.

These, my Lord, are solid advantages derived from the nature of the coldest climates. It might appear trifling after them to mention others of a less serious kind, and yet some of their amusements are also peculiar to the climate. One of the chief is that of riding in a light open sledge for pleasure, which is very common, because very agreeable when the weather is not too severe. Skating may be mentioned as another; but the weather is often too severe for that, and therefore it is by no means so general in Russia as in milder climates, such as Holland, Germany, &c. But of all the winter diversions of the Russians, the most favourite, and which is peculiar to them,





them, seems to be that of sliding down a hill. They make a track on the side of a steep hill, mending any little inequalities with snow or ice, then at the verge of the hill, sitting on a little seat not bigger than, and much resembling, a butcher's tray, they descend with astonishing velocity. The sensation is indeed very odd, but to myself, for I have often had the curiosity to try it, I cannot say it was agreeable; the motion is so rapid it takes away one's breath: nor can I give an idea of it, except desiring you to fancy you were to fall from the top of a house without hurting yourself, in which you would probably have some mixture of fear and surprize. The Russians are so fond of this diversion, that at Petersbourg, having no hills, they raise artificial mounts on the ice on the river Neva, for the purpose of sliding down them, particularly on holidays and festival seasons, when all the people, young and old, rich and poor, partake of the sport; paying a trifle to the persons who constructed the mount, each time they descend.

I call this peculiar to Russia as a diversion: for though it is practised at the place known by the name of the *Ramasse*, the descent of Mount Cenis to Lanebourg, which at some seasons of the year is in a state that admits of travellers sliding down it in the same method, as is described in most books that treat of the Alps, yet this may be considered rather as necessity or convenience than merely amusement.

The late Empress Elizabeth was so fond of this diversion, that, at her palace of ZARSKO ZELLO, she had artificial mounts, of a very singular construction, made for this

purpose. These have been called, by some Englishmen who have visited that country, *The Flying Mountains*, and I do not know a phrase which approaches nearer to the Russian name. You will observe that there are five mounts of unequal heights: the first and highest is full thirty feet perpendicular altitude; the momentum with which they descend this carries them over the second, which is about five or six feet lower, just sufficient to allow for the friction and resistance; and so on to the last, from which they are conveyed by a gentle descent, with nearly the same velocity, over a piece of water into a little island. These slides, which are about a furlong and half in length, are made of wood, that they may be used in summer as well as in winter. The process is, two or four persons sit in a little carriage, and one stands behind, for the more there are in it the greater the swiftness with which it goes; it runs on castors, and in grooves to keep it in its right direction, and it descends with a wonderful rapidity. Under the hill, is a machine worked by horses for drawing the carriages back again, with the company in them. Such a work as this would have been enormous in most countries for the labour and expence it cost, as well as the vast quantity of wood used in it. At the same place, there is another artificial mount which goes in a spiral line, and in my opinion, for I have tried it also, is very disagreeable; as it seems always leaning on one side, and the person feels in danger of falling out of his seat.

In winter no work can be done in agriculture, as may easily be imagined,



imagined, the ground being fastened by the frost as well as covered by snow. The œconomical business, therefore, which constitutes the employment of the common people in this season, is, besides the threshing the corn, manufacturing their cloaths, for the peasants in the villages make their own wearing-apparel of every sort, felling timber for building or other purposes, and cutting wood for firing.

They are able also to go out a hunting, and as the country abounds with game, it furnishes a large part of their provisions, during the seasons when they are permitted to eat it; for the fasts of the Greek church taken together interdict animal food full half the year. The method the common people use in hunting is with snow shoes, which are nothing more than a piece of wood half an inch thick, five or six feet long, and about four inches broad, turned up at the end, which they fasten at the bottom of their feet, and by means of them they run or rather skate over the snow, with a pole in their hands, faster than the hare or any game they pursue, which are apt to sink in.

They enjoy also the profitable diversion of fishing, notwithstanding the waters being covered with ice; and one manner of it, with a drag-net, is very particular, though I doubt if I shall be able to describe it so as to give your Lordship an idea of it. There is a hole about four feet by two cut in the ice, to let down a common drag-net; opposite to this, at the distance they mean to pull up the net, is another hole, about four feet square: they then cut a number of small round holes at about four yards distance

from each in a circular form, from the hole, where the net is let down, to that where it is taken up. At the ends of the two strings, that is the upper and lower strings which drag the net, long poles are tied: these poles will reach from one round hole to another, where they are directed and pushed under the ice, as they swim at the top of the water, till they come to the biggest square hole, at which they draw them out, and by this means the net inclosing the fish it has surrounded; for the upper part of the net is floated at the top of the water under the ice, and the lower part of it sunk by leads, in the same manner as when the river is open: the ingenuity of the operation consists in the contrivance of dragging under the ice.

These, my Lord, are some of the peculiarities of the northern climates in winter; they have their inconveniencies, but they have their advantages too. In summer they differ much less from southern climates. To balance the long absence of the sun in the former season, they enjoy a larger share of his influence in the latter; which causes vegetation to be exceedingly quick; otherwise the shortness of the season would not suffice for the necessary business of sowing the land, for the growth of the corn, and for gathering it in.

Some persons reckon the light nights in summer an agreeable circumstance, and these are very remarkable even in the latitude of St. Peterbourg, which is 61 degrees: this arises not only from the sun's being so short a time under the horizon, but from the strong reflection of the atmosphere, which causes so great a brightness one



may see to read and write at midnight, unless it be cloudy, for full two months.

I have now finished this account, which has nothing of fancy in it to enliven it: it contains merely matters of fact, which could not escape my observation during a residence of eleven years in that country. Indeed, Russia is a country so rising and flourishing under the auspices of the sovereign who now reigns there, and encourages, in the most distinguished manner, every endeavour to improve and exalt it, by patronizing all liberal arts and sciences, that it must attract the attention and admiration of mankind in many most important points of view. Yet still I flatter myself this short relation of the peculiar qualities of its climate may afford some reflections not unworthy a philosophical mind: I therefore presume to present it to your Lordship, and shall esteem myself very happy if it affords you any entertainment. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,  
most faithful, and most  
obedient humble servant,

Blackheath, JOHN GLEN KING.  
Jan. 22, 1778.

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*Of Fossil Bones. From Abbé Fortis's Travels into Dalmatia.*

**F**OSSIL bones, which are so frequently found in Dalmatia, and were the principal object of our voyage, were first taken notice of, as far as I know, by the celebrated *Vitaliano Donati*, of Padua, in his *Saggio sopra la Storia Naturale del Adriatico*. He had ob-

served them in several places on that coast, where the desire of acquiring new informations and knowledge carried him several times; but the want of means, which proved a constant obstacle in other enterprizes, suitable to his great learning and declared genius, kept him behind in the examination of this particular likewise. It had been rumoured, that the quantity of those bones was so immense, that the whole island of *Osero* was altogether composed of them. This report naturally made a great impression on the minds of the curious; and besides, it was known for certain, that quantities were found, not only on the coasts of *Isria*, towards the *Quarnaro*, and in many parts of Dalmatia, but also on several islands without the Adriatick; all which served more and more to embarrass the most sensible heads, and to produce much nonsense from those who know little, and think they know a great deal. We went with an intention to see with our own eyes these wonders in the island of *Cberso* and *Osero*, where we had been told there was no difference between houses, mountains, and burying places, but in hardness and in years.

We did not find, as we had been given to hope, any strata of bones so extensive, as could afford ground to imagine that the organization of the whole island was composed of them; yet nevertheless the quantity which we met with, is sufficient to raise wonder and serious reflection. The frequent heaps that are seen, the sameness of the substance, the variety of the positions, and the identical materials of the congeries, might give room to conjecture,



jecture, at first sight, that one immense stratum had been composed in remote ages ; but who can pretend to imagine how remote ? There are various species of terrestrial animals, sometimes comminuted and confused, and sometimes perfectly well disposed and distinguishable. The places most known, where they are found, are along the coast, in the vertical and horizontal chasms, or in the divisions of the marble strata which form the base, and the hills of the islands. The fishermen and seamen, who, in small barks, usually keep near the shore, can point out many of those spots ; and the shepherds are acquainted with those within land, and in the caverns. Chance might discover new collections to observers, as it did to us, if the lovers of natural wonders came more frequently on that coast.

Every heap of bones, whether in the vertical or horizontal clefts, is, as it were, wrapt up all round in a kind of sparry stalactitick shell, three or four inches thick, which incrusts the sides of the fissure, and follows all the sinuosities exactly. Where the congeries of bones is horizontal, it is always accompanied by the sparry crust, and not only is divided by it from the lower stratum, but evidently shews to have been also coated above by the same crust of reddish diaphonous spar ; which proves to every one, who is a little acquainted with the interior parts of the earth, the existence of one, or more strata of calcareous stone formed on those heaps of bones, but now destroyed by time. Were we not to suppose this, we could not understand how

such a remarkable sparry crystallization came to be formed.

The substance of the bones is ordinarily calcined ; sometimes it is found penetrated by pyritical fluors, which are commonly called *denditri*. The fistular bones, as those of the arms and legs, are lined within with a crust of gemmeous spar, lucid, and exceedingly pure, like a crystallization made by a difficult filtration through a very compact body. The *acetabuli*, and ribs, and generally all the spongy bones, preserve exactly the whiteness of calcination in the smallest *comina*, or partitions of their cavities. When not very small, they are full of an ochreous stoney matter of a reddish colour ; and when very small, they are entirely coated with a stalactitic shining reddish crust. Of the horny parts of animals, no vestige is found. The teeth preserve the natural brightness of their enamel, and are often found placed in their native jaws and holes. They are frequently, however, found separate, and leave no doubt about the species of animals to which they belonged. Excepting the teeth and jaws, we could not find any other part of the *cranium* well preserved and that was not equivocal.

Having examined several months before I went to the island of *Cherso* and *Osero* with my learned friend Mr. Symonds, and professor Ciriilli, a piece of a congeries of Illyric bones, we found a human jaw, a *vertebra*, and a *tibia*, also human, somewhat larger than usual in our age ; some sheeps bones and teeth of oxen and horses. The celebrated anatomist, Doctor *Leop-Caldani*, who does so much honour



to the university of Padua, ascertained them. The noble Signor *J. Morosini*, a great lover and cultivator of botany, and a diligent collector of marine curiosities and fossils, has many pieces of these *osteolithi*, and particularly several brought from the islands *Apfyrtes*, of one of which I thought proper to have the figure engraved. In one of them there is a jaw divided in two by a stroke given to its matrix, so that the half of one, and half of the other side appears.

Together with these bones, are united by the same cement, many pieces of various size, and a great number of splinters of white marble, angular, sharp, and of consequence never rounded by the waters. It happens also sometimes, that, in a great heap of such pieces and splinters of marble, none at all, or a very few pieces of bones are found. The cement that joins them together, is however constantly reddish, and of an ochrotartarous nature. When exposed to the air, it becomes more firm, and almost doubly harder than it was before detached from its native position. No vestige or fragment of marine bodies can be discovered, either by the naked eye, or by the help of glasses, mixed with the bones though the strata on which they lie, and those above them, are full.

I know very well, that in many other parts of Europe, fossil bones of wild beasts, and perhaps of men, are found. The celebrated *Gesner*, in his treatise on the origin of petrifications, speaks of an anthropolite, which, however, is not very ancient; in the *Philosophical Transactions*, mention is made of a human skeleton found at Derby; *Hop-*

*pelius* relates at large the discovery of another human skeleton made at Aix in Provence; both *Scheuchzer* and *Kircher*, speak of fossil bones of the same species with ours: but the greatest part of those pretended carcasses and bones may be subject to doubts. If even all the fossil bones mentioned by various authors were really human, our Illyric bones would not be less worthy of particular consideration, as they far exceed all hitherto known by the naturalists in preservation, frequency and quality. In our journey over the island of *Cherso* and *Osero*, which was rather somewhat hasty, we could, in several places, cause them to be dug up under our own eye. There are two different heaps on the isolated and desert rock of *Gutim*, though we were told only of one of them on the spot, and did not find the other; a mile from *Gutim*, at a place called *Platt*, on the island of *Cherso*, other heaps are seen. We found them, as I observed already, in the caverns of *Gbermoshall*, and at *Porto-Cicale*, in the post of *Vallishall*, and at *Balwanida*, on the other side of the strait, not far from *Luffin picciolo*. From thence passing over to the small island called *Canidole picciola*, and *Stracane*, in the language of the country, we discovered two large heaps; afterwards, we went over to the small island of *Sansego*, about eight miles distant from *Luffin picciolo*, and were shewn, at a distance, the place where they lay, at the foot of a hill of sand, of which the island is composed, and of which I shall speak more at large. Though the soil of that island is very far from being ochreous or irony, yet there also, the bones are wrapt in their



their usual martial lapideous earth, and accompanied with stones and splinters of marble. The same characters accompany the Illyrick bones over all the islands, and along the coasts of Dalmatia, where the mariners used to see them frequently, and where they were observed by the above-mentioned *Vitaliano Donati*, in the several voyages he made from 1743 till 1748. Mr. Martin Thomas Brunnich, professor in the university of Copenhagen, in his travels through Dalmatia, found some of those bones in the *Isle Coronate*, and was convinced they were human. They say there is also a great deal of them along the torrent *Cicola*, between *Sibenico* and *Knin*; near *Zaro*, and at *Rogofniza*, in the bank called *Rasip*, and in *Islola grossa*. Nor is there any considerable difference between those found in Dalmatia and at *Corfu* in the Ionian sea, where there are great quantities, at a place called *Fustapidami*. Only at *Cerigo*, where many are dug up, the appearance is somewhat altered, the colour being less dark, the stone in which they are inclosed harder, and the bones themselves more crushed. A French traveller, whose name I do not at present recollect, writes, that many fossil human bones are also found in the island of Cyprus, and I think he mentions particularly a whole skeleton.

This extraordinary abundance of bones, their constant confinement in a lapideous ochreo-stalactitic earth, the position of the various heaps observed by us, and the same correspondence which we discovered in the caverns of *Ghermoshall*, besides giving ground to suspect that a stratum had been formed in

remote ages, might also raise not a very unreasonable conjecture, that this stratum, alternately composed of marble splinters and bones, extended from the northern shore of the *Quarnaro*, to the islands of the *Ægean* sea, and probably still farther. This conjecture, though, to some, it may appear too bold, will, I apprehend, not be thought so by those who are used to observe the courses of strata generally traversing vast tracts of country, and corresponding together from one to the other shore of the sea. The coasts of France have that kind of correspondence with those of England, which lie opposite to them; and from one side to the other of the Apennines, the strata of calcareous stone of marine origin, are seen to run around the large hollows, excavated by the impetuous torrents for many miles. The not finding an uninterrupted continuation of the heaps of Illyric bones, does not afford a sufficient ground to deny the existence of so wonderful a stratum. A thousand examples of large insulated masses, commonly found dispersed among the mountains, of a very different substance from those that surround them, discover, and prove at the same time, the existence of ancient strata destroyed by the waters, and time; nor do they leave the least room to doubt of this truth. Besides, those who might think such an argument against this conjecture conclusive, ought to consider, that those congeries are found not only of bones, as has been taken notice of above, but sometimes of marble splinters alone, in some places, disposed horizontally, and in others, insinuated into the cleft or chasms, precisely in the same manner as the bones.



bones. One would not easily be induced to believe, that these bones, splinters, and stones have been so carefully buried by the hands of men; and that such numerous heaps can be the result of burials. The not finding whole skeletons \*, but rather every thing confused, broken, and mixed with reliques of various animals, seems to destroy entirely all probability of such a supposition. And if even we were to imagine that all those bones had been interred on purpose in such numerous burying places; how many ages would have been requisite, to render them so very frequent, and how many more to raise from their level the hills and eminences, under the bases, or in the hearts of which the bones lie in heaps? And in what age can we imagine that those countries were inhabited by a nation, that pre-existed the formation of the marine hills, and islands, which in our days are seen in the Adriatick?

I am far from venturing to give my opinion about the origin of so strange a phenomenon; and should indeed be quite at a loss how to give it, as every conjecture, that I can think of, is exposed to unanswerable objections. If I could, like some who have treated similar subjects, attribute all the organised fossils to a *lusus naturæ*, by following the sacred footsteps of the venerable ignorance of the schools, I might dispatch the explication of

this or any other phenomenon, in a few words, only by saying they were effects of the flood, volcanos, or earthquakes. Notwithstanding the good philosophy, and physical observations of this age, there are still some, who, in treating of a point of natural history, either give too much scope to a warm, or prejudiced imagination, or follow implicitly the state and unphilosophical doctrines of the thirteenth century; but I am not willing to put myself among their number, in order to shorten discussions. I know well, that, by hastily forming, or adopting systems, philosophers often wrong their own genius, as well as the truth, and on the other hand, am convinced, that the author of nature is not capricious in his works, and that the sound philosophers of our times laugh at plastick powers, and archetypal ideas, or such like scholastick barbarisms.

I think, that, in treating of extraordinary phenomena, hard to be explained, and liable to difficulties on all sides, the best method that can be taken by any person who is the first to write purposely concerning them, is to relate simply, and to describe, with the most scrupulous and exact precision, every thing he has seen or observed on the subject. Every body is at liberty, afterwards, to explain them his own way, either according to the systems of others, or by some new hypothesis formed on

\* After we were returned from the island of *Cherso* and *Osero*, our kind hosts acquainted us, that, after our departure, a whole human carcase had been discovered in a rock, and invited us to repass the gulf, to oversee the cutting of it out. Circumstances did not permit us to attend to this invitation; and who knows how so rare and valuable a monument of the antiquity of our species may have been treated by those people.



purpose. For my part, I am perfectly convinced, that I have not the necessary *data* for a satisfactory explanation, and therefore will not hazard a conjecture concerning the ancient origin of the Illyric fossil bones; but at the same time am very ready to attend to any person who will undertake to solve my doubts. These fossil bones are, in my opinion, one of the most important objects about which the learned curiosity of the naturalists can be employed; and it were to be wished, that some of them, led by genius, would give us an account how far precisely those strata reach over all Dalmatia, and the islands of the Levant.

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*Of the Nature of Marble, and Petrifications. From the same.*

THE fossil bones, enclosed in the lapideous earth before described, are not the only lithological curiosity of the island of *Cherso* and *Osero*, and those adjacent to it. The nature of the marble, of which they are almost wholly composed from the top to the bottom, merits particular attention. They are differently organised, and the component parts of the various strata are also combined with some diversity; and sometimes a small dissimilitude may be observed between the parts of the same stratum, at any considerable distance the one from the other: but as their direction is always constant, so are the principal elements constantly the same in each stratum, notwithstanding the various distances of its parts. The stone which occupies the highest parts of the island, as well near

the lake of *Jesero*, as about *Lussipicciolo*, is analogous to the common marble of *Istria*, only it contains a greater quantity of marine bodies of the most distinguishable species, and which usually are better preserved than the others, I mean *phacites* and *elicites* of every variety and size. The quantity of these bodies semipetrified, or changed into stalactites, but not become of equal hardness with the matrice in which they are contained, renders that marble less strong and less apt to resist the action of the air, and corrosion, than the Istrian. The ancient sea bottom, hardened by time, and the operative faculty of the waters uniting the particles most apt to concrete in crystals, has been abundantly peopled with large and small *nummali*, and fragments of them, many ages before it was exposed to the open air. These adventitious bodies, of which the species is justly supposed to be lost, were probably not so easily compressible as other softer and unconnected parts of the mud; hence it would follow, that, preserving some degree of their disposition towards calcination, they were shut up in the petrification of large strata. Whenever it happens that they are exposed to the violent action of any exterior force, they soon begin to be decomposed, in such a manner, that the superficies of a piece of this stone, which is almost half composed of them, shews manifestly its disposition to be disunited, reduced into powder, and consumed by time. Notwithstanding, however, this smaller degree of hardness which the *nummali* have, when inclosed in the strata that compose the tops of the mountains of



of the island, they use, when entire, to resist time and corrosion better than the rest of the stone, in consequence of their structure, which, between the *lamina*, left room for a sparry crystallization. Hence the *nummali* and *frumentarie* of *Cberso* remain considerably prominent, and less worn than the stone in which they lie, though they are evidently not so hard; which is a proof that the greater or lesser solidity and apparent compactness of a body, is not a sure rule of proportion to determine the durability, which rather depends on the secret nature and disposition of the particles whereof it is composed, and the species of force actuating towards its destruction. And though the cause does not appear outwardly, the same thing is frequently seen in various kinds of fossil matter, and the extraneous body, though specifically less compact, resists longer than the marble, or *schistus* in which it is contained. The small differences of the combination of the elements, which concurred to form any portion of a stratum, and the very minute varieties of situation, air, earth, water, and effluvia not reducible to calculation, are altogether, or taken separately, the causes of the most remarkable differences between stones, which, however, have all the same basis. Mineral substances when dissolved tinge the earth, of which the hardest marble is formed, of various colours, in proportion to their quality and quantity; and it happens not unfrequently, that marble strata, already hardened, through the intervention of water or fire, imbibe, or open their pores to let in a co-

louring matter, or mineral *efflu-  
vium*, which changes their secondary qualities almost radically. Hence, taking the whole lithological kingdom together, it may freely be asserted, that the waters charged with heterogeneous particles, and the subterranean vapours, have almost as considerable a part in the alterations of the combination of stones, as the volcanic fires, which melt, reduce to ashes, and mix with an infinite variety, the substances variously combined, on which they act with different degrees of force. The *nummali* shut up in the real marble, and the calcareous stone of *Osero* and *Cberso* are of the flattest kind, and of various sizes. Many of them have above three inches in diameter, and two or three lines of thickness, and are horizontally placed; some others, of a size not much different, are in a vertical position; and others are also found in a posture somewhat inclined. From the bigness of above three inches diameter, they diminish by degrees to the smallest *frumentaria* or *phacites*; and to see this, the observer has no need to multiply his examinations of different pieces of stone, as very often all the varieties are contained in one piece alone.

The other sort of marble which is seen naked on the shores, and constitutes the base of all those islands, having constantly above it another stratum of about three feet deep, of precisely the same substance, is well worthy of attentive and diligent observation. Both these strata are of a dirty whitish colour, spotted and bespangled with very white crystallizations, which sometimes are lodged between



tween the fissures of the earth petrified by them, running through the fissures in very minute diramations; sometimes they have occupied the place of marine bodies calcined, and perhaps in part destroyed before the induration of their actual matrice. Among these, some *turbinati* are distinguished, which appear to be of the hardest spar, and a great number of whitish fistular bodies of the same substance, which, at first sight, might be taken, and which I actually mistook for bones. The stratum washed by the sea on the coasts of *Istria* and *Liburnia*, is composed of the above-mentioned materials, and it is evident enough, that the base of the island of *Cherso* and *Osero*, and of the ancient islands, is only a continuation of the same, and formed at the same time by a very ancient sea, and in less remote ages, though always very far from ours, interrupted by a new sea; and certainly the Adriatick of our days, ought to be called a new sea, very different from the ancient ocean, which formed the whole of that tract of country, which the Adriatick, and the rivers, by little and little, go on corroding, if the spoils of animals, still preserved in the bowels of those vast petrified strata, are of totally different species from those that now inhabit our seas. I know not what the bishop *Brouallius*, professor Bring, and the other antagonists to the diminution of the waters, and their change of seats, could answer to these manifest facts. They were certainly in the wrong to call in religion to the assistance of their favourite hypothesis, endeavouring to oppose and overthrow the observations of the

most learned naturalists, by arbitrary interpretations of sacred texts. Religion never is a gainer on such occasions; witness the abjuration of *Galileo*, which does so much dishonour to Italy.

The marine air, and perhaps the sea water, which has always something of acid in it, make a very curious operation on the superficies of the species of marble exposed to their activity. It would have been thought extravagant enough if any body had pretended to desire, or hope, that the most diligent stonemason in the world, by means of a chisel, or the most profound chemist, by means of some menstruum, should shew us the course, and diramations of the vessels in stones; many lithologists by profession would never even have suspected their existence. I had however the pleasure of seeing this executed in the most masterly manner along the shores of those islands, and sometimes on the lower parts of the hills. The points of the second stratum, that are not sullied and disfigured by the salt waters, coriaceous or stony lichens, *muscus*, *balani*, or labours of marine insects, but corroded only by the air, and the aspersions of the waves, shew the internal texture of the marble, and the most intricate passages of the smallest canals, in which the sparry substance is deposited and crystallized, opening the way between the divisions, and between the smallest lumps of the particles of clay not sufficiently hardened, which it proceeded to petrify, when assisted by the waters that served as its vehicle. The action of the moist and salt air, and the drizzling of the sea water, concurring in the decomposition of those



those marble strata, ordinarily finds the pure calcareous crystallized substance less easily dissolvable, because its parts not being amalgamated with the clay, are more in a condition to resist, as being more continued, compact, and adherent; and hence, corroding all round it, leaves prominent every one of the small canals above mentioned, together with all their capillary ramifications. Though this exact anatomical system cannot be observed in every species of marble, and perhaps in some kinds the observations may seem at first sight directly opposite, yet I think we may reasonably conclude, from the result of the combinations concurring in the formation, and dissolution of the marble of *Cherso*, that all, or the greatest part of the stones, which owe their origin to the water, were rendered solid, and continued by the same operation of nature; from whence perhaps, arises a new chain of coherence and analogy between the mineral kingdom and the other two. The examination of a variety of agates and jaspers containing curious spots, shades, and herborizations, if made under the eye of a skilful lithologist, might contribute much to confirm the similarity and connection just mentioned.

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*Of the Formation and Dissolution of Hills. From the same.*

THE attentive consideration of the internal structure of the island has confirmed me still more in the opinion which I had before, through the frequent use of observing the mountains and

hills of the continent, concerning the salient and re-entrant angles of Bourguet. A celebrated naturalist has brought them in vogue on the faith of their author; and many more of lesser fame adopted them as a demonstrated truth. I however constantly believe, and dare assert, that this system of salient and re-entrant angles cannot be adopted universally to the mountains, and much less to the seashore. It is very true, that the correspondence of the angles is seen very well expressed in the sides of some vallies; but there are few vallies among the mountains that do not owe their excavation to the waters of rivers, or torrents, the constant nature of which is to form an angle, or a salient curvature opposite to every new corrosion. But where the waters have not been able to work in their usual way, and where the vallies were formed by little hills, or volcanic hills produced in various times, and with little order, there no mark of the pretended universal correspondence is seen. To set still in a clearer light the error of this hypothesis given out as a constant observation, it is proper to repeat, that the horizontal, or inclined strata, which are the most common, and nearest to their ancient natural state, correspond together from one chain of hills to another; though they may be divided by very broad vallies, which manifestly demonstrate an ancient continuity, as well as the dissolution of the large portion of mountain that existed before those great hollows.

And hence it may easily be perceived, how little probability there is, that the hills, in their first foundation,



foundation, have been formed by the great Architect at corresponding angles, leaving, as it were, the *denielli* of the strata suspended round the vallies; for according to all appearance it may be reasonably concluded, after the most diligent observations, that no vestige, or clear proof remains, in our days, of *primitive* hills, or that may with propriety be called so. Those which we know, are manifestly produced, either by volcanos, which have burnt in almost every region of our globe; or by the sea, which in past ages covered it altogether, or alternatively; or by the sea and volcanos at the same time\*. And it appears not improbable, that the most ancient protuberances of our globe were much more vast and regular, though quite different from the structure of those we now see.

Concerning the other ideas of Bourguet, who after having established observations by no means exact, imagined by way of corollaries the past state of the earth, and found the precise time of the deluge, (as if there had been but one) and then pretended to foresee the subsequent alterations and transformations that are to happen in it, I think it needless to take any further notice. Systems and theories resemble hitherto, and are like to resemble in time coming, (till a sufficient number of good ob-

servations are made) unripe fruit, which spoils in a short time. That of Bourguet seems to have found more partisans than it deserved, and several of them have gained themselves no honour by adopting it. It was sufficient, indeed, to stay in their chambers, and to theorise at their ease on good geographical maps, concerning the truth of the proposition *that the sides of the large vallies, as well as those of the shores of the sea, correspond with one another*; and I who have taken the trouble to examine many of them, am persuaded, *that neither the sides of the sea shores, nor those of the large vallies, constantly correspond with one another.*

The strata of the islands of *Cherso* and *Osero* are very regularly formed. They pass from one hill to another with a kind of undulation, which probably has been, nay doubtless has been, the work of a vast ocean. The island is too old, and has undergone too great a number of changes, as well as the rest of the globe, for us to form any certain judgment concerning its superficies. It is certain, however, that no vestige now remains of the ancient superficies, as even the order of the organization is altered in the inland parts, as well as on the sea coast. The rain waters, the subterraneous cavities, the absorptions, and sometimes more subitaneous agents, have

\* In the celebrated mountain of *Bolea*, situated in the Veronese territory, the co-existence of the sea and of ancient volcanos is manifestly seen. In our times, that is in the beginning of this century, the island or rock of *Santerini* was raised out of the bottom of the sea by a volcano. In the valley of *Ronca*, between *Vicenza* and *Verona*, the sides of the hill shew the strata alternately formed of the spoils of the sea, and of volcanic eruptions; and the petrified shells, that are found there, are often tinged with black and drenched in bitumen, and the largest *ostracites* lie involved in the *lava* and are full of it.



made great ruins. The waves wash away and destroy some of the littoral hills; and hence the observation of the strata that remain exposed to the eye on the exterior part of the island, are enough to embarrass any hasty fabricator of systems. Some of them are inclined towards the sea, and, from root to root of the hills, describe arches bending outwards: but this direction is not constant. Here and there, contiguous to the arches bending outwards, other arches are seen, which bend, in a contrary sense, inwards, manifestly opposing themselves to the waves with a kind of pride. The explanation of this fact is, however, not difficult, though it might seem contradictory. The littoral hills in those parts, particularly those of *Osero*, are formed of marble strata, the one disposed above the other in such a manner, as resembles, in large, the structure of the Bezoar stone, but they are not so disposed in the right line, that the sea waters can do equal damage to each in discomposing the roots, and consequently in destroying the sides and tops. Hence the strata of those hills that were more exposed to the force of the waves, must have been more easily, and in a shorter space of time, corroded, disconnected, and overturned beyond their common centre, which is the perpendicular let fall from the top of the hill where the inclination towards the sea ends, and the declivity towards the internal part of the island begins. In the course of ages, these hills, the roots and interior parts whereof were inclined towards the destroying sea, are reduced to less than the half, and therefore now appear

outwardly inclined towards the land. And those hills that in our days are thus half worn away, will, in the course of years, be quite destroyed; their roots will become quick-sands; and the sea continuing its encroachments, and daily gaining on the dry land will once more by degrees swallow up that tract of country, which, perhaps, it has by degrees abandoned and reinundated already, who knows how often. This kind of prophecy, is not founded on ideal chimeras, but on visible facts, which correspond together, and reciprocally enforce one another from one end of the earth to the other.

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*Account of the Section of the Symphysis of the Pubes, performed at Paris, by M. Sigault, October 2, 1777.*

SO early as the time of Hippocrates it was observed, that in pregnant women, the bones of the pelvis gradually separate from each other, by a dilatation of the substance which connects them; but though the justness of this remark has been repeatedly admitted by anatomical writers, it has not till lately been rendered subservient to any useful purpose in the practice of the obstetrical art. The person entitled to the honour of this invention is Mr. Sigault, a French physician, who, in 1768, proposed the section of the symphysis of the pubes as a substitute for the Cæsarian operation, so often productive of the most fatal consequences; and the utility of this practice was exemplified last year in the case of Mrs. Souhot,

on



on whom he made the experiment, in conjunction with Mr. Le Roy. After informing our readers that Mrs. Souchot was a deformed woman, of a small stature, with a narrow pelvis, we shall present them with the account of the operation.

I observed that the child presented by its feet, that the orifice of the uterus was very much dilated, and that the diameter, from the anterior to the posterior part of the pelvis, did not exceed two inches and a half. I told Mr. Sigault, that as the diameter of a child's head at its birth is usually at least three inches and a quarter, it would be impossible for it to be delivered at an aperture of only two inches and a half; that consequently she must submit to the Cæsarian operation, or that which we intended to substitute for it, to which last she consented.

Every thing being got ready, we folded the mattrass three times, and placed her on it. We began by feeling for the middle part of the cartilage of the symphyse, which we readily discovered by the finger. I advised Mr. Sigault to begin the section of the superior part of the symphyse, but not above the pyramidal muscle, and to do it by two incisions. First to divide the integuments as far as the middle of the pubes, while I held the lower part downwards, and then to begin the section of the cartilage. Secondly, to finish the incision of the integuments, without any fear of hæmorrhage obstructing him in the section of the cartilage. Mr. Sigault had nothing but a common bistory to perform this operation with. The thighs being opened and raised, he performed it in the manner mentioned. The

moment the separation was completed, the pubes parted, as if the string of a bow had been divided, and receded to each side under the integuments. I immediately began to extract the child after Mr. Sigault had broke the membrane, and brought the feet as far as the os externum. I first made myself sure of the extent of the separation which we had gained by the section, in order to judge of a proper method to extract the head. I laid my four knuckles in the space procured by the section, which measured *two inches and a half*, an extent somewhat more than that which I had gained upon the body of Mrs. Brafeur, which gave me pleasure. The child's heels were turned to the right side, and I extracted the body by gentle efforts, which I directed towards the lateral parts entirely, and not to the spine. I disengaged the left arm, and then the right; the head being still above the brim of the pelvis, I applied my hand to the face, which corresponded with the symphyse, of the left ilium: I opened her thighs as far as I could, and fixed the largest portion of the right parietal in the separation. The integuments projected; I made the left parietal answer to the right lateral side of the hollow of the sacrum; afterwards, upon raising the body of the child, I drew out the left lateral side of the head, while at the same time, with the right hand applied to the nasal fossa, I brought the chin downwards. By these united efforts I overcame the greatest resistance at the brim of the pelvis. When it had now gained the hollow of the sacrum, I brought the occiput between the separation, and disengaged the chin at the inferior part



of the os externum, by raising the child's body; the rest of the body followed presently, and the patient was delivered, to her great joy, of a living son. The thighs being lowered, the separation appeared not to exceed eight lines. Immediately extracted the placenta, because the uterus began to contract itself exceedingly.

During this operation, which was neither very painful nor tedious, the woman lost very little blood, and the husband being called in, could scarce give credit to so fortunate and speedy a delivery. We applied some lint to the wound, and removed the patient on the matras, in order to make her bed. Upon the least opening of her thighs she felt very acute pains in the left posterior side of the loins and pelvis. We applied a napkin, by way of bandage, to keep the pelvis in a just position, to which we fastened two ribbands behind, one on the right, the other on the left, and brought them under the thighs, in order to tie them before. When put to bed, we found her pulse was not affected, and enraptured at becoming a mother, she requested us to give her the child, in order to suckle it.

Mrs. Brasseur, whose name is mentioned in this narrative, was a person on whose body Mr. Le Roy made trial of the operation, immediately after she had expired from the injurious treatment of a woman who attempted to deliver her.

Mr. Le Roy informs us, that he has performed the section of the pubes upon dead subjects, both male and female. In the former he observed a separation of between two and three lines space, and in

the latter from three to four; but in those who died in child-bed he constantly gained from six to nine lines.

Both Mr. Sigault and Mr. Le Roy have received distinguished honours from the faculty of physic at Paris, for the zeal with which they have prosecuted this extraordinary improvement in midwifery; and it is to be hoped that many lives may henceforth be preserved, by the performance of this operation.

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*Of the Paklara or Rémora of the Ancients. From L'Abbé Fortis's Travels.*

I Will finish this letter by relating a fact, to which you may give that degree of faith which you think it merits. You have often read, in ancient naturalists, of wonderful things done by the *Rémora*, or *Echeneis*, and not without some surprise will have learnt Pliny's story, who, after having told us, on the faith of another, how Anthony was retarded on his voyage by means of this fish, asserts positively, that a ship with Caligula on board and four hundred rowers, was actually stopt by one of those fishes, while the rest of the fleet went on at a great rate. When I read this, I contented myself to shrug up my shoulders, without perplexing my brain to find out by what natural principle, or matter of fact, such an opinion could become so generally received, that a man of sense, as Pliny certainly was, should affirm it in positive terms;



terms \*. But chance led me to the discovery. We were sailing in a small bark between Vrullia and Almissa with a fresh equal gale, in the afternoon. The mariners were all at rest, and the steersman alone was awake, and attended in silence to the direction of the bark; when, on a sudden, we heard him call aloud to one of his companions, ordering him to come and kill the *Paklara*. Our learned friend Signor *Guilio Bajamonti* was with me, and understanding what the man meant, desired him to shew him the fish that he wanted to be killed, but the fish was gone. Having interrogated the steersman, who did not want sense, and was a fisherman by profession, why he had ordered the *Paklara* to be killed, and what harm it had done; he answered, without hesitation, that the *Paklara* used to take hold of the rudder with his teeth, and retarded the course of the bark so sensibly, that not only he, but every man who sat at the helm felt it there without seeing it. He added, that many a time he himself had caught the *Packlara* in the fact, and had frequently killed and eat it. That it was often met with in the waters of *Lissa*. That in shape it resembled a conger eel, and its length did not usually exceed a foot and a half.

That if I had a mind to see, and catch one of them, I needed only to go in a fishing boat, in the warm season, between the islands of *Lesina* and *Lissa*, where he had never failed to meet with them every year. I will not desire you to believe every thing my pilot said; but confess that I should be very glad to see the *Paklara* when it had taken hold of the rudder of a bark under sail. The wonderful strength of the muscles of some little marine animals, such as the *Lepades*, that so obstinately resist any attempt to disengage them from their rocks; the stroke proceeding with such rapidity from the *Torpedo*, known at Venice by the name of *pesce tremolo*, and in the sea of Dalmatia by that of *Truak*; the vigour shewn by the *Dentici* in their convulsive motions even when out of their own element; not to mention the larger fish, such as, Tunny, Dolphins, &c. give me ground to suspect, that, if all that the ancients wrote concerning the *Remora* be not just literally true, it is not altogether false. It is certainly a thing worthy of some reflection, that Pliny speaks so diffusely concerning this phenomenon, as of a known fact that could not be called in question. The Greeks also adopted the notion of this extravagant fa-

\* Ruant venti licet, & sæviant procellæ (echeneis) imperat furori, viresque tantas compescit, & cogit stare navigia—Fertur adtiaco marte tenuisse prætoriam navim Antonii properantis circumire, & exhortari suos, donec transiret in aliam. Ideoque & Cæsariana classis impetu majore protinus venit. Tenuit & nostra memoria Caii principis ab Astura Antium remigantis. Nec longa fuit illius moræ admiratio, statim causa intellecta quoniam e tota classe quinquaremis sola non proficeret. Exilientibus protinus qui id quærerent circa navim invenerunt adhærentem gubernaculo, ostenderuntque Caio indignanti hoc fuisse quod se revocaret quadringentorumque remigum obsequio contra se intercederet. Qui tunc, posteaque videre eum limaci magnæ similem esse dicunt. E nostris quidam Latinis Remoram appellavere eum. C. Plin. sec. Nat. Hist. l. xxxii. c. 1.



culty, by superstitiously hanging the *Remora* about women with child to prevent abortion.

The *Remora* of the ancients and the *Paklara* of our days have this remarkable difference, that the first is almost always described as of the testaceous kind, and the second is of the genus of the *Muraenæ*.

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*Account of a Wild Man seen in the Pyrenees.*

THE following relation, concerning a wild man, though but little known, is well authenticated. The account is translated from a work published last year at Paris, intitled, *Memoir sur les Travaux, &c. dans les Pyrenées, &c.* by the King's engineer M. Le Roy, who has described the machines by which the masts are drawn out of the forests of the Pyrenean mountains, for the use of the French navy, in a very scientific manner.

In the course of this work, M. Le Roy says,—‘In the year 1774, a savage, or wild man, was discovered by the shepherds, who fed their flocks in the neighbourhood of the forest of Yuary. This man, who inhabited the rocks that lay near the forest, was very tall, co-

vered with hair, like a bear, nimble as the Hissars, of a gay humour, and, in all appearance, of a mild character, as he neither did, nor seemed to intend, harm to any body. He often visited the cottages, without ever attempting to carry off any thing. He had no knowledge of bread, milk, or cheese. His greatest amusement was to see the sheep running, and to scatter them, and he testified his pleasure at this sight by loud fits of laughter, but never attempted to hurt those innocent animals. When the shepherds (as was frequently the case) let loose their dogs after him, he fled with the swiftness of an arrow shot from a bow, and never allowed the dogs to come too near him. One morning he came to the cottage of some workmen, and one of them endeavouring to get near him, and catch him by the leg, he laughed heartily, and then made his escape. He seemed to be about thirty years of age. As the forest in question is very extensive, and has a communication with vast woods that belong to the Spanish territory, it is natural to suppose that this solitary, but cheerful creature, had been lost in his infancy, and had subsisted on herbs.’



# USEFUL PROJECTS.

*An improved Method of Tanning Leather. By David Macbride, M. D. From the Philosophical Transactions.*

SIR,

Dublin,  
May 31, 1777.

**Y**OU may please to remember that I informed you, some years ago, of my having found out a way of tanning leather in less time, and at a smaller expence of materials, than can be done by any of the ways hitherto known or practised; and promised, that, as soon as I should find myself at liberty to disclose it, I would communicate my method to the Royal Society.

Accordingly I take the liberty of inclosing a set of instructions, which I drew up for the person who conducted the business of a large tan-yard belonging to a company with which I have had an engagement for these last four years; which I apprehend will be found sufficiently clear for enabling any intelligent tanner to avail himself of my improvements.

I beg you will present this paper to the society; but, as it cannot be understood by gentlemen who are not already, in some degree, acquainted with the ordinary process of tanning, I must request their indulgence, while I mention the prin-

cipal operations in this branch of manufacture.

The use of tanning is two-fold; first to preserve the leather from rotting; and, secondly, to render it impervious to water.

An infusion of any strongly-astringent vegetable will serve to tan leather so far as to prevent its rotting; but if this vegetable does not contain a good deal of gum-resin, it will not answer for enabling it to keep out water: and hence it is that oak-bark, which is more abundant in the gummy-resinous part than any of our common indigenous astringents, is preferred to all other substances for the purpose of tanning.

The tanners prepare their bark by gently drying it on a kiln, and grinding it into a very coarse powder. They then either use it in the way of infusion, which is called ooze; or they strew the dry powder between the layers of hides and skins, when these are laid away in the tan-pits.

The ooze is made by macerating the bark in common water, in a particular set of holes or pits, which, to distinguish them from the other holes in the tan-yard, are termed latches.

The first operation of the tanner is to cleanse his hides from all extraneous



traneous filth, and remove any remains of flesh or fat which may have been left behind by the butcher.

The hair is next to be cut off, and this is accomplished either by steeping the hides for a short time in a mixture of lime and water; which is termed liming; or by rolling them up close, and piling them in heaps, where they quickly begin to heat and putrify. The hair being loosened is scraped off, and the tanner proceeds to the operation called fleshing, which consists in a further scraping, with a particular kind of knife contrived for the purpose, and cutting away the jagged extremities and offal parts, such as the ears and nostrils.

The raw leather is then put into an alkaline ley, in order to discharge the oil, and render its pores more capable of imbibing the ooze. The tanners of this country generally make their ley of pigeon's dung; but a more active one may be prepared from kelp or pot-ash, taking care, however, not to make it too strong of the ashes, nor to allow the leather to remain too long in the ley.

The oil being sufficiently discharged, the leather is ready for the ooze, and at first is thrown into smaller holes, which are termed handlers; because the hides or skins, during this part of the process are taken up, from time to time, and allowed to drain; they continue to work the leather in these handlers, every now and then stirring it up with the utensil called a plunger, which is nothing more than a pole with a knob at the end of it, until they think proper to lay it away in the vatts. In these holes, which are the largest in the

tan-yard, the leather is spread out smooth, whereas they toss it into the handlers at random; and between each layer of leather they sprinkle on some powdered bark, until the pit is filled by the leather and bark thus laid in *stratum super stratum*: ooze is then poured on, to fill up interstices; and the whole crowned with a sprinkling of bark, which the tanners call a heading.

In this manner the leather is allowed to macerate, until the tanner sees that it is completely penetrated by the ooze: when this is accomplished (which he knows by cutting out a bit of the thickest part of the hide) the manufacture is finished, so far as relates to tanning, since nothing now remains but to dry the goods thoroughly, by hanging them up in airy lofts built for the purpose. Such in general is the process for tanning calf-skins, and those lighter sorts of hides which are called butts; but the large, thick, heavy hides, of which the strongest and most durable kind of soal-leather is made, require to have their pores more thoroughly opened before the ooze can sufficiently penetrate them. For this purpose, while the hides are in the putrescent state, from being allowed to heat in the manner already mentioned, and well soaked in an alkaline ley, they are thrown into a sour liquor, generally brewed from rye, in order that the effervescence which necessarily ensues may open the pores.

The tanners term this operation raising, as the leather is considerably swelled, in consequence of the conflict between the acid and alkali. This is an English invention; for it appears from M. de la Lande, who was employed by the

Royal



Royal Academy of Sciences to write on the art of tanning, that the foreign tanners know nothing of this branch of the business: indeed, their whole process, according to his account, is slovenly, and even more tedious than our common method, and must make but very indifferent leather.

When the raising is accomplished, the leather is put into the handlers, and worked in them for the requisite time; then laid away in the vatts, and there left to macerate until the tanning is found to be completely finished, which, for the heaviest kind of leather, such as this of which I am now speaking, requires from first to last full two years. At least, the tanners of this country cannot make soal-leather in less time; what they are able to perform in England, I am not so thoroughly acquainted with.

It is this tediousness of the process which enhances the value of leather; and the returns being so slow, the trade of tanning never can be carried on to advantage, but by persons possessed of a large capital; therefore, one sure way of increasing the number of tanners, and of course of bringing down the price of their manufacture, is to shorten the process; and if at the same time we can improve the quality of the leather, and save somewhat in the expence of tanning materials, the public will be essentially benefitted in respect to one of the necessary articles of life.

All this I will venture to say, can be done by pursuing the method which is laid down in the inclosed paper, and which may be introduced into any common tan-yard.

With respect to time, it is possible, in the way that I have found out, to finish leather in a fourth part of what is required in the ordinary process; for I have repeatedly had calf-skins tanned in a fortnight or four weeks, which in the common way could not be done in less than a fortnight to four months.

I shall not pretend, however, to affirm, that the business can be carried on in the large way with such expedition; because a great deal of this abridgement of time was probably owing to frequent handling and working of the leather; but I am confident, and know it from four years experience, that in the ordinary course of business, and in a common tan-yard, the tanner may save at least four months out of twelve, produce better leather, and find his bark go much farther than in the old way of tanning.

Having premised thus much, I flatter myself that the paper of instructions will be found perfectly intelligible. It shews, that the principles on which my method is established are derived from chemistry, and therefore it will not appear strange that these improvements should have been made by a person of the medical profession: indeed they took their rise from a series of experiments carried on purely for medical purposes (the very same that confirmed me in the opinion that infusion of malt would cure the sea scurvy) and any person who will look into the account of those experiments, will readily understand the theory of the new method of tanning\*.

\* See the Essay on the dissolvent power of quicksilver, among the experimental essays on medical and philosophical subjects.



It would be trespassing on the time of the society, to enter into any detail of the circumstances that first induced me to think of this matter, or to give a history of the progress of my experiments, which at first were made at home, and with little pieces of raw leather: it is sufficient to say, that the efficacy of this method has been fully proved by the experience of near ten years (during which I have thought proper to keep it a secret) and I now bestow it to the public.

I am, &c.

*Instructions to Tanners, for carrying on the new Method of Tanning, invented by Dr. Macbride, of Dublin; whereby the Leather is not only improved in its Quality, but tanned in much less Time, and with a smaller Quantity of Bark, than in any other Method hitherto known or practised.*

AS the new method of tanning depends on this principle, "That lime-water extracts the virtues of oak-bark more completely than plain water;" the first thing in which the tanner is to be instructed, is the making of lime-water.

1. Provide a large vessel, in the nature of a cistern, whose depth shall be at least twice its diameter, and of a capacity adapted to the extent of the tan-yard.

2. This cistern must be fixed in a convenient corner of the yard, under a shed, and should stand so as that the liquor which is to be drawn off from it may run freely into the latches.

3. There must be a cock fixed in the side of the cistern, about a foot from the bottom, to let off the con-

tents; and there must be a hole in the bottom of it, of five or six inches diameter, which is to be stopped with a plug. Let this hole open over a gutter.

4. The cistern must be covered with a flooring of boards, strong enough to bear a man's weight; and from side to side of this lid there must be an opening of two or three feet wide.

5. If it can be so contrived that a water-pipe may be led into the cistern, it will save the servants a good deal of trouble; but if this cannot be done, a pump must be fixed in the most convenient way, for the purpose of filling it from time to time.

6. The cistern being once fixed (which is all the additional apparatus that the new method of tanning requires) the making of lime-water will be found extremely simple and easy.

7. You are first to fill the cistern with water, and then, for every hogshead that it may contain throw in ten or a dozen pounds weight of unslaked lime.

8. Mix the lime thoroughly with the whole body of the water, by stirring it exceedingly well from the bottom, with a bucket and plunger, until you perceive that the lime is completely diffused, and the whole mixture grows as white as milk; leave it then to settle for a couple of days, that the undissolved part of the lime may entirely subside, and the water become perfectly limpid, and clear as rock-water. Your lime-water will then be fit for immediate use.

9. The cock, as already mentioned, is to be fixed at least twelve inches from the bottom of the cistern, in order that only the limpid part



part of the lime-water may run off; and the use of the hole in the bottom, which is ordered to be stopp'd with a plug, is to let off the gross and insoluble remains of the lime, as often as it may be found necessary to clean out the cistern.

10. When the first brewing (as it may be termed) of lime-water is all expended, you are to fill up the cistern with water a second time; stir up the lime from the bottom with a bucket and plunger, so as to mix it thoroughly with the whole body of the water, as before directed, and then leave it to subside for the requisite time. Thus you will have a second brewing of lime-water; and you may go on in the same manner to make a third, fourth, fifth, or perhaps a sixth, or more brewings, from the original quantity of lime; provided you shall find the lime-water continue sufficiently strong.

11. There are two ways of knowing when lime-water is sufficiently strong. The one is by the taste, and this a little practice will teach you to distinguish; the other is, by observing a certain solid scum, like the flakes of very thin ice, which collects and forms itself on the surface of the lime-water.—As long as you find this solid scum floating on the top of the water in the cistern, so long you may conclude that there is no necessity for throwing in fresh lime.

12. But when the scum ceases to appear, or you find from the taste that the lime-water is not so strong as it ought to be, you must then take out the plug from the bottom of the cistern, and clear it by sweeping away the gross remains of lime: and after you have cleaned the cistern, begin your brewings of lime-water a-new, and

proceed in the manner already directed, as to stirring up the lime, and leaving it to settle for the necessary time, so as to have your lime-water perfectly limpid. In this manner you may go on from year to year, and constantly keep yourself in stock with respect to lime-water.

13. It is this lime-water which is now to be used in making your ooze instead of the plain common water; and this is all the difference between the old and the new method of tanning; for when your ooze is prepared, by steeping your bark in lime-water (in the latches, as you do at present, only running it through two latches) you are to make use of it in the very same way that you have hitherto used the common ooze, there not being the least variation required with respect to any of the previous management before the skins or hides are fitted for the ooze. Every thing that relates to cleaning, liming, fleshing, &c. is to be conducted precisely as in the old or common method of tanning; and the goods are to be worked in the handlers for the requisite time, and then laid away in the vatts, with layers and heading of bark, just as you now practise; and when you observe that the leather is sufficiently penetrated with the ooze, that is to say, completely tanned, you will take it up, dry it, and afterwards dress it according to the different uses for which it is intended. You are always to observe, however, that the ooze is to be turned from one latch on another before it is used, otherwise it will be apt to blacken the leather.

14. What has been hitherto said relates only to butts and calf-skins; as to foal-leather, which is prepared



pared for the ooze by steeping it in some four liquor, in order to open its pores, and raise it (according to the tanner's phrase), the new method requires a different practice from the old one.

15. In the old method, the tanners made use of sourings brewed generally from rye, or some other grain; but these liquors are not only troublesome to brew and to ferment, but they are always uncertain as to their degree of sourness or strength, which depends on the state of the weather, and other variable circumstances; these liquors are moreover exceedingly apt to rot the leather, and, without great care, may injure it very materially in its texture.

16. To obviate these inconveniences, you are to imitate the bleachers of linen, who make use of a sour prepared by diluting the strong spirit of vitriol (vulgarly, but improperly, termed oil of vitriol) with a sufficient quantity of plain water.

17. It was not without much difficulty that the bleachers could be prevailed on to quit their old sourings, made either like yours of rye or barley, or of sour buttermilk, from a groundless fear, that the vitriolic souring would corrode their cloth; but the experience of many years has convinced them of their error, and now no other souring is used. In like manner the tanners at first may some of them be afraid to use the vitriol, but a little practice will shew how far superior this souring is to what they have hitherto used. They will never find it subject to any change in re-

spect to strength from variations of weather, or different degrees of heat; and so far from tending to rot the leather, it gives unusual firmness; and the soals which are raised by the vitriolic souring are remarkably sound, and always free from the slightest degree of rotteness. Besides, the same sour may do for many parcels of leather, by adding a little vitriol to it; and it need only be thrown away, when it becomes too dirty for use, by the frequent succession of hides.

18. A wine pint of the strong spirit of vitriol, which will not cost more than nine or ten pence\*, is sufficient for fifty gallons of water to prepare the souring at first: therefore all you have to do, in raising the soals, is only to prepare them before-hand in the usual way; and, when they are fitted for the souring, mix up a quantity of vitriol and water, according to the number of hides that you require to have raised, still observing the proportion of a pint to fifty gallons, which will be enough, if the vitriol be of the due degree of strength. The hides may lie in the souring till you find them sufficiently raised, for they will be in no danger of rotting, as they would be in the common corn sourings, which in time might turn putrid, and rot the leather; whereas, the vitriolic sourings keep off putrefaction.

19. When you find your hides sufficiently raised, put them directly into the ooze, and go on with the tanning as in the old way; and you will see that the lime-

\* The oil of vitriol is sold by the druggists in large bottles, containing eight or ten gallons.



water ooze penetrates raised leather even faster than it does butts or calf-skins, allowance being made for their different degrees of thickness.

20. Let it now be supposed that you have your cistern fixed, your lime water prepared, and some latches full of lime-water ooze, which has been run through two latches in order that the lime-water may completely spend its force on the bark; you are not to throw away what common ooze you have in stock in the yard, but only as it shall be spent; then, indeed, you are to throw it away, and supply its place with the lime-water ooze.

21. In a very few days you will perceive the difference between the activity of the two oozes, the new and old, with respect to penetrating the leather; and thus, without any kind of loss or waste, you will get rid of all your old liquors, and come speedily into a full stock of the ooze made with lime-water; and after you have got the new method established, your business will go in a regular course, and one parcel of goods will succeed another, as fast as you can manufacture and dispose of them.

22. Though it is possible to tan small parcels of leather, by way of experiment, by the use of lime-water ooze, in a fourth part of the time which is required, if only common ooze be made use of; yet the business of a large tan-yard cannot be carried on with so much expedition: but even in large works, and in the common course of business, foal leather can be completely tanned and finished in, from eleven to fifteen months, ac-

cording to the different weight and thickness of the hides. Butts in, from eight to twelve months, and calf skins in, from six to twelve weeks; in general the tanner may save at least a third of the time that has hitherto been required.

23. The leather, which is manufactured in the new way, is of a superior quality to that of the old tannage, especially the foal-leather, which wears remarkably well, and never shews the least sign of rottenness.

24. Let it always be remembered, that the lime-water is never to be used but when it is sufficiently strong, and as clear as rock-water.

25. Whenever you make fresh ooze, you must always use fresh lime-water, and run the ooze through two latches; and the lime-water ooze, when spent, from lying on the leather, is never to be returned back upon the bark which is in the latches (as you now return your spent ooze) but must always be thrown away, as being entirely useless; for which purpose you must contrive a gutter in the tan-yard to carry off the spent ooze.

26. The latches ought to be under cover, lest the rain get into them and weaken the ooze, and if the handlers are sheltered, it will be so much the better; but it is of no importance to cover the vatts, provided, when the leather is laid away in them, they are kept constantly full to the brim.

27. You must always take care to have a sufficient stock of unslaked lime by you (for if it be slaked, it will not answer to make lime-water): therefore, get your lime fresh, if possible, from the kiln, and immediately pack it in  
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any kind of old dry casks. Weigh one of these casks, and it will enable you to ascertain the quantity of lime necessary to be thrown into the cistern each time you begin a fresh brewing of your lime-water, and thus save you the trouble of repeated weighings; not that there need be much nicety about the quantity of lime, a score of pounds over or under making no sensible difference in the strength of the lime-water.

28. Any expence you may be at in procuring lime, which even in the largest tan-yards can amount but to a trifle, will be amply compensated by the saving of bark; because that lime-water so completely exhausts the bark, and makes it go so much farther than when the ooze is made only of plain water. As a proof of this, you may make a pretty strong ooze from the tan or spent bark, which you now consider as completely exhausted, by infusing it in lime-water.

Tanners, as they become acquainted with the new method, will find it perfectly easy, and may no doubt make further improvements by experience. The foregoing directions were found sufficiently full for enabling a gentleman at Belfast to carry on the business in an extensive way for these four years past; and it is presumed they will prove equally clear and intelligible to all other persons in the tanning trade.

Dublin, May the 1st, 1777.

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*Account of the Method of Salting and drying Cod at Newfoundland.*

THE cod that is caught on the banks of Newfoundland,

is that which is known in Europe by the name of green or fresh cod. It is salted on board the ship as soon as caught, and keeps in salt the whole fishing season, and till they return to Europe. The curing and salting of the cod, requires a great deal of care. The following is the method of curing and salting of the green cod.

As soon as the fisherman has caught a fish with his line, he pulls out its tongue, and gives the fish to another man, whom they call the *beheader*. This man, with a two-edged knife like a lancet, flits the fish from the anus to the throat, which he cuts across to the bones of the neck; he then lays down his knife, and pulls out the liver, which he drops into a kind of tray, through a little hole made on purpose in the scaffold he works upon; then he guts it and cuts off the head. This done, he delivers the fish to the next man who stands over against him. This man, who is called the *flicer*, takes hold of it by the left gill, and rests its back against a board, a foot long and two inches high; he pricks it with the slicing knife on the left side of the anus, which makes it turn out the left gill; then he cuts the ribs or great bones all along the vertebræ, about half way down from the neck to the anus; he does the same on the right side; then cuts assant three joints of the vertebræ through to the spinal marrow; lastly he cuts all along the vertebræ and spinal marrow, dividing them in two, and thus ends his operation.

A third helper then takes this fish, and with a kind of wooden spatule, he scrapes all the blood that has remained along the vertebræ that were not cut. When the cod

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is thus thoroughly cleansed (sometimes washed) he drops it into the hold, through a hole made for that purpose, and the *salter* is there ready to receive it.

He crams as much salt as he can into the belly of the fish, lays it down, the tail end lowest, rubs the skin all over with salt; and even covers it with more salt; then goes through the same process with the rest of the cod, which he heaps one upon another till the whole is laid up. The fish thus salted and piled up in the hold, is never meddled with any more till it is brought home and unloaded for sale.

*The manner of preparing and drying Cod.*

THE cod intended for drying, is caught and beheaded in the same manner as the other, but it is cut up differently. The *slicer*, instead of cutting the bones along the vertebræ only half way down from the throat to the anus, lays open the fish at one stroke, quite to the tail, all along the vertebræ, which he divides up to the throat, leaving each half of these vertebræ and the spinal marrow in the flesh of the cod.

When the *slicer* has thus dispatched a fish, he drops it into a sledge that holds about half a hundred weight; a boy then drives the sledge to the place where the *salter* salts and spreads the fish of the day.

The *salter* lays down the fish flat with the flesh uppermost, and placing several of them side by side, he forms a layer of six, eight, twelve, or fifteen feet long, and three, four, or five broad; then he takes a great wooden shovel,

about two feet square, and sprinkles salt all over the layer of cod. Care must be taken that this salt be laid on very even. When this layer is sufficiently salted, he spreads another over it, salts it in the same manner, and so on.

When there are large, middling, and small cod, they are kept apart, for a different depth of salt is requisite for different sizes. Too much salt burns up the fish, and makes it brittle when it comes to dry, and too little makes it greasy, and difficult to dry.

The cod is left in salt two days at least, and sometimes above a fortnight; then it is washed. For this purpose they load it on hand barrows, and empty it out into a laver not unlike a great cage, by the sea-side; where they stir it about in sea-water with paddles, to cleanse it from the salt and slime that it is daubed with; and when it is washed white, they put it again on the barrows, and carry it upon the gravel where it is to be spread. They first pile it up five or six feet high; the top of the heap terminates like a roof, that the fish may drain and harden. Two, three, or four days after, as the weather permits, they undo the pile, and spread the fish upon the gravel one by one in rows, with the flesh uppermost. When it has lain thus in the morning sun, they turn it about two in the afternoon, the skin uppermost, and in the evening if they find that the wind and sun have dried them enough, they lay five or six of them one upon another, and a large one at top, to shelter them from the rain. The cod being thus disposed in little heaps, the skin upwards, they wait for the first fine day to spread them again on the



the gravel, first with the skin uppermost, and at noon they turn them, and when they have been thus exposed a second time to the rays of the sun, they are again heaped up, fifteen or twenty in a heap, and left till the next fine day, when they once more spread them upon the gravel. If after this they find the fish thoroughly dry, they place the small ones in round sharp piles like pigeon-houses, the middle fixed in heaps of a hundred weight, and the large ones in smaller parcels. The former, when they have undergone a fourth sunning, that is, when they have been spread upon the gravel for the fourth time, are laid up in round piles; as to the larger ones, they must be spread in the sun five or six times at least, before one can venture to pile them up like the others. When they have stood so for three or four days, they spread them all at once upon the gravel in the sun, and then proceed to a new pile, laying the largest fish for the groundwork, the middle sized next, and the smallest at top; because the larger they are, the greater pressure they require, to squeeze out and throw off their moisture. This pile is left standing for a fortnight, and then the cod is again spread in the sun, after which the pile is erected once more, but reversed, so that what was at the bottom is now put at the top. This pile may be let alone for a month, after which time the fish is once more exposed to the sun, and then piled up for the last time.

When all this is done, they make choice of a fine day to spread out these fishes, only an armful at a time, and lay them on the gravel: they examine them one by one,

and lay apart those that still retain some moisture; the dry ones are piled up, and the moist ones are dried again in the sun, and then put on the top of the other piles, that they may be at hand to be looked after, and dried again if they should want it. To conclude the whole process, just before they are shipped, they spread them by arms-full upon the gravel, to air and dry them thoroughly.

In order to ship this cod, they clean out the hold, and lay a kind of floor, either of stone or wood, on which they place the fish, the first layer with the flesh uppermost, and all the rest with the skin uppermost. They don't fill the hold from one end to the other, without interruption, but raise several piles, both to keep the good and bad apart, and likewise to distinguish the different sizes of the fish. The large ones make the groundwork of the cargo, the middle sized come next, and the small ones are laid at top. They line the bottom and sides of the hold with small twigs with their leaves on, but dried first for several days. The cod being thus laid up in the hold, they cover it with sails, and never meddle with it more till they unload it for sale in Europe.

For these particulars about the curing of cod in the Island of St. Pierre, I am beholden to M. de R\*\*. lieutenant of a frigate, who is perfectly acquainted with these matters, having been for a long time employed in that business on the island.

Slitting, salting, and drying the cod, are three distinct operations, the last of which is sometimes very tedious and difficult. The sun is seldom seen at Saint Pierre, and the want of sunshine is the loss of thousands



thousands of cod, which rot in the damp and fogs.

On the right hand of the harbour or road, is a house built upon piles in the sea; it is made of boards, and the roof of long poles interwoven; half this roof is covered with turf from one end to the other, and the remaining half is left open: they call this house a *chafaud*. This is the place where they slit and salt the cod. The floor consists of long poles, placed so as to let the intestines of the fish drop down between them into the sea. Half the roof is left open to let in the rain and fresh air, which carry off part of the nastiness and stench of the place, that would otherwise be intolerable, and the fish is cured in that part which is thatched.

The fishing boats that are commonly employed in catching cod about the island, and bringing it to this *chafaud*, are small craft, with a square sail. The crew never exceed two men, commonly attended by a dog, their faithful servant and companion. From their boat they shoot goelands and other sea-birds, with which they make their soup. The dog swims and fetches the bird, without any interruption to his master's fishery.

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Mr. Mudge's Cure for a recent Catarrhus Cough.

THE catarrhus cough, or that which is subsequent to the catching of cold, our author is of opinion proceeds from the pituitary membrane, which forms the internal surface of the lungs, being thickened, and in some measure

inflamed. That such is actually the case, before the glands have been unloaded by the discharge of the obstructed mucus, he considers as evident from the soreness which, at the beginning of the disorder, the cough occasions in the breast, but more particularly at the lower part of the windpipe, about the junction of the clavicles. In conformity to this idea of the disorder Mr. Mudge observes that the two great indications would be, to prevent as much as possible the irritation arising from the convulsive shocks of the cough on the inflamed parts, and to remove the inflammation itself by such emollient applications, as can conveniently be administered. He farther remarks, that these intentions are thoroughly answered by opium, and by inhaling warm steams into the lungs; for administering the latter of which he recommends the use of the inhaler, an instrument which is described in the following terms.

The body of the instrument holds about a pint; and the handle, which is fixed to the side of it, is hollow. There is in the lower part of the vessel, where it is soldered to the handle, a hole, by means of which, and three others on the upper part of the handle, the water, when it is poured into the inhaler, will rise to the same level in both. To the middle of the cover a flexible tube, about five or six inches long, is fixed, with a mouth-piece of wood or ivory. Underneath the cover there is a valve fixed, which opens and shuts the communication between the upper and internal part of the inhaler and the external air, for a purpose which shall be presently explained.



When the mouth is applied to the end of the tube in the act of inspiration, the air rushes into the handle, and up through the body of warm water, and the lungs become, consequently, filled with hot vapour. In expiration, the mouth being still fixed to the tube, the breath, together with the steam on the surface of the water in the inhaler, is forced up through the valve in the cover. In this manner therefore the whole act of respiration is performed through the inhaler, without the necessity, in the act of expiration, of either breathing through the nose, or removing the pipe from the mouth.

To this description of the apparatus, we shall subjoin, in the author's own words, the method directed for using it.

In the evening, a little before bed time, the patient, if of adult age, is to take three drachms, or as many tea spoonfuls of elixir pargoricum, in a glass of water: if the subject is younger, for instance under five years old, one tea spoonful; or within that and ten years, two. [Each tea spoonful contains somewhat less than 1 quarter of a grain of opium.] About three quarters of an hour after, the patient should go to bed, and being covered warm, the inhaler, three parts filled with water nearly boiling (which from the coldness of the metal, and the time it ordinarily takes before it is used by the patient, will be of a proper degree of warmth) and being wrapped up in a napkin, but so that the valve in the cover is not obstructed by it, is to be placed at the arm-pit, and the bed-cloaths being drawn up and over it close to the throat, the tube is to be applied to the mouth,

and the patient should inspire and expire through it about twenty minutes or half an hour.

It is very evident, as the whole act of respiration is performed through the machine, that in inspiration the lungs will be filled with air which will be hot, and loaded with vapour, by passing through the body of water; and in expiration, all that was contained in the lungs will, by mixing with the steam on the surface of the water, be forced through the valve in the cover, and settle on the surface of the body under the bed-cloaths.

The great use of this particular construction of the inhaler is this. First, as there is no necessity, at the end of every inspiration, to remove the tube from the mouth, in order to expire from the lungs the vapour which had been received into them, this machine may therefore be used with as much ease by children as elder people. And, secondly, as a feverish habit frequently accompanies the disorder, the valve in that respect also is of the utmost importance; for a sweat, or at least a free perspiration, not only relieves the patient from the restless anxiety of a hot, dry, and sometimes parched skin, but is also, of all others, the most eligible evacuation for removing the fever; and it will be generally found that, after the inhaler so constructed hath been used a few minutes, the warm vapour under the cloaths will, by settling upon the trunk, produce a sweat, which will gradually extend itself to the legs and feet.

In a catarrhus fever, or any feverish habit attending this cough, it would be proper to take a draught,



draught of warm thin whey a few minutes before the inhaler is used; and after the process is over, the sweat which it has produced may be continued by occasional small draughts of weak warm whey, or barley water. The sweating is by no means so necessary to the cure of the catarrhus cough, as that the success of the inhaler against that complaint at all depends upon it; yet I cannot help once more remarking, that when this disorder happens to be accompanied with a feverish habit, the advantages of this particular construction will be very important.

After this respiratory process is over, the patient usually passes the night without the least interruption from the cough, and feels no farther molestation from it than, as I observed before, once or twice in the morning to throw off the trifling leakage which, unperceived, had dripped into the bronchiæ and vesicles during the night; the thinner parts of which being evaporated, what remains is soon got rid of with a very gentle effort.

Mr. Mudge informs us, that if the inhaler be used the same night that the catarrhus cough has made its appearance, it will, in ordinary cases, be productive of an immediate cure; but if the soreness of the respiratory organs, or the violence of the cough, shew the cold which has been contracted to be very severe, he advises that the inhaler, without the opiate, should be repeated for the same time the next morning; as it also ought, if the use of the inhaler has been delayed till the second night. If the cough however has continued some days, it will be necessary to employ both parts of the process at

night and the succeeding morning, as the complaint is then more confirmed.

After trying various pectoral ingredients, Mr. Mudge informs us that he found the vapour of none of them so inoffensive and salutary as that from warm water alone.

When the inhaler is used in a few hours after the seizure of the cough, we are told that the patient is infallibly surprised with an immediate cure; but in proportion as the application of this remedy is delayed, the disorder becomes more obstinate.

If, says our author, the patient expectorates with ease and freedom a thick and well-digested inoffensive phlegm, there is generally but little doubt of his spitting off the disorder, with common care, in a few days; and till that is accomplished, a proper dose of elixir paregoricum for a few successive nights will be found very useful in suppressing the fatiguing irritation and ineffectual cough, occasioned by a matter which, dripping in the early state of the disease into the bronchiæ during the night, is commonly at that time too thin to be discharged by those convulsive efforts.

If, however, notwithstanding a free and copious expectoration, the cough should still continue, and the discharge, instead of removing the complaint, should itself, by becoming a disease, be a greater expence than the constitution can well support, it is possible that a tender patient may spit off his life through a weak, relaxed pair of lungs, without the least appearance of purulence, or any suspicion of suppuration. In those circumstances, besides, as was mentioned be-



fore, increasing the general perspiration by the salutary friction of a flannel waistcoat, change of situation, and more especially long journeys on horseback, conducted as much as possible through a thin, sharp, dry air, will seldom fail of removing the complaint.

But on the contrary, if the cough, should, at the same time that it is petulant and fatiguing to the breast, continue dry, husky, and without expectoration; provided there is reason to hope that no tubercles are forming, or yet actually formed, there is not perhaps a more efficacious remedy for it than half a drachm of gum ammoniacum, with eighteen or twenty drops of laudanum made into pills, and taken at bed-time, and occasionally repeated. This excellent remedy Sir John Pringle did me the honour to communicate to me, and I have accordingly found it in a great many instances, amazingly successful, and generally very expeditiously so, for it seldom fails to produce an expectoration, and to abate the distressing fatigue of the cough. In those circumstances I have likewise found the common remedy of ℞s. or ℞ii. of half. sulph. anifat. taken twice a day, in a little powdered sugar, or any other vehicle, a very efficacious one. I have also, many times, known a salutary revulsion made from the lungs by the simple application of a large plaister, about five or six inches diameter, of pix Burgund. between the shoulders; for the perspirable matter, which is locked up under it, becomes so sharp and acrid, that in a few days it seldom fails to produce a very considerable itching, some little tendency to inflammation, and, very frequent-

ly, a great number of boils. This application should be continued (the plaister being occasionally changed) for three weeks, or a month, or longer, if the complaint is not so soon removed.

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*Antidotes against the poisonous Effects of Arsenic, Corrosive Sublimate, Verdigrease, and Lead: Translated from the French of P. M. Toussaint Navier, Physician to the King of France.*

FOR persons who have been poisoned with arsenic, M. Navier recommends large quantities of milk, as that liquid dissolves the arsenic as easily and as effectually as water, and at the same time softens the viscera that have been irritated by its corrosive influence. He affirms that the arsenic, far from curdling the milk, actually prevents its coagulation: and he prohibits the use of oil, because it is incapable of dissolving the arsenic. After the milk, the patient is to take a drachm of the liver of sulphur of Mars, in a pint of warm water; but, if this cannot be readily procured, he may take a lixivium gently alkaline, or soap-water, and thereupon a solution of iron in vinegar or any other acid; or even a portion of ink, if nothing else is at hand. The cure is finished by the use of milk and warm sulphureous waters, which experience has shewn to be very powerful in removing the numbness, convulsions, and paralytic complaints, which are the constant effects of poison.

The remedies adapted to corrosive sublimate are the same with those employed against arsenic, that is to say, the different preparations of



of liver of sulphur, which decomposes or resolves the mercurial salt, and forms by the addition of the alkali to the acid, a neutral salt no wise caustic : especially if the remedy be applied quickly. Acids, even of the most gentle kind, are fatal in the present case, as they evidently increase, instead of diminishing, the poisonous acrimony : thus even lemonade, and theriaca, or treacle, are pernicious, and contribute to the painful and certain death of the patient.

What this learned and humane Physician says of the effects of verdigrease deserves a particular degree of attention, as we are daily exposed to them from the use of copper utensils in cookery : on this subject his cautions and admonitions might appear exaggerated, had not the most eminent chymists and physicians of the present age given us repeated warnings of the like nature. But, where this poison is known to have been recently swallowed, he prescribes, first, emetics, and afterwards cold water gently alkalised, which must be drank plentifully.

Though lead is not to be considered as a corrosive poison, its pernicious effects will be corrected by the remedies already mentioned ; which will render those violent and dangerous purgatives usually administered against lead unnecessary : but patients of this class may drink largely of acidulated liquors ; the liver of sulphur afterwards makes the principal part of the cure, which will be completed by gentle purges.

The salutary properties of liver of sulphur, particularly of the liver of sulphur of Mars, an antidote against these destructive substances, is a most valuable discovery ; and

one of the happiest applications of chemistry to medical purposes, that the present age has produced.

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*In our VIth Vol. page 121, and VIIth Vol. page 143, we have inserted three Papers on the Method of making Nitre : this has occasioned our being favoured with a short Account of the Process used for that purpose at Paris, as collected on the spot (in the year 1771) at the desire of an eminent Physician, since dead, by Dr. Thomas Houlston, of Liverpool.*

AT Paris, there is a company of persons employed in making salt-petre, in number about twenty. They were incorporated so long ago as the reign of Charles IX. and have several statutes for their regulation. Any of them can, when a house is taken down, place a man in it, and, during three days, he has a right to take gratis, such part of the old plaster as he shall chuse, or think worth the pains of lixiviating.

The quantity made annually, is from 6 to 700,000 lb. They are obliged to deliver it in, rough, to the Royal Arsenal, where they receive for it 7 sous (about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ) *per*.lb. It is there purified, undergoing three lixiviations, and is then sold at 10, 15, and 18 sous *per* lb.

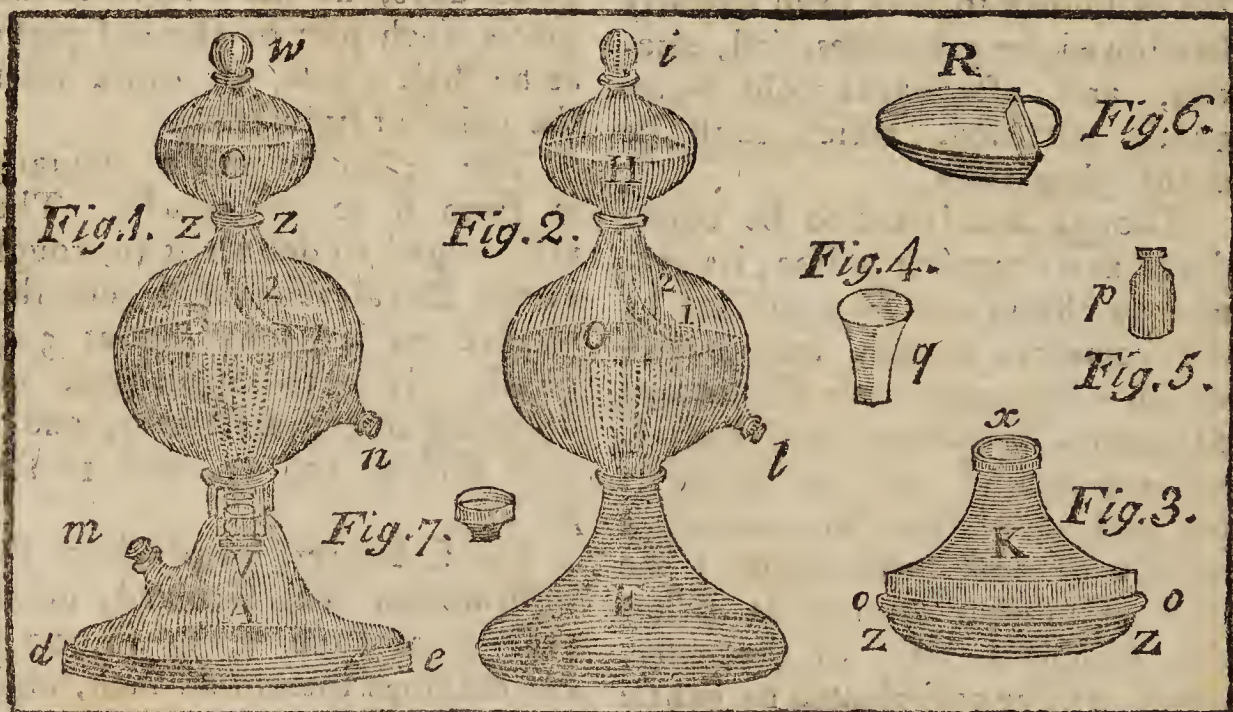
Monf. Bouret, from whom this information was received, makes every year from 35 to 36,000 lb. He employs therein six men, night and day, two rooms, twenty large casks, and three horses. The casks are filled half with old plaster, which is changed every time of pouring on water, and the lower half with wood ashes, which are



changed but once in five lixiviations. The water poured on, soaks through both the plaster and ashes, and is five times passed through fresh plaster. It is then boiled down in a copper pan, so set, that the flame passes quite round its sides. The fires are of wood, which is very dear, and forms a considerable article of expence. The lixivium, when properly evaporated, is set to chrysalize, and the crystals to drain. The scum taken off in the boiling, is thrown upon the plaster collected, which the longer it lies in heaps (wetted from time to time) the stronger it becomes; as also the more putrid matters are thrown on it. The plaster used in the buildings at Paris, is made of that gypseous earth, called plaster of Paris,

and found in the neighbourhood of that city. No lime is mixed with it in general, but, where there is lime mixed, it is remarked that the nitre made from thence is not so good, nor in so great quantity. They know when the old plaster is worth being collected and employed, by the saltish taste of it. The nastiness of the French houses, even in some parts of the great ones; the durability of their buildings, the nature of their plaster, and the regulations of their police, give that nation an advantage over us in making nitre, which it will be well if the ingenuity and science of those who attempt it among us, may suffice to counterbalance. It is made also in other great towns in France.

*Description of a Glass Apparatus for making Mineral Waters, &c.*



THE following description of an apparatus for impregnating water with fixed air is extracted from an account, publish-

ed by the ingenious Mr. Magellan, of his improved method of performing that operation. It can scarcely be necessary to inform our readers,



ders, that the world is obliged for this curious discovery to Dr. Priestley, who first published his method of making Pyrmont water in the year 1772. Since that time, the machines made use of for that purpose have received various improvements: that which we are now going to describe, is invented for the purpose of remedying the slowness of the process in the methods before practised.

ABC (fig. 1,) represents one of the improved machines of Mr. Parker, standing upon a wooden dish *de*, in order to avoid any water, if spilled, from falling on the table. The middle vessel B has a neck, which is inserted into the mouth of the vessel A, being nicely ground air-tight to it. This lower neck of the middle vessel B, has a stopple V of glass, composed of two parts, both having holes, sufficient to let a good quantity of air pass through them: between these two parts is left a small space, containing a plano-convex lens, which acts like a valve, in letting the air pass from below upwards, and hindering the fall of the water into the vessel A.

The upper vessel C terminates below in the tube, marked 2, 1, (fig. 1,) which being crooked, hinders the immediate passage of the bubbles of fixed air into the upper vessel C, before they reach the surface of the water in the vessel B. The vessel C is also ground air-tight to the upper neck of the middle vessel B; and has a stopple *w*, fitted to its upper mouth, which either is perforated through

the middle, as *w* and *i* (fig. 1 and 2,) ; or is of a conical form, without any hole. But it will be better to have that kind of stopple, which is hereafter described, p. 137. paragraph 3d. This upper vessel C contains just half the water that can be contained in the under one B; and the end (1,) of its crooked tube (2, 1,) goes no lower than the middle of the same vessel B. Each of the vessels, A and B, have an opening, *m* and *n*, with ground stopples, which are only open when occasion requires, as will be mentioned hereafter.

Figure the 2d represents the two vessels B and C upon a wooden stand F, whilst separated from the vessel A.

Figure the 4th represents a wide glass funnel *q*, which may enter into the upper mouth of the vessel A.

Figure the 5th represents a small phial *p*, which serves to measure the quantity of the vitriolic acid to be made use of.

Fig. the 6th represents a little trough of tin R, to measure the pounded chalk or marble, that is to be employed in every process:

And fig. the 7th represents a particular kind of stopple, the use of which will be explained hereafter.

#### *The Process with the Simple Machine.*

LET some dry chalk, as it comes out of the earth, that is to say, raw, without being burned in the fire; or rather white marble, which is much better for the purpose \*, be reduced to powder;

\* White marble being first granulated, or pounded like coarse sand, is much better for this purpose, than the pounded chalk; because the action of



der; and let some oil of vitriol be at hand. The vessel B, together with C, (fig. 1.) must be taken off from A, and put on the wooden stand F (fig. 2.) Let the vessel B be filled with spring, or any other drinking water, or even with distilled water; and let it be joined again with the upper vessel C.

Let some water be poured on the lower vessel A, so as to cover the rising part of its bottom: but if this appears too vague a direction, pour in fourteen or sixteen measures of water, with the glass *p* (fig. 5.): then fill the same phial *p* with oil of vitriol, and pour it into the same vessel A, along with the water.

It will be, however, much easier to have made beforehand the mixture of oil of vitriol and water, in the above proportion. In this case it will not be liable to such bad consequences, as sometimes happen with strong oil of vitriol, which, if spilt, burns and destroys almost every thing it meets with. But when weakened by the mixture of about fourteen or sixteen times as much water, as its own bulk (or twenty times its bulk, if the oil of vitriol is well concentrated) hardly will it then be able to do any mischief, no more than the juice of lemons, or any other such acid, as vinegar, &c. It is true that its bulk becomes greatly increased: but its carriage will be

safer, and its value very considerably cheaper to the purchaser.

After the acid is poured into the vessel A, let the glass funnel *q* (fig. 4.) be put into the same vessel: and filling the trough R (fig. 6.) with the pounded chalk or marble, let it be thrown into it. Take off the funnel *q*, which is used only to prevent the chalk from touching the inside of the mouth of this vessel; since otherwise it will stick so strongly to the neck of the vessel B, as not to allow the taking it off again without breaking. Then immediately place the two vessels B and C, as they are, over the mouth of the vessel A; and all the fixed air which is disengaged from the chalk or marble, by the force of the diluted acid, will pass up, through the valve V, into the vessel B. When this fixed air comes to the top of the vessel B, it will dislodge from thence as much water as its bulk: and this water, so dislodged, will go up, by the crooked tube 2, 1, into the vessel C.

Care must be taken not to shake the vessel A, when the powdered chalk is poured in; for otherwise a great and sudden effervescence will ensue, which will, perhaps, expel part of the contents. In such a case, it will be necessary to open the stopple *m*, in order to give vent to the effervescence for a moment; otherwise the vessel A

the diluted acid upon the marble, lasts a very considerable time; and the supply of the *fixed air*, which is disengaged by this effervescence, is much more regular than otherwise. In general it continues to furnish *fixed air* more than twenty-four hours. When no more air is produced, if I decant out of the vessel A, all the acid fluid, already saturated, and wash off the thin, white sediment, I may employ again the remaining granulated marble, by adding to it fresh water, and a new quantity of vitriolic acid; which will then furnish a further supply of *fixed air*: and this may be repeated over again, until all the marble is dissolved; which will not be very soon.



may happen to burst. Perhaps it will be necessary to throw away the contents, to wash the vessel with water (because the boiling matter will stick between the necks of these vessels, and will cement them together) and to begin the operation afresh. But if the powdered chalk is thrown in, without any considerable shake of the machine, there will be but a small effervescence at the beginning. When this operates well, the vessel C will soon be filled with water, and the vessel B half filled with air; which when done will be easily perceived, by the air going up in large bubbles by the crooked tube 1, 2; this will take place in about two or three minutes.

Whenever the effervescence nearly ceases in the vessel A, it will be revived again by giving it a gentle shake, so that some part of the powdered chalk which is in a heap at the bottom of A, may be mixed with the diluted vitriolic acid, and disengage more fixed air. However, when it happens that the whole is exhausted, and no more air rushes up to the middle vessel from the lower one, either more powdered chalk must be put in, or more oil of vitriol; or at last more water, if neither of the two first produced the desired effect. These additions may be performed by letting them in, either through the opening *m*, or through the mouth of the vessel A. In this case use must always be made of the funnel *q*, in order to avoid the sticking of the junctures above-mentioned. If these vessels be suffered to stand six or seven hours, the water will be sufficiently impregnated, without any fur-

ther trouble, provided the supply of fixed air be copious: and still more so, if it is there compressed any way. It will be of some advantage to shake the whole apparatus very gently, once or twice in every hour: In this case the water may be impregnated by the *fixed air*, in four hours, and perhaps less. It was, however, to avoid even this delay, that I invented the following additional vessels, by means of which the whole operation is considerably shorter.

*Description of the New double Machine.*

BESIDES the two vessels B and C (fig. 1.), I have added two others perfectly alike, represented by G and H (fig. 2.). The vessel H is finished with a stopple *i*, either of a conical form, or equally perforated as the other *w*: this vessel contains half as much as the vessel G. Both these vessels are set upon the wooden stand F; and the lower neck of the vessel G is not only furnished with a valve and stopple, as already described, when speaking of the vessel B; but it is fitted, and ground air-tight, to the neck of the same vessel A; and has an opening *l*, with a ground stopple, which is only opened when occasion requires, as will be mentioned hereafter.

The wooden stand K (fig. 3.) is so contrived, that a thick piece of glass *x*, like a small tumbler, must be cemented on the top, after it has been ground air-tight to the under neck of the vessel B and G. The form of this stand is easily conceived by fig. 3, it being plane at the bottom, turns up in



a kind of convexity  $z z$  towards its edge, and has a round moulding  $o o$ , which hinders its tumbling, when moderately pushed sideways.

*The Process with the double Glass-Machine.*

THE two middle vessels B and G (fig. 1. and 2.), are to be filled with pure water, and put on the stands K and F, with their upper ones C and H, as in the figure. The mixture of oil of vitriol, water, and powdered chalk, or rather marble, must be done in the same manner, as was said in p. 134. par. 2d. and finally the vessels B and C are to be put on the vessel A. as was said p. 134. par. 4th, and following. But as soon as the vessel C is filled with water, thrown up by the air, which dislodges it from the vessel B, through the crooked tube 1, 2, both these vessels B and C are to be removed together as they are, from the vessel A, to the stand K (fig. 3.), and the other vessels G H, which are in the stand F, are to be put in their stead, upon the vessel A. Whilst the operation is going on in these last, you must hold the vessels B C, which are in the stand K, by the neck and stopple  $w$  with your right hand, and the under neck V with your left: incline them a little sideways, and shake them very briskly, so that the water within B, be very much agitated, presenting many fresh surfaces in contact with the *fixed air*; the greatest part of which will be absorbed into the water: as it will soon appear, by the end of the crooked tube being considerably

under the surface of the water in the vessel B.

It will suffice to shake the water in this manner during two or three minutes; which done, loosen the upper vessel C, so that the remaining water, may fall into the vessel B; and the unabsorbed air may go out. Then taking off these vessels from the stand K, put them, joined together as they are, on the stand F. By this time the vessel G will be half filled with *fixed air*; and the upper vessel H will be filled with the water thrown up by it. Take then these vessels to the stand K. and replace the others B C, on the mouth of the vessel A, after letting out the unmixed air, as aforesaid; so that these vessels may be half filled again with fixed air, whilst the water in the vessels G H is briskly shaken in the same manner, as the others have been.

When this operation has been repeated three, or at most four times alternately, with each set of vessels, throwing out the remaining air which does not incorporate with the water, after it has been briskly shaken; and adding fresh quantities of *fixed air*, with which it must be well agitated; in this case, the water contained in both the vessels B and C, will be fully saturated in a few minutes.

These artificial mineral waters, are much more pleasant to taste, than the natural Pyrmont or Seltzer's waters, which, besides their *fixed air* (the only part perhaps which affords their renewed virtues, and which is hardly half of what this artificial water may absorb) contain some disagreeable saline taste: and it is known that  
this



this alone, does not contribute at all to their medicinal virtues; but on the contrary, it must be hurtful in some complicated cases.

The artificial waters will remain as limpid and as transparent as before, although there has been absorbed above as much air as their own bulk. The whole process will hardly take above a quarter of an hour, by this method; and the quantity will be double of that which could be made in the simple glass-machine.

The water may be taken out by the opening *l* or *n*, to be drank immediately; if not, it will be better to let it remain in the machine, where it has no communication with the external air; otherwise, the fixed air goes off by degrees, and it becomes vapid and flat; as it happens also to the natural acidulous waters. These artificial waters may however, be kept a very long time, in bottles well corked, placed with their mouths downwards.

In general they are so similar to the natural acidulous waters, that they may, be even made to sparkle like Champaign wine. Mr. Warltire has actually brought these waters to this state, by keeping the fixed air compressed upon the surface of the water in the middle vessel; as appears by his letter printed in the Appendix to your third volume of *Experiments and Observations on Air*, page 366. The same end will be obtained, if, instead of the stopples *w* and *i*, use is made of the solid one represented (fig. 7.) which has a kind of a basin at the top, in order to hold some additional weight. This stopple must be of a conical figure, and very loose; but so well ground

and smooth in its contact, as to be air-tight by its pressure, which may be increased by some additional weights in its bosom. If the vessels are stout enough, there is no danger of their bursting in the operation.

These waters may also be rendered ferugineous (or chalybeate) very easily, by putting, in the middle vessel, two or more slender phials, filled with cuttings of fine iron-binding wire; otherwise with small iron nails; because the impregnated water will dissolve the iron so fast, as to become well saturated with it in a few hours, according to the experiment of Mr. Lane. If the iron nails, or the cuttings of wire, were not confined in the small phials, but let loose in the middle vessel; their rust or sediment would soon stop the passages of the *fixed air* from the under vessel: in such a case the vessel *A* must burst; and the whole machine be broken into pieces.

According to Sir John Pringle, there may be added to each pint of these waters, from eight to ten drops of *tinctura martis cum spiritu salis*, in order to resemble more nearly the genuine Pyrmont water. But the method of rendering chalybeate these artificial waters, used by Dr. Hulme, is to add one grain of salt of steel to each pint (16 ounces) of water already impregnated with fixed air. There is no doubt but these artificial waters may be advantageously employed in many medical purposes; not only by dissolving in them the very salts, which are found to be contained in many natural springs, renowned for their different virtues; but by applying them simply without any other mixture. The same



same able physician, Dr. Hulme, has lately published an *Account of different Cases and Experiments*, by which it clearly appears, that *fixed air*, administered internally, has a powerful action for dissolving the stone in the bladder, and against nephritic complaints. Its efficacy is equally beneficial against the scurvy, the gout, the fevers, even the hectic ones with consumption, the dysentery, and the worms\*. These artificial waters may be even applied as a vehicle to many draughts, and internal medicines, which will be then less nauseous to the patients, and perhaps more agreeable to the stomach, giving to it a tonical strength.

The advantages derived from *fixed air* in economical purposes, deserve to be taken notice of in this place. Mr. William Lee and his neighbours, at Hartwell, did preserve flesh meat perfectly sweet for ten days, which was as long as

they had occasion for in the last hot weather of this summer (1778), one of the hottest we ever had in this country; and this was obtained by washing the meat two or three times a day with water impregnated with *fixed air*; even meat that had begun to change was totally recovered by the same process, as the said gentleman asserted in a letter I have seen, directed to a friend of mine.

I shall conclude this subject by observing with you, that *fixed air* may be given to wine, beer, cyder, and to almost any liquor whatsoever. Even when beer has become flat, or dead as it is called, it may be revived by employing the same method: but the delicate, though brisk, and agreeable flavour, or acidulous taste, communicated by the *fixed air*, and which is so manifest in water, will hardly be perceived in wine, or other liquors, which have much taste of their own.

\* Dr. Hulme's method is, to give fifteen grains of salt of tartar, diluted with three ounces of pure or distilled water, four times a day, drinking immediately after, at every time, the same quantity of water impregnated with twenty drops of weak spirit of vitriol. See his treatise, intituled, *Safe and Easy Remedy*, &c.



# ANTIQUITIES.

*Account of the first Institution of the Office of Poet Laureat. From Warton's History of English Poetry.*

**G**REAT confusion has entered into this subject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and versification, anciently taken in our universities, particularly at Oxford: on which occasion, a wreath of laurel was presented to the new graduate, who was afterwards usually styled *Poeta Laureatus*. These scholastic laureations, however, seem to have given rise to the appellation in question. I will give some instances at Oxford, which at the same time will explain the nature of the studies for which our academical philologists received their rewards. About the year 1470, one John Watson, a student in grammar, obtained a concession to be graduated and laureated in that science, on condition that he composed one hundred Latin verses in praise of the university, and a Latin comedy. Another grammarian was distinguished with the same badge, after having stipulated, that, at the next public act, he would affix the same number of hexameters on the great gates of St. Mary's church, that they might be seen by the whole university. This was at that period the most convenient mode of publication.

About the same time, one Maurice Byrchenfaw, a scholar in rhetoric, supplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree, in that faculty; and his petition was granted, with a provision, that he should write one hundred verses on the glory of the university, and not suffer Ovid's Art of Love, and the Elegies of Pamphilus, to be studied in auditory. Not long afterwards, one John Bulman, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms imposed, of explaining the first book of Tully's Offices, and likewise the first of his Epistles, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric; and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellor of the university. About the year 1489, Skelton was laureated at Oxford, and in the year 1493, was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge. Robert Whittington affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a secular priest, and eminent for his various treatises in grammar, and for his facility in Latin poetry; having exercised his art many years, and submitting to the customary demand of an hundred verses, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512. This title is prefixed to one of his grammatical systems. "ROBERT-



TI WHITTINTONI, *Lichfeldiensis*; *Grammatices Magistri*, PROTOVATIS *Angliæ*, in *florētissima Oxoniensi Academia* LAUREATI, DE OCTO PARTIBUS ORATIONIS." In his Panegyric to Cardinal Wolsey, he mentions his laurel.

Suscipe LAURICCMI munuscula parva  
Roberti.

With regard to the poet laureate of the kings of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the same that is styled the King's Versifier, and to whom one hundred shillings were paid as his annual stipend, in the year 1251. But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever solemnly crowned with laurel at his first investiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the searches of the learned Selden on this question have proved unsuccessful. It seems most probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of *versifier* gradually gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity: or rather, that at length, those only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received academical sanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the universities for their abilities in Latin composition, particularly Latin versification. Thus the *king's laureate* was nothing more than "a graduated rhetorician employed in the service of the king." That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the ancient title *versificator*: and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which Baſton and Gulielmus, who appear to have respectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard the first and Edward the Second,

officially composed on Richard's crusade, and Edward's siege of Striveling Castle.

Andrew Bernard, successively poet laureate of Henry the Seventh and the Eighth, affords a still stronger proof that this officer was a Latin scholar. He was a native of Tholouse, and an Augustine monk. He was not only the king's poet laureate, as it is supposed, but his historiographer, and preceptor in grammar to Prince Arthur. He obtained many ecclesiastical preferments in England. All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin. These are, "an *Address* to Henry the Eighth for the most auspicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign, with an *Epithalamium* on the marriage of Francis the dauphin of France with the king's daughter." *A New Year's Gift* for the year 1515. And verses wishing prosperity to his majesty's thirteenth year. He has left some Latin hymns; and many of his Latin prose pieces, which he wrote in the quality of historiographer to both monarchs, are remaining.

I am of opinion, that it was not customary for the royal laureate to write in English, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminish the veneration for the Latin language; or rather, till the love of novelty, and a better sense of things, had banished the narrow pedantries of monastic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the mean time it is to be wished, that another change might at least be suffered to take place in the execution of this institution, which is confessedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern



dern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a composition on a trite argument would be no longer required. I am conscious I say this at a time, when the best of kings affords the most just and copious theme for panegyric: but I speak it at a time, when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taste and genius, which are idly wasted on the most splendid subjects, when imposed by constraint, and perpetually repeated.

*The Order and Manner of creating Knights of the Bath in the Time of Peace, according to the custom of England.*

1. **W**HEN an esquire comes to court, to receive the order of knighthood, in the time of peace, according to the custom of England, he shall be honourably received by the officers of the court; Sc. the steward or the chamberlain, if they be present, but otherwise by the marshals and ushers. Then there shall be provided two esquires of honour, grave, and well seen in courtship and nurture, as also in the feats of chivalrie, and they shall be esquires, and governours in all things relating to him, which shall take the order aforesaid.

2. And if the esquire do come before dinner, he shall carry up one dish of the first course to the king's table.

3. And after this the esquire's governours shall conduct the esquire, that is to receive the order, into his chamber, without any more being seen that day.

4. And in the evening the esquire's governours shall send for

the barbour, and they shall make ready a bath, handsomely hung with linen, both within and without the vessel, taking care that it be covered with tapistrie and blankets, in respect of the coldness of the night. And then shall the esquire be shaven, and his hair cut round. After which the esquire's governours shall go to the king, and say, *Sir, it is now in the evening, and the esquire is fitted for the bath when you please:* Whereupon the king shall command his chamberlain that he shall take along with him unto the esquire's chamber, the most gentle and grave knights that are present, to inform, counsel, and instruct him touching the order, and feats of chivalrie: and, in like manner, that the other esquires of the household, with the minstrells, shall proceed before the knights, singing, dancing, and sporting, even to the chamber door of the said esquire.

5. And when the esquire's governours shall hear the noise of the minstrells, they shall undress the said esquire, and put him naked into the bath: but, at the entrance into the chamber, the esquire's governours shall cause the music to cease, and the esquires also for a while. And this being done, the grave knights shall enter into the chamber without making any noise, and doing reverence to each other, shall consider which of themselves it shall be that is to instruct the esquire in the order and course of the bath. And when they are agreed, then shall the chief of them go to the bath, and kneeling down before it, say, with a soft voice: *Sir! be this bath of great honour to you;* and then he shall declare unto him the feats of the order, as far as he



he can, putting part of the water of the bath upon the shoulder of the esquire; and having so done. take his leave. And the esquire's governours shall attend at the sides of the bath, and so likewise the other knights, the one after the other, till all be done.

6. Then shall these knights go out of the chamber for a while; and the esquire's governours shall take the esquire out of the bath, and help him to his bed, there to continue till his body be dry; which bed shall be plain and without curtains. And as soon as he is dry, they shall help him out of bed, they shall cloath him very warm, in respect of the cold of the night; and over his inner garments shall put on a robe of russet, with long sleives, having a hood thereto, like unto that of an hermite. And the esquire being out of the bath, the barbour shall take away the bath, with whatsoever appertaineth thereto, both within and without, for his fee; and likewise for the coller (about his neck) be he earl, baron, baneret, or batcheler, according to the custom of the court.

7. And then shall the esquire's governours open the dore of the chamber, and shall cause the ancient and grave knights to enter, to conduct the esquire to the chapell: and when they are come in, the esquires, sporting and dancing, shall go before the esquire, with the minstrells, making melodie to the chapell.

8. And being entered the chapell, there shall be wine and spices ready to give to the knights and esquires. And then the esquire's governours shall bring the said knights before the esquire to take

their leave of him; and he shall give them thanks all together, for the pains, favour, and courtesie which they have done him; and this being performed, they shall depart out of the chapell.

9. Then shall the esquire's governours shut the dore of the chapell, none staying therein except themselves, the priest, the chandler, and the watch. And, in this manner shall the esquire stay in the chapell all night, till it be day, bestowing himself in orisons and prayers, beseeching Almighty God, and his blessed mother, that, of their good grace, they will give him ability to receive this high temporal dignitie, to the honour, praise, and service of them; as also of holy church, and the order of knighthood. And, at day break, one shall call the priest to confess him of all his sins, and, having heard mattines and mass, shall afterwards be commended, if he please.

10. And after his entrance into the chapell, there shall be a taper burning before him; and so soon as mass is begun, one of the governours shall hold the taper untill the reading of the gospel; and then shall the governour deliver it into his hands, who shall hold it himself, till the gospel be ended; but then shall receive it again from him, and set it before him, there to stand during the whole time of mass.

11. And at the elevation of the host, one of the governours shall take the hood from the esquire, and afterwards deliver it to him again, untill the gospel *in principio*; and at the beginning thereof the governour shall take the same hood again, and cause it to be carried away,



away, and shall give him the taper again into his own hands.

12. And then, having a peny, or more, in readines, near to the candlestick, at the words *verbum caro factum est*, the esquire, kneeling, shall offer the taper and the peny; that is to say, the taper to the honour of God, and the peny to the honour of the person that makes him a knight. All which being performed, the esquire's governours shall conduct the esquire to his chamber, and shall lay him again in bed, till it be full day light. And when he shall be thus in bed, till the time of his rising, he shall be cloathed with a covering of gold, called Singleton, and this shall be lined with blew Cardene. And when the governours shall see it fit time, they shall go to the king, and say to him; *Sir, when doth it please you that our master shall rise?* Whereupon the king shall command the grave knights, esquires, and minstrells, to go to the chamber of the said esquire for to raise him, and to attire and dress him, and to bring him before him into the hall. But, before their entrance, and the noise of the minstrells heard, the esquire's governours shall provide all necessities ready for the order, to deliver to the knights, for to attire and dress the esquire.

And when the knights are come to the esquire's chamber, they shall enter with leave, and say to him; *Sir, Good morrow to you, it is time to get up and make yourself ready;* and thereupon they shall take him by the arm to be dressed, the most antient of the said knights reaching him his shirt, another giving him his breeches, the third his doublet; and another putting upon him a

kirtle of red Tartarin, two other shall raise him from the bed, and two other put on his nether stockings, with soles of leather sowed to them; two other shall lace his sleives, and another shall gird him with a girdle of white leather without any buckles thereon; another shall combe his head; another shall put on his coife; another shall give him his mantle of silk (over the bases or kirtle of red Tartarin) tyed with a lace of white silk, with a pair of white gloves hanging at the end of the lace. And the chandler shall take for his fees all the garments, with the whole array and necessities wherewith the esquire shall be apparelled and cloathed on the day that he comes into the court to receive the order; as also the bed wherein he first lay after his bathing, together with the singleton and other necessities; in consideration of which fees, the same chandler shall find, at his proper cost, the said coife, the gloves, the girdle, and the lace.

13. And when all this is done, the grave knights shall get on horseback, and conduct the esquire to the hall, the minstrells going before making musick; but the horse must be accoutred as followeth: the saddle having a cover of black leather, the bow of the saddle being of white wood quartered. The stirrup-leathers black, the stirrups gilt; the paitrell of black leather gilt, with a cross-paté gilt, hanging before the breast of the horse, but without any crooper: the bridle black, with long notched rains, after the Spanish fashion, and a cross-paté on the front. And there must be provided a young esquire, courteous, who shall ride before



before the esquire, bareheaded, and carry the esquire's sword, with the spurs hanging at the handle of the sword; and the scabbard of the sword shall be of white leather, and the girdle of white leather, without buckles. And the youth shall hold the sword by the point, and after this manner must they ride to the king's hall, the governours being ready at hand.

14. And the grave knights shall conduct the said esquire; and so soon as they come before the hall dore, the marshalls and huishers are to be ready to meet him, and desire him to alight; and being alighted, the marshall shall take the horse for his fee, or else c s. Then shall the knights conduct him into the hall, up to the high table, and afterwards up to the end of the second table, until the king's coming, the knights standing on each side of him, and the youth holding the sword upright before him, between the two governours.

14. And when the king is come into the hall, and beholdeth the esquire ready to receive this high order and temporal dignitie, he shall aske for the sword and spurs. which the chamberlain shall take from the youth, and shew to the king; and thereupon the king, taking the right spur, shall deliver it to the most noble and gentile person there, and shall say to him, *Put this upon the esquire's heel*; and he kneeling on one knee, must take the esquire by the right leg, and, putting his foot on his own knee, is to fasten the spur upon the right heel of the esquire; and then making a cross upon the esquire's knee, shall kiss him; which being done, another knight must come and put on his left spur in the like

manner. And then shall the king, of his great favour, take the sword and gird the esquire therewith; whereupon the esquire is to lift up his arms, holding his hands together, and the gloves betwixt his thumbs and fingers.

16. And the king, putting his own armes about the esquire's neck, shall say, *Be thou a good knight*, and afterwards kiss him. Then are the antient knights to conduct this new knight to the chapell, with much musick, even to the high altar, and there he shall kneel, and, putting his right hand upon the altar, is to promise to maintain the rights of the holy church, during his whole life.

17. And then he shall ungirt himself of his sword, and, with great devotion to God and holy church, offer it there; praying unto God and all his saints, that he may keep that order, which he hath so taken, even to the end: all which being accomplished, he is to take a draught of wine.

18. And, at his going out of the chapell, the king's master-cook being ready to take off his spurs, for his own fee, shall say, *I the king's master-cook am come to receive your spurs for my fee; and if you do any thing contrary to the order of knighthood, (which God forbid), I shall hack your spurs from your heels*.

19. After this the knights must conduct him again into the hall, where he shall sit the first at the knight's table, and the knights about him, himself to be served as the others are; but he must neither cut nor drink at the table, nor spit, nor look about him, upwards or downwards, more than a bride. And this being done, one  
of



of his governours having a handkerchief in his hand, shall hold it before his face when he is to spit. And when the king is risen from the table, and gone into his chamber, then shall the new knight be conducted, with great store of knights, and minstrels proceeding before him, into his own chamber; and at his entrance, the knights and minstrells shall take leave of him, and go to dinner.

20. And the knights being thus gone, the chamber dore shall be fastened, and the new knight disrobed of his attire, which is to be given to the kings of armes, in case they be there present; and if not, then to the other heralds, if they be there; otherwise, to the minstrells, together with a mark of silver, if he be a knight bachelor; if a baron, double to that; if an earl, or of a superior rank double thereto. And the russet night-cap must be given to the watch, or else a noble.

Then is he to be cloathed again with a blew robe, the sleives whereof to be streight, shaped after the fashion of a priest's; and upon his left shoulder to have a lace of white filk hanging: and he shall wear that lace upon all his garments, from that day forwards, untill he have gained some honour and renown by arms, and is registred of as high record as the nobles, knights, esquires, and heralds of arms; and be renowned for some feats of arms, as aforesaid; or, that some great prince, or most noble ladie, can cut that lace from his shoulder, saying, *Sir, we have heard so much of the true renown concerning your honour, which you have done in divers parts, to the great*

*fame of Chivalrie, as to yourself, and of him that made you a knight, that it is meet this lace be taken from you.*

21. After dinner, the knights of hopour and gentlemen, must come to the knight, and conduct him into the presence of the king, the esquire's governors going before him, where he is to say, *Right noble and renowned Sir! I do, in all that I can, give you thanks for these honours, curtesies, and bountie, which you have vouchsafed to me. And having so said, shall take his leave of the king.*

22. Then are the esquire's governours to take leave of this their master, saying, *Sir! we have, according to the king's command, and as we were obliged, done what we can; but if through negligence we have in aught displeased you, or by any thing we have done amiss at this time, we desire pardon of you for it. And, on the other side, Sir, as right is, according to the customs of the court, and antient kingdoms, we do require our robes and fees, as the king's esquires, companions to batchelors, and other lords.*

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#### *The Origin of Lotteries in England.*

THE first we meet with was drawn A. D. 1569. It consisted of 40,000 lots, at ten shillings each lot: the prizes were plate; and the profits were to go towards repairing the havens of this kingdom. "It was drawn at the west door of St. Paul's cathedral. The drawing began on the 11th of Jannary, 1569, and continued



tinued incessantly drawing, *day and night*, till the 6th of May following;" as Maitland, from Stowe, informs us in his History, Vol. I. p. 257. There were then only *three* lottery-offices in London. The proposals for this lottery were published in the years 1567 and 1568. It was at first intended to have been drawn at the house of Mr. Dericke, her Majesty's servant (i. e. her jeweller), but was afterwards drawn as above mentioned.

Dr. Rawlinson shewed the Antiquary Society, 1748, "A Proposal for a very rich Lottery, general without any Blankes, containing a great number of good prizes, as well of redy money as of plate and certain sorts of merchandizes, having been valued and prized by the commandment of the Queenes most excellent Majesties order, to the entent that such commodities as may chance to arise thereof after the charges borne may be converted towards the reparations of the havens and strength of the realme, and towards such other public good workes. The number of lotts shall be foure hundred thousand, and no more; and every lott shall be the summe of tenne shillings sterling only, and no more. To be filled by the feast of St. Bartholomew. The shew of prizes ar to be seen in Cheapside, at the sign of the Queenes Armes, the house of Mr. Dericke, goldsmith, servant to the Queen. Some other orders about it in 1567-8. Printed by Hen. Bynneman."

"In the year 1612, King James, in special favour for the present plantation of English colonies in Virginia, granted a lottery, to be held at the west end of St. Paul's;

whereof one Thomas Sharplys, a taylor of London, had the chief prize, which was four thousand crowns, in fair plate." Baker's Chronicle.

See an account of the prizes, &c. of this lottery, in Smith's History of Virginia.

In the reign of Queen Anne, it was thought necessary to suppress lotteries, as nuisances to the public. See Dr. King's Works, Vol. II. p. 169.

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*Abstract of an Account of some remarkable ancient Ruins, lately discovered in the Highlands and northern parts of Scotland. By John Williams, Mineral Engineer.*

THE Highlands of Scotland having been formerly almost an inaccessible country, made it very little known; yet, I believe few countries abound more in monuments of antiquity. Amongst these, the vitrified forts are particularly worthy of our attention, though they appear to have hitherto escaped the curiosity of those few travellers, that have had the courage to penetrate into that remote part of the island.

Each of the vitrified forts I have yet seen, are situated on the top of a small hill. These hills every where overlook, and command the view of a beautiful valley, or widely extended level country.

They have always a level area on the summit, of less or greater extent; and this level area has been surrounded by a wall, which, as far as I can judge by the ruins, has been very high, and very strong: but what is most extraordinary,



dinary, these walls have been vitrified, or run and compacted together by the force of fire; and that so effectually, that most of the stones have been melted down; and any part of the stones not quite run to glass, has been entirely enveloped by the vitrified matter; and in some places the vitrification has been so complete, that the ruins appear now like vast masses, or fragments of coarse glass, or flags.

Though these fortified hills have a level area on the summit, yet they are always difficult of access, except in one place, which has every where been strengthened by additional works.

I have seen some of these hills of a long oval figure, which were accessible at both ends; and when that is the figure, such have been strongly fortified at each end, as now appears by the ruins.

For your farther satisfaction, and for your instruction, if you should travel through that country, I will point out a few places, where I have seen these extraordinary ruins.

The first I will take notice of, is on the hill of Knockfarril, the south side the valley of Strathpeffer, two miles west of Dingwall in Ross-shire.

This hill is about nine hundred feet of perpendicular height above the valley; has a perfect command of the view of the whole valley, and of the country for some miles eastward.

This hill is of a long figure, exceeding steep on both sides; but the ridge falls on both ends with an easy slope.

The area within the walls is about a hundred and twenty paces

long, and about forty broad. But as they could not, it seems, conveniently take in the whole length of the ground that was moderately level, there have been very high, and apparently very strong works at each end, without the surrounding wall.

At the desire of the honourable board of annexed estates, I made a section quite through the ruins of the vitrified fort here, beginning without all the ruins, and cutting to the rock all the way, not only through the ruins, but also through the inclosed area, in order to observe every thing that appeared, both in going through the ruins, and under the green surface of the area, within the ruins of the walls.

I began the cut at Knockfarril, not exactly in the middle, but a little nearer the east end, to be quite clear of two hollow places, which, upon examination, I found to have been wells. These wells I have invariably found in all the forts.

I began to dig here, quite on the outside of all the ruins. At first we met with nothing in digging, but rich black mold, mixed with large stones, and fragments of the vitrified ruins.

This continued the same for several yards, only that the stones and fragments increased more and more as we advanced, and when we came near the ruins of the wall, we met with little besides stones, and fragments of the vitrified matter.

When we had advanced to the ruins of the wall, on the south side, we found it difficult to get through; for, though it is evident the wall has fallen down, and



broke to pieces in the fall, yet many of the fragments are so large and strong, and the vitrification so entire, that it was not easy breaking through. However, with the help of the crows, and plenty of hands, we tumbled over some very large fragments; which at first began to go whole down the hill, but when they gained the velocity of motion, they dashed to pieces against the rocks, and ended in a furious shower at the bottom of the hill.

I was obliged to get under one large fragment, which I left as a bridge over the south end of the cut.

On the north side, we began on the outside of the wall, immediately in the rubbish of the vitrified ruins, and soon came to pretty high ruins of a wall, more hard and strong than any thing of the kind I had seen before; which I did not expect here, as this wall was almost wholly grown over with heath and grass. I found it necessary to undermine the ruins of this north wall, to let its own weight contribute its help to bring it down.

The height of the ruins of this north wall, is now no less than twelve feet perpendicular, though certainly all fallen down; what then must it have been when standing? It appears quite evident, that the whole of the vitrified wall, surrounding the inclosed area, has fallen flat outward.

It appears to me from the examination I was enabled to make, that the wall on Knockfarril, has been run together by vitrification, much more perfectly than most of the kind I have seen.

In some others, the stones seem to have been partly run down,

and partly enveloped by the vitrid matter; but here the whole wall has been run together into one solid mass: at the same time, in any section of this wall, or of the fragments of it, we see many pieces and ends of stones, not quite melted down; but these are so much one mass with the vitrified matter, that it is evident the whole wall was melted down, and run together in the building of it, and that it was not any matter they poured among the stones in the wall, for I could never see in this wall, which I examined very minutely, so much as one stone, nor a piece of a stone, that was not affected by the fire, and less or more of it vitrified.

Immediately on the inside of this surrounding wall, there are ruins of vitrified buildings, which seem to have been worse done, and so are fallen into more decay than the outer walls. I imagine these inner works have been a range of habitations, reared against, or under the shade of the outer wall.

These inner buildings appear to have gone quite round; but they have been much higher and larger on the north side, facing the sun, than on the south side, facing the north.

I saw nothing in the middle of the area, but rich black mold, mixt with stones, bits of bones, which the Highland workmen said were deers bones, and small fragments of the vitrified ruins, which evidently have been scattered in the course of time, and mixed with the soil.

I opened both the holes which looked like the ruins of wells, and soon came to water.

I also



I also made a cut into a very high heap of ruins, without the surrounding wall, at the west end of this place of strength. This seems to have been an outwork of great strength and consequence, as the ruins are very high, and very wide; but of what sort it has been, is hard to determine, as it is now an undistinguishable heap of rubbish.

I began low enough here, that I might be certain I was without the foundation of all former buildings. At first, I met with nothing but rich black mold, mixt with large stones, and fragments of the vitrified walls, as in the section of the inclosed area; and when we advanced into the ruins, I found nothing but a confused heap of calcined stones, dust resembling ashes, with larger and smaller fragments of the vitrified matter.

I only went half way through this heap of ruins, which is no less than twenty-three feet perpendicular, from the top of the heap of ruins, down to the foundation; from which it plainly appears, it has been of great height when standing.

I said above, that this vast ruin is only an undistinguishable heap of rubbish; notwithstanding, it is very evident, it has been a vitrified building, as there are in it fragments of the vitrified walls, of different dimensions, and in different degrees of decay. Some of these fragments are many feet every way, and so strong I could hardly get them broke; others, large indeed, but easily broken to pieces, and a great deal fallen down into rubbish, which appeared like calcined stones and ashes: and when we were advanced into the middle,

it was all one heap of vitrified ruins from top to bottom, broken and crushed to pieces by its own weight.

At the out-skirts of these ruins, and at the bottom of the hill below, there is a great quantity of large stones of all sizes and shapes, which have not been touched by fire; from which it appears to me, there has been some sort of stone buildings going round, on the outside of the vitrified walls: and I imagine these dry stone buildings have been raised on the south side only, with a proper space between them and the vitrified walls, for the purpose of keeping in, and securing their cattle from their enemies. One great reason why I think so, is, that when cutting into the outwork at the west end of Knock-farril, I saw, under the ruins, a stratum of dung, about three inches deep, pressed hard by the weight of the ruins. This stratum of dung continued for many yards, as we advanced.

I have observed the remains of dry stone ruins going round some part of the outside of all the vitrified forts I have seen, and always at some little distance from the vitrified ruins; and, to the best of my memory, they are on the south side of the ruins of the fort, where the situation will admit of it: They are always sure to be on the flattest side of the hill, for the ease of the cattle standing or lying, and on the sunny side, if possible, for their comfort. And I have frequently observed, that where there was not room enough on the level area above, to have this dry stone inclosure without the surrounding vitrified wall, on the summit, they have made a large ditch on





that side of the hill which has the easiest slope; and on the outside of these ditches, there are every where dry stone ruins; which makes it evident to me, that these outer fences have been to secure their cattle. Where they had not room on the level above, they were obliged to cut a level place below, as the cattle could not stand upon the slope.

The full name of this remarkable fortified hill, is Knockfarril-naphian, which I am told by gentlemen skilled in the Gallic language, is Fingal's place on Knockfarril, this being the name of the hill.

The tradition of the common people concerning this place, is, that it was the habitation of giants; and that the chief of these giants was Ree Phian M'Coul, which, I am told, means King Fingal the son of Coul.

The next vitrified fort I will point out to you, is on the hill of Craig-Phadrack, immediately above the house of Muirtoun, two miles west of Inverness.

There is one thing here, peculiar only to this ruin, which I have not yet seen on any other fortified hill; viz. There are here distinct ruins of two vitrified walls quite round the inclosed area, and three at the entrance on the east end: but it is common in other places of this kind, to have additional works at the entry.

The inner wall here appears to have been very high and strong; but, on the contrary, the outer wall seems to me, never to have been of any great height. It is founded on the bare, solid rock, about six or eight paces from the inner wall; goes quite round, but

what remains of it is so low, that I cannot think it was designed for defence, unless it was to secure their cattle, which I imagine it was intended for, as I do not remember to have seen any dry stone ruins here.

I saw a good deal of this outer wall, seeming to me entire, sticking to the firm, bare rock, where it was first run, not above four or five feet high, but it must have been somewhat higher.

I cannot help looking upon what remains entire of this low vitrified wall, as the greatest curiosity of any ruins in Europe.

This is a specimen in little of the vitrified walls, not fallen to total ruin, which may help to give an idea of what sort of structures they were, that have produced such vast, though undistinguishable ruins.

About twelve or fourteen miles from Inverness, there are other two of these fortified hills, called Castle-Finlay, two miles north-east, and Dun-Evan, two miles south-west of the castle of Calder, in the shire of Nairn.

I have seen a small vitrified ruin, three miles from Fort-Augustus, which I think is called Tor-dun Castle; and a much more considerable one, on the west side of Gleneves, in Lochaber, about three miles south side the garrison of Fort-William.

The forts I have already enumerated, are situated in the Highlands and North. I will now beg leave, to lead you at once as far south as the castle hill of Finaven. The vitrified ruins at Finaven, are about a short mile west side the kirk of Aberlemny, about half a mile north side the public road;  
half



half way between Brechin and Forfar, in the shire of Angus.

The area within walls here, is the longest I have yet seen, being about a hundred and fifty paces long, and thirty-six broad. Before I saw this place, I was very curious to know if there were any of these extraordinary ruins south side the Grampians. This one satisfied me in that point. I make no doubt of many more being found, if I had time to search for them. Now I am anxious to know, if there be any of them on the south side the Forth, and in other parts of the island. The following hints may assist those, whose curiosity may lead them to search for these antiquities.

Many of the fortified hills are about the height of Arthur's seat, near Edinburgh; some of them a little higher, and some lower. The vitrified ruins often appear at a distance, crowning the head of the hill, like some sort of an inclosure which one cannot understand the meaning of. The fortified hills are generally very steep on one or more of the sides. If a great heap of large stones are seen, near the head of such a hill, or going round any part of the sides of it, they should examine the summit with great care and accuracy; for in some places the vitrified ruins are nearly all grown over with heath and grass, and often appear, at first sight, like the ruins of some earth or sod buildings, which, perhaps, is one reason why these extraordinary ruins were not discovered sooner.

With regard to the construction of these vitrified walls, it must be observed in the first place, that,

the rock of all the fortified hills I have yet seen, is more or less of that coagulated kind, commonly called the plumpudding rock. The rock on the head of Knockfarril, and half way down, is so strong a species of it, that it appears like vast strata of water-rounded stones and gravel, like the sea beach, cemented together with lime, and some iron.

This sort of stone is easily run down with a strong fire; and I have observed in other places, where the rock was less of this kind, and had not much lime in the composition of the stone, that the vitrification seemed not to be so well done, as the ruins in such places appear like calcined stones and ashes, with here and there a fragment sticking together, to make me sure it is the ruins of a vitrified building.

Mr. Watt, engineer, whose description of Craig Patrick is annexed to our author's account, observes, that the rock of which the mountain consists, is of a granite species,—but not an uniform stone. It is composed principally of round water-worn pieces of a red granite, mixed with pieces of a stone which I call *granulated quartz*, which are generally of a greyish colour; and also with pieces of the common quartz. The whole is cemented together, and the interstices filled up, by a coarse sand of the red granite.

The materials of which, upon examination, he found the walls to be composed, greatly resemble, he says, the cinders or clinkers produced in a lime-kiln, being, in some parts, a vitrified spongy mass, with a glossy surface; and, in



other places, when it has been broke into for a small depth, you may see calcined, though unvitri-fied matters mixed in large pieces among the spongy slag. It is evidently the native rock, vitrified: and the granite parts seem to be the only ones which have come into fusion, and have formed the slag.

That a very strong fire would melt the stones, is a fact of which the rudest nations might have frequent experience; but still it is difficult to conceive how they could erect such vast buildings, run, and compacted together, by the force of fire.

I am inclined to imagine that they raised two parallel dykes of earth or sods, in the direction or course of their intended wall or building; and left a space between them, just wide enough for the wall. I suppose these two parallel dykes, the groove or mould in which they were to run their wall. This groove between the two dykes I suppose they packed full of fuel, on which they would lay a proper quantity of the materials to be vitrified. There is no doubt but a hot fire would melt down the stones, especially if they were of the plumpudding kind, and not too large. And the frame of earth would keep the materials, when in fusion, from running without the breadth of their intended wall.

This being the foundation, I suppose they have added new fires, and more materials, and raised their mould of earth by degrees, till they brought the whole to the intended height, and then have removed the earth from both sides the vitrified wall.

I am confident, from the appearance of the ruins, that the materials were run down by the fire, in some such method as this. In all the sections of the larger and smaller fragments of the vitrified ruins I have seen, I never saw the least appearance of a stone being laid in any particular way. I never saw a large stone in any fragment of these ruins; nor any stone, nor piece of a stone, that was not affected by the fire, and some part of it vitrified; and all the bits of stone that appear in these fragments, appear just as we would suppose they would fall down in the fire, when the materials were in a state of fusion.

The ingenious Dr. Joseph Black, professor of chymistry in the university of Edinburgh, in a letter to the author, thinks it very probable, that they were executed in some such manner as is here imagined. He adds, there are in most parts of Scotland, different kinds of stone, which can, without much difficulty, be melted or softened by fire, to such a degree, as to make them cohere together. Such is the grey stone, called whin-stone, which, for some time past, has been carried to London to pave the streets. Such also is the granite, or moor-stone, which is applied to the same use, and pieces of which are plainly visible in some specimens of these vitrified walls, which I received from my friends. — There are also many lime-stones, which, in consequence of their containing certain proportions of sand and clay, are very fusible: and there is no doubt, that sand-stone, and pudden-stone, when they happen to contain cer-  
tain



tain proportions of iron, mixed with the sand and gravel of which they are composed, must have the same quality.—A pudden-stone composed of pieces of granite, must necessarily have it.

There is abundance of one or other of these kinds of stone in many parts of Scotland; and as the whole country was anciently a forest, and the greater part of it overgrown with wood, it is easy to understand how those who erected these works, got the materials necessary for their purposes.

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*Further Remarks on the supposed ancient Poems, ascribed to Rowlie.*

**I**N a former volume (19th) we gave our readers an account of the discovery said to have been made by one Chatterton, of some ancient poems in the church of St. Mary of Radcliffe, near Bristol, and ascribed by him to Thomas Rowlie, a monk of that city. In this age of literary forgeries, it is not to be wondered, that the suspicious circumstances under which these poems made their first appearance, should have created many doubts with regard to their authenticity. There were not, however, wanting many persons, and amongst those, men of considerable note as antiquarians, who imagined they saw in these productions indubitable proofs of their antiquity. Critics of another class, judging from the style, thoughts and versification of those compositions, did not hesitate to pronounce them spurious. The opinion of Mr. Warton, whose knowledge, as an antiquarian, and judgment, as a man of taste, are universally acknow-

ledged, must necessarily be decisive.

“I am of opinion, he says, (Hist. of Eng. Poet. Vol. 2. p. 153.) that none of these pieces are genuine. The Execution of Sir Charles Bandwin, is now allowed to be modern. even by those who maintain all the other poems to be ancient. The Ode to Ella, and the Epistle to Lydgate, with his Answer, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie’s own hand. This was shewn to an ingenious critic and intelligent antiquary of my acquaintance; who assures me, that the writing was a gross and palpable forgery. It was not even skilfully counterfeited. The form of the letters, although artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very essentially from every one of our early alphabets. Nor were the characters uniform and consistent: part of the same manuscript exhibiting some letters shaped according to the present round hand, while others were traced in imitation of the ancient court and text hands. The parchment was old; and that it might look still older, was stained on the outside with ochre, which was easily rubbed off with a linen cloth. Care had also been evidently taken to tincture the ink with a yellow cast. To communicate a stronger stamp of rude antiquity, the Ode was written like prose: no distinction, or termination, being made between the several verses. Lydgate’s Answer, which makes a part of this manuscript, and is written by the same hand, I have already proved to be a manifest imposition. This parchment has since been unfortunately lost. I have myself carefully examined the original manu-



manuscript, as it is called, of the little piece intitled, Account of W. Cannynge's Feast. It is likewise on parchment, and, I am sorry to say, that the writing betrays all the suspicious signatures which were observed in that of the Ode to Ella. I have repeatedly and diligently compared it with three or four authentic manuscripts of the time of Edward the fourth, to all which I have found it totally unlike. Among other smaller vestiges of forgery, which cannot be so easily described and explained here, at the bottom are added in ink two coats of arms, containing empalements of Cannynge and of his friends or relations, with family-names, apparently delineated by the same pen which wrote the verses. Even the style and drawing of the armorial bearings discover the hand of a modern herald. This, I believe, is the only pretended original of the poetry of Rowlie, now remaining.

As to internal arguments, an unnatural affectation of ancient spelling and of obsolete words, not belonging to the period assigned to the poems, strikes us at first sight. Of these old words combinations are frequently formed, which never yet existed in the unpolished state of the English language: and sometimes the antiquated diction is most inartificially misapplied, by an improper contexture with the present modes of speech. The attentive reader will also discern, that our poet sometimes forgets his assumed character, and does not always act his part with consistency: for the chorus, or interlude, of the damsel who drowns herself, which I have cited at length from the Tragedy of Ella, is much more

intelligible, and free from uncouth expressions, than the general phraseology of these compositions. In the Battle of Hastings, said to be translated from the Saxon, Stonehenge is called a Druidical temple. The battle of Hastings was fought in the year 1066. We will grant the Saxon original to have been written soon afterwards: about which time, no other notion prevailed concerning this miraculous monument, than the supposition which had been delivered down by long and constant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengist's massacre. This was the established and uniform opinion of the Welsh and Armorican bards, who most probably received it from the Saxon minstrels: and that this was the popular belief at the time of the battle of Hastings, appears from the evidence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote his history not more than eighty years after that memorable event. And in this doctrine Robert of Gloucester and all the monkish chroniclers agree. That the Druids constructed this stupendous pile for a place of worship, was a discovery reserved for the sagacity of a wiser age, and the laborious discussion of modern antiquaries. In the Epistle to Lydgate, prefixed to the Tragedy, our poet condemns the absurdity and impropriety of the religious dramas, and recommends some great story of human manners, as most suitable for theatrical representation. But this idea is the result of that taste and discrimination, which could only belong to a more advanced period of society.

But, above all, the cast of thought, the complexion of the sentiments,



sentiments, and the structure of the composition, evidently prove these pieces not ancient. The Ode to Ella, for instance, has exactly the air of modern poetry; such, I mean, as is written at this day, only disguised with antique spelling and phraseology. That Rowlie was an accomplished literary character, a scholar, an historian, and an antiquarian, if contended for, I will not deny. Nor is it impossible that he might write English poetry. But that he is the writer of the poems which I have here cited, and which have been so confidently ascribed to him, I am not yet convinced.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe, that these poems were composed by the son of the school-master before mentioned; who inherited the inestimable treasures of Cannyng's chest in Radcliffe-church, as I have already related at large. This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius; and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age. From his childhood, he was fond of reading and writing verses: and some of his early compositions, which he wrote without any design to deceive, have been judged to be most astonishing productions by the first critic of the present age. From his situation and connections, he became a skilful practitioner in various kinds of hand-writing. Availing himself therefore of his poetical talent, and his facility in the graphic art, to a miscellany of obscure and neglected parchments, which were commodiously placed in his own possession, he was tempted to add others of a more interesting nature, and such as he

was enabled to forge, under these circumstances, without the fear of detection. As to his knowledge of the old English literature, which is rarely the study of a young poet, a sufficient quantity of obsolete words and phrases were readily attainable from the glossary to Chaucer, and to Percy's Ballads. It is confessed, that this youth wrote the Execution of Sir Charles Baudwin: and he who could forge that poem, might easily forge all the rest.

In the mean time, we will allow, that some pieces of poetry written by Rowlie might have been preserved in Cannyng's chest: and that these were enlarged and improved by young Chatterton. But if this was the case, they were so much altered as to become entirely new compositions. The poem which bids the fairest to be one of these originals is Cannyng's Feast. But the parchment-manuscript of this little poem has already been proved to be a forgery. A circumstance which is perhaps alone sufficient to make us suspect that no originals ever existed.

It will be asked, for what end or purpose did he contrive such an imposture? I answer, from lucrative views; or perhaps from the pleasure of deceiving the world, a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain. He probably promised himself greater emoluments from this indirect mode of exercising his abilities: or, he might have sacrificed even the vanity of appearing in the character of an applauded original author, to the private enjoyment of the success of his invention and dexterity.

I have observed above, that Cannyng ordered his iron chest in Radcliffe-



Radcliffe-church to be solemnly visited once in every year, and that an annual entertainment should be provided for the visitors. In the notices relating to this matter, which some of the chief patrons of Rowlie's poetry have lately sent me from Bristol, it is affirmed, that this order is contained in Cannyng's will: and that he specifies therein, that not only his manuscript evidences abovementioned, but that the poems of his confessor Rowlie, which likewise he had deposited in the aforesaid chest, were also to be submitted to this annual inspection. This circumstance at first strongly inclined me to think favourably of the authenticity of these pieces. At least it proved, that Rowlie had left some performances in verse. But on examining Cannyng's will, no such order appears. All his bequests relating to Radcliffe-church, of every kind, are the following. He leaves legacies to the vicar, and the three clerks, of the said church: to the two chantry-priests, or chaplains, of his foundation: to the keeper of the *pyxis oblationum*, in the north-door: and to the fraternity *Commemorationis martirum*. Also vestments to the altars of Saint Catharine, and Saint George. He mentions his tomb built near the altar of Saint Catharine, where his late wife is interred. He gives augmentations to the endowment of his two chantries, at the altars of Saint Catharine and Saint

George, abovementioned. To the choir, he leaves two service-books, called *Liggers*, to be used there, on either side, by his two chantry-priests. He directs, that his funeral shall be celebrated in the said church with a *month's mind*, and the usual solemnities\*.

Those who have been conversant in the works even of the best of our old English poets, well know, that one of their leading characteristics is inequality. In these writers, splendid descriptions, ornamental comparisons, poetical images, and striking thoughts, occur but rarely: for many pages together, they are tedious, prosaic, and uninteresting. On the contrary, the poems before us are every where supported: they are, throughout, poetical and animated. They have no imbecilities of style or sentiment. Our old English bards abound in unnatural conceptions, strange imaginations, and even the most ridiculous absurdities. But Rowlie's poems present us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, institutions, customs, and characters. They appear to have been composed after ideas of discrimination had taken place; and when even common writers had begun to conceive, on most subjects, with precision and propriety. There are indeed in the *Battle of Hastings*, some great anacronisms; and practices are mentioned which did not exist till afterwards. But these are

\* The supporters of the authenticity of the poems assert, on the other hand, that the appointment of the visitors, &c. though not mentioned in the will, is in a deed, now in Mr. Barret's hands: and that mention is there made of a particular portion of Mr. Cannyng's estates set apart for defraying the expences upon that occasion, and that the chest itself is most particularly described. It is also alledged, that this deed is written in Latin, and that Chatterton was not known to have had any knowledge of that language.



such inconsistencies, as proceeded from fraud as well as ignorance: they are such as no old poet could have possibly fallen into, and which only betray an unskilful imitation of ancient manners. The verses of Lydgate and his immediate successors are often rugged and unmusical: but Rowlie's poetry sustains one uniform tone of harmony: and, if we brush away the asperities of the antiquated spelling, conveys its cultivated imagery in a polished and agreeable strain of versification. Chatterton seems to have thought, that the distinction of old from modern poetry consisted only in the use of old words. In counterfeiting the coins of a rude age, he did not forget the usual application of an artificial rust: but this disguise was not sufficient to conceal the elegance of the workmanship.

The Battle of Hastings, just mentioned, might be proved to be a palpable forgery for many other reasons. It is said to be translated from the Saxon of Turgot. But Turgot died in 1015, and the battle of Hastings was fought in 1066. We will, however, allow, that Turgot lived in the reign of the Conqueror. But, on that supposition, it is not extraordinary, that a cotemporary writer should mention no circumstances of this action which we did not know before, and which are not to be found in Malmſbury, Ordericus Vitalis, and other ancient chroniclers? Especially as Turgot's description of this battle was professedly a detached and separate performance, and at least, on that account, would be minute and circumstantial. An original and a cotemporary writer, describing this battle, would not only have told us something new,

but would otherwise have been full of particularities. The poet before us dwells on incidents common to all battles, and such as were easily to be had from Pope's Homer. We may add, that this piece not only detects itself, but demonstrates the spuriousness of all the rest. Chatterton himself allowed the first part of it to be a forgery of his own. The second part, from what has been said, could not be genuine. And he who could write the second part was able to write every line in the whole collection. But while I am speaking of this poem, I cannot help exposing the futility of an argument which has been brought as a decisive evidence of its originality. It is urged, that the names of the chiefs who accompanied the Conqueror, correspond with the Roll of Battle-Abbey. As if a modern forger could not have seen this venerable record. But, unfortunately, it is printed in Hollinshead's Chronicle.

It is said that Chatterton, on account of his youth and education, could not write these poems. This may be true; but it is no proof that they are not forged. Who was their author, on the hypothesis that Rowlie was not, is a new and another question. I am, however, of opinion that it was Chatterton. For if we attend only to some of the pieces now extant in a periodical magazine, which he published under his own signature, and which are confessedly of his composition, to his letters now remaining in manuscript, and to the testimony of those that were acquainted with his conversation, he will appear to have been a singular instance of a prematurity of abilities; to have acquired a store of general information far exceeding his



his years, and to have possessed that comprehension of mind, and activity of understanding, which predominated over his situations in life, and his opportunities of instruction. Some of his publications in the magazines discover also his propensity to forgery, and more particularly in the walk of ancient manners, which seem greatly to have struck his imagination. These, among others, are Ethelgar, a Saxon poem in prose; Kenrick, translated from the Saxon; Cerdich, translated from the Saxon; Codred Crovan, a poem composed by Dothnel Syrric, King of the Isle of Man; the Hirilas, composed by Blythyn, Prince of North Wales; Gothmund, translated from the Saxon; Anecdote of Chaucer, and of the Antiquity of Christmas Games. The latter piece, in which he quotes a register of Keinsham nunnery, which was a priory of black canons, and advances many imaginary facts, strongly shews his track of reading, and his fondness for antiquarian imagery. In this monthly collection he inserted ideal drawings of six achievements of Saxon heraldry, of an inedited coin of Queen Sexburgeo, wife of King Kinewalch, and of a Saxon amulet; with explanations equally fantastic and arbitrary. From Rowlie's pretended parchments he produced several heraldic delineations. He also exhibited a draught by Rowlie of Bristol castle in its perfect state, I very much doubt if this fortress was not almost totally ruinous in the reign of Edward IV. This draught, however, was that of an edifice evidently fictitious. It was exceedingly ingenious; but it was the representation of a building which never

existed, in a capricious and affected style of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or system.

To the whole that is here suggested on this subject, let us add Chatterton's inducements and qualifications for forging these poems, arising from his character, and way of living. He was an adventurer, a professed hireling in the trade of literature, full of projects and inventions, artful, enterprising, unprincipled, indigent, and compelled to subsist by expedients.

It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious. Ancient remains of English poetry, unexpectedly discovered and fortunately rescued from a long oblivion are contemplated with a degree of fond enthusiasm: exclusive of any real or intrinsic excellence, they afford those pleasures arising from the idea of antiquity which deeply interest the imagination. With these pleasures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more solid satisfaction resulting from the detection of artifice and imposture."

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*In Addition to what we have inserted in our Twelfth Volume, for 1769, page 152, relative to the ancient Mode of Electing Members for Parliament, the following may be subjoined; taken from a Memorandum MSS. of J. Harington, Esq; of Kelston, in Somersetshire, dated 1646.*

*A Note of my Bathe Business about the Parliament.*

**S**ATURDAY, December 26th, 1646, went to Bathe, and dined with the Maior and citizens; conferred about my election



to serve in parliament, as my father was helpless and ill able to go any more;—went to the George Inn at night, met the bailifs, and desired to be dismissed from serving; drank strong beer and metheglin; expended about iijs. went home late, but could not get excused, as they entertained a good opinion of my father.

Monday, Dec. 28th, went to Bathe: met Sir John Horner; we were chosen by the citizens to serve for the city. The Maior and citizens conferred about parliament business. The Maior promised *Sir John Horner and myself a horse apiece*, when we went to London to the parliament, which we accepted of; and we talked about the synod and ecclesiastical dismissions. I am to go again on Thursday, and meet the citizens about all such matters, and take advice thereon.

Thursday, 31, went to Bathe: Mr. Ashe preached. Dined at the George Inn with the Maior and

four citizens; spent at dinner vjsh. in wine.

Laid out in victuals at the s. d.

George Inn — — xj 4

Laid out in drinking — vij ij

Laid out in tobacco and

drinking vessels — iiij 4

Jan. 1. My father gave me 4l. to bear my expences at Bathe.

Mr. Chapman the Maior, came to Kelston and returned thanks, for my being chosen to serve in parliament, to my father, in name of all the citizens. My father gave me good advice, touching my speaking in parliament as the city should direct me. Came home late at night from Bathe, much troubled hereat concerning my proceeding truly for mens good report and mine own safety.

Note, I gave the city messenger ijsh. for bearing the Maiors letter to me. Laid out, in all, 3l. vijsh. for victuals, drink, and horse-hire, together with divers gifts.

N. B. The editor is not quite certain that this election was in 1645, as the date is obscure in the MSS. but it was within a year or two of that time.



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*The Origin of Knighthood and the Judicial Combat, of Torneaments and Blazonry. The Sources of Chivalry. From Stuart's View of Society in Europe.*

WHEN the inhabitants of Germany sallied from their woods, and made conquests, the change of condition they experienced produced a change in their manners. Narrow communities grew into extensive kingdoms, and petty princes, and temporary leaders, were exalted into monarchs. The ideas, however, they had formerly entertained, and the customs with which they had been familiar, were neither forgotten nor neglected. The modes of thought and of action which had been displayed in their original seats, advanced with them into the territories of Rome, continued their operation and power in this new situation, and created that uniformity of appearance which Europe every where exhibited. Their influence on the forms of government and polity which arose, was decisive and extensive; and it was not less efficacious and powerful on those inferior circumstances which join to constitute the system of manners, and to produce the complexion and features that distinguish ages and nations.

The inclination for war entertained by the Germanic states, the respect and importance in which they held their women, and the sentiments they had conceived of religion, did not forsake them when they had conquered. To excel in war was still their ruling ambition, and usages were still connected with arms. To the sex they still looked with affection and courtesy. And their theology was even to operate in its spirit, after its forms were decayed, and after christianity was established. Arms, gallantry, and devotion, were to act with uncommon force; and, to the forests of Germany, we must trace those romantic institutions, which filled Europe with renown, and with splendour; which, mingling religion with war, and piety with love, raised up so many warriors to contend for the palm of valour and the prize of beauty.

The passion for arms among the Germanic states was carried to extremity. It was amidst scenes of death and peril that the young were educated: it was by valour and feats of prowess that the ambitious signalized their manhood. All the honours they knew were allotted to the brave. The sword opened the path to glory. It was in the field that the ingenuous and the noble flattered most their pride, and acquired



acquired an ascendancy. The strength of their bodies, and the vigour of their counsels, surrounded them with warriors, and lifted them to command.

But, among these nations, when the individual felt the call of valour, and wished to try his strength against an enemy, he could not of his own authority take the lance and the javelin. The admission of their youth to the privilege of bearing arms, was a matter of too much importance to be left to chance or their own choice. A form was invented by which they were advanced to that honour.

The council of the district, or of the canton to which the candidate belonged, was assembled. His age and his qualifications were inquired into; and, if he was deemed worthy of being admitted to the privileges of a soldier, a chieftain, his father, or one of his kindred, adorned him with the shield and the lance. In consequence of this solemnity, he prepared to distinguish himself; his mind opened to the cares of the public; and the domestic concerns, or the offices of the family from which he had sprung, were no longer the objects of his attention.

To this ceremony, so simple and so interesting, the institution of *knighthood* is indebted for its rise. The adorning the individual with arms, continued for ages to characterise his advancement to this dignity. And this rite was performed to him by his sovereign, his lord, or some approved warrior. In conformity, also, to the manners which produced this institution, it is to be observed, that even the sons of a king presumed

not to approach his person before their admission to its privileges; and the nobility kept their descendants at an equal distance. It was the road, as of old, to distinction and honour. Without the advancement to it, the most illustrious birth gave no title to personal rank.

Their appetite for war, and their predatory life, taught the Germans to fancy that the gods were on the side of the valiant. Force appeared to them to be justice, and weakness to be crime. When they would divine the fate of an important war, they selected a captive of the nation with whom they were at variance, and opposed to him a warrior out of their own number. To each champion they presented the arms of his country; and, according as the victory fell to the one or the other, they prognosticated their triumph or defeat. Religion interfered with arms and with valour; and the party who prevailed, could plead in his favour the interposition of the deity. When an individual was called before the magistrate, and charged with an offence, if the evidence was not clear, he might challenge his accuser. The judge ordered them to prepare for battle, made a signal for the onset, and gave his award for the victor.

Nor was it only when his interest and property were at stake, that the German had recourse to his sword. He could bear no stain on his personal character. To treat him with indignity or disdain, was to offend him mortally. An affront of this kind covered him with infamy, if he forgave it. The blood of his adversary could alone wipe it away; and



he called upon him to vindicate his charge, or to perish.

In these proceedings, we perceive the source of the *judicial combat*, which spread so universally over Europe, and which is not only to be considered as a precaution of civil polity, but as an institution of honour.

These nations; so enamoured of valour, and so devoted to arms, courted dangers even in pastime, and sported with blood. They had shows or entertainments, in which the points of the lance and the sword urged the young and the valiant to feats of a desperate agility and boldness; and in which they learned to confirm the vigour of their minds, and the force of their bodies. Perseverance gave them expertness, expertness grace, and the applause of the surrounding multitude was the envied recompense of their audacious temerity.

These violent and military exercises followed them into the countries they subdued, and gave a beginning to the *jousts* and *torneaments*, which were celebrated with so unbounded a rage, which the civil power was so often to forbid, and the church so loudly to condemn; and which, resisting alike the force of religion and law, were to yield only to the progress of civility and knowledge.

Unacquainted with any profession but that of war, disposed to it by habit, and impelled to it by ambition, the German never parted with his arms. They accompanied him to the senate-house, as well as to the camp, and he transacted not without them any matter of public or of private concern. They were the friends of his manhood,

when he rejoiced in his strength, and they attended him in his age, when he wept over his weakness. Of these, the most memorable was the *shield*. To leave it behind him in battle, was to incur an extremity of disgrace, which deprived him of the benefit of his religion, and of his rank as a citizen. It was the employment of his leisure to make it conspicuous. He was sedulous to diversify it with *chosen colours*; and, what is worthy of particular remark, the ornaments he bestowed, were in time to produce the art of *blazonry* and the occupation of the herald. These chosen colours were to be exchanged into representations of acts of heroism. Coats of arms were to be necessary to distinguish from each other, warriors who were cased completely from head to foot. Christianity introduced the sign of the cross; wisdom and folly were to multiply devices; and speculative and political men, to flatter the vanity of the rich and great, were to reduce to regulation and system what had begun without rule or art.

It is thus I would account for knighthood, and the single combat, for torneament and blazonry; institutions which were to operate with an influence not less important than extensive. And, in the same distant antiquity, we meet the source of that gallantry and devotion, which were to mount them to so wild a height.

To the women, while he was yet in his woods, the German behaved with respect and observance. He was careful to deserve their approbation; and they kept alive in his mind the fire of liberty, and the sense of honour. By example, as well



well as exhortation, they encouraged his elevation of sentiment and his valour. When the Teutones were defeated by Marius, their women sent a deputation to that commander, to require that their chastity might be exempted from violation, and that they might not be degraded to the condition of slaves. He refused their request; and, on approaching their encampment, he learned, that they had first stabbed their infants, and had then turned their daggers against themselves. To some German women taken in war, Caracalla having offered the alternative of being sold or put to the sword, they unanimously made choice of death. He ordered them, notwithstanding, to be led out to the market. The disgrace was insupportable; and, in this extremity, they knew how to preserve their liberty, and to die. It was amidst this fierceness and independency, that gallantry and the point of honour grew and prospered. It was the reproach of these women, which, on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, filled the coward with the bitterest sorrow, and stained him with the most indelible infamy. It was their praise which communicated to the brave the liveliest joy and the most lasting reputation. *Hi, says Tacitus, cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores.*

These notions did not perish when the Germans had made conquests. The change of air, and of situation, did not enfeeble this spirit. The women were still the judges of personal merit; and, to some distinguished female, did the valorous knight ascribe the glory of his achievements. Her smile

and approbation, he considered as the most precious recompense; and, to obtain them, he plunged into dangers, and covered himself with dust and with blood. *Ab! si ma Dame me voyoit!* exclaimed the knight when performing a feat of valour.

Nor were arms and the attachment to women the only features of importance in the character of the German. Religion, which, in every age and in every nation, gives rise to so many customs, mingled itself in all his transactions. He adored an invisible being, to whom he ascribed infinite knowledge, justice, and power. To profit by his knowledge, he applied to divination; to draw advantage from his justice, he made appeals to his judgment; and to acquire, in some degree, his power, he had recourse to incantation and magic. The elements and the visible parts of nature, he conceived, at the same time, to be the residence of subordinate divinities, who, though the instruments only of the agency of the supreme intelligence, had a great superiority over men, and were entitled to their attention and reverence. Every tree and every fountain had its genius; the air, the woods, the water, had their spirits. When he made a step, or looked around him, he felt an impulse of awe and of devotion. His anxiety, his amazement, his curiosity, his hope, and his terror, were every moment excited. The most ample scope was afforded by this theology for the marvellous. Every thing, common as well as singular, was imputed to supernatural agents. Elves, fairies, sprights, magicians, dwarfs, in-



chanters, and giants, arose. But, while the lesser divinities of these nations attracted notice, it was to the supreme intelligence, that the most sincere and the most flattering worship was directed; and this god, amidst the general cares which employed him, found leisure to attend more particularly to war, and valued his votary in proportion to his courage. Thus religion and love came to inflame, and not to soften the ferocity of the German. His sword gained to him the affection of his mistress, and conciliated the favour of his deity. The last was even fond of obeying the call of the valiant; he appeared to them in battle, and fought by their side. Devotion, of consequence, was not less meritorious than love or than valour. Christianity did not abolish this usage. It descended to the middle ages. And, to love *God* and the *ladies*, was the first lesson of chivalry.

But, though arms, gallantry, and devotion, produced the institutions of chivalry, and formed its manners, it is not to be fancied, that they operated these effects in a moment; and that, immediately on the settlements of the barbarians, this fabric was erected. The conquerors of Rome continued to feel and to practise in its provinces, the instincts, the passions, and the usages to which they had been accustomed in their original feats. They were to be active and strenuous, without perceiving the lengths to which they would be carried. They were to build, without knowing it, a most magnificent structure. Out of the impulse of their passions, the institutions of chivalry were gradually to

form themselves. The passion for arms, the spirit of gallantry, and of devotion, which so many writers pronounce to be the genuine offspring of these wild affections, were in fact their source; and it happened, by a natural consequence, that, for a time, the ceremonies, and the usages produced by them, encouraged their importance, and added to their strength. The steps which marked their progress, served to foster their spirit; and, to the manners of ages, which we too often despise as rude and ignoble, not to political reflection or legislative wisdom, is that system to be ascribed, which was to act so long and so powerfully in society, and to produce infinite advantage and infinite calamity.

It is to those only who apply to rude societies the ideas of a cultivated æra, that the institutions of chivalry seem the production of an enlightened policy. They remember not the inexperience of dark ages, and the attachment of nations to their antient usages. They consider not, that if an individual, in such times, were to arise, of a capacity to frame schemes of legislation and government, he could not reduce them to execution. He could not mould the conceptions of states to correspond to his own. It is from no pre-conceived plan, but from circumstances which exist in real life and affairs, that legislators and politicians acquire an ascendancy among men. It was the actual condition of their times, not projects suggested by philosophy and speculation, that directed the conduct of Lycurgus and Solon.



*Of Manners and Refinement. The dissolute Conduct of the Women amidst the Decline and Oppressions of Fiefs. The general Corruption which invades Society.*

WHILE the varying situation of fiefs and chivalry was to produce the most important consequences in polity and government, it was to be no less powerful in changing the general picture of society; and the manners, which were to figure in their state of confusion and disorder, are a contrast to those which attended their elevation and greatness. The romantic grandeur and virtue which grew out of the feudal association, in its age of cordiality and happiness, could not exist when that cordiality and happiness were decayed. The disorders of fiefs had operated on chivalry; and the deviations of both from perfection, affecting strongly the commerce of life and the condition of the female sex, were to terminate in new modes of thinking, and new systems of action.

The disastrous state of fiefs, disuniting the interests of the lord and the vassal, gave rise to oppressions and grievances. These produced a proneness to venality and corruption. All ranks of men, from the sovereign to the slave, seemed at variance. Rapacity and insolence were to characterise the superior and the master; chicane and disaffection, the vassal and the servant. A relaxation of morals, total and violent, was to prevail. Chivalry, losing its renown, the purity of the knightly virtues was to be tarnished. When it fell as a military establishment, its generous manners were not to remain in vigour. The

women were to lose their value and their pride. The propensity to vice, fostered by political disorder, and the passion for gallantry, driven to extremity by the romantic admiration which had been paid to the sex, were to engender a voluptuousness, and a luxury which, in the circle of human affairs, are usually to distinguish and to hasten the decline and the fall of nations.

Manners, too stately and pure for humanity, are not to flourish long. In the ruined state of fiefs and chivalry, there prevailed not, in the one sex, the scrupulous honour, the punctilious behaviour, and the distant adoration of beauty, which had illustrated the æra of their greatness; nor, in the other, were there to be remarked, the cold and unconquerable chastity, the majestic air, and the ceremonious dignity which had lifted them above nature. A gallantry, less magnificent, and more tender, took place. The fastidiousness and delicacies of former ages wore away. The women ceased to be idols of worship, and became objects of love. In an unreserved intercourse, their attractions were more alluring. The times, prone to corruption, were not to resist their vivacity, their graces, their passion to please. Love seemed to become the sole business of life. The ingenious and the sentimental found a lasting interest and a bewitching occupation in the assiduities, the anxieties, and the tenderness of intrigue. The coarse and intemperate, indulging their indolence and appetite, sought the haunts, and threw themselves into the arms of prostituted beauty.

The talents which, of old, recorded the deeds of valour, and the



achievements of war, were now devoted to the fair. In every country of Europe, the poet, or the *Troubadour*, was to consecrate to them his homage and his songs. And, to the fashions of gallantry, the rise of literature is to be ascribed. Men of genius, and men who fancied they possessed it, resorted to the courts of princes, and to the palaces of the noble; and the praise which they knew how to lavish, got them attention and patronage. To make verses was the road to preferment. No lady was without her poet. Nor was poetry the exercise only of those who wished to better their fortunes. While it was to give riches and respect to the obscure, by the connections it was to gain to them, it was to be an ornament and an honour to the great. Princes and barons, as well as knights and gentlemen, found it the surest recommendation to their mistresses. They sung their charms, their disdain, and their rigours. Even the artificial tenderness of the poet often grew into reality; and the fair one, who, at first, only listened to praise, was to yield to passion. The adulation paid to beauty, disposed it to approve; complaints led to pity: pity to love. The enchantment of perpetual flatteries, of prostrations respectful and passionate, of vows repeated with ardour, of sighs ever meant to allure, corrupted a sex, of which the sensibilities are so exquisite. The rite of marriage, formerly so sanctimonious, was only courted to be abused. The pride of condition, more powerful than modesty, was, indeed, a check to the virgin; but she was to wait reluctantly the moment, when her coyness

and timidities, instead of rebuking the passions were to be a zest to them. All the fopperies of fancy were exhibited, all the labyrinths of love were explored. A licentiousness, which knew no restraint from principle, was rendered more seducing by the decorums and decorations of a fantastic gallantry.

Religion, which must ever mix in human affairs, is oftner to debase than to enlighten. It is, for the most part, a mass of superstitions, which encourage the weaknesses of mankind. This was the case with christianity in the darkness of the middle times. The votaries of beauty did not scruple to address the Deity to soften its obduracy. In the heat of intrigue they invoked the Trinity and the saints for success. Religion was employed to give a poignancy to the disorders of prostitution and lust. The rich were to have houses of debauch in the form of monasteries, consisting of many cells or apartments, and under the government of abbesses. The profaneness of gallantry disturbed and deformed even the meditations of the most pious. The devotee was to seek a mistress in heaven. He was to look up to the virgin with the eyes of a lover, and to contemplate the beauties of her person, and the graces of her carriage. What is more extravagant, the felicities of futurity seemed a trifle unworthy of acceptance, without the contacts and the vanities of an irreverent courtesy. ‘I would not,’ said a *Troubadour*, ‘be in Paradise, but on the condition of making love to her whom I adore.’

The vices and example of the clergy added to the general contagion,



gion. They were to exceed not only in superb living, and in the luxuries of the table, but in the pastimes and the gratifications of illicit love. It was in vain that laws were made to prohibit them from entertaining, in their houses, 'any virgins dedicated to God.' The arts of the popes to tear them from their women, would fill volumes. No ecclesiastic was without his concubines. The sins of the saint were gross and comfortable. In contempt of all decency, they were even to educate publicly the fruits of their amours. Rampant and dissolute, they preached religion, and were a disgrace to it; virtue and they were in haste to condemn it; another world and they were immersed in the enjoyments of the present.

An universal corruption diffused itself. To be deep in debauch, and successful with the ladies, were certain marks of worth. They were parts of the eminence to which the deserving were to aspire. To be amorous and deceitful, were not less meritorious than to be brave and witty. There was exhibited a strange picture of fierceness and effeminacy, oppression and politeness, impiety and devotion.

The age, in which so many armies, inflamed with zeal, were to fight for the recovery and possession of the holy sepulchre, was remarkable for the most criminal depravity. The pilgrims and crusaders exported the vices of Europe, and imported those of Asia. Saint Louis, during his pious and memorable expedition, could not prevent the most open licentiousness and disorder. He found houses of prostitution at the doors of his

tent. His character, his example, and his precautions, were restraints, ineffectual and fruitless.

While the ladies of rank were to be besieged in form, to be pursued in all the windings of affectation and caprice, and to oppose to their impatient lovers all the obstacles of a delicacy pretended or real, the women of inferior condition were to be approached with familiarity. It even appears to have been common for husbands to make a traffic of the chastity of their wives, though severe regulations were enacted to repress this practice. The offices of the laundresses and the milliner, being yet no particular professions, there were in the habitations, and the palaces of the rich, apartments for women, who, while they performed the services peculiar to these, were also debauched to impurity, and subservient to lust. Jurisdiction, being yet ambulatory, and kings, making frequent progresses through their dominions, it was usual for prostitutes to follow the court; and officers were appointed to keep them in subjection and order. To be *marshal of the King's whores*, in particular places and districts, was an honour and a dignity.

To this degeneracy and profaneness, I am inclined to trace the law, which, in the declining condition of fiefs, made it a forfeiture of the estate, for the vassal to debauch the sister, the daughter, or the wife of his superior.

In the greater towns, there were women who lived openly by prostitution, exercising it as a profession. There were even whole streets which were inhabited by them. In Paris and in London, the number



of public brothels was incredible. In the latter, in the days of Richard II. a lord-mayor imported strumpets from Flanders, and kept stew-houses, where the dainty and the squeamish were to trade in this foreign merchandize. Bordelloes or stews were permitted and sanctioned by the authority of government in every country of Europe. To twelve of these Henry VII. gave his license; and signs painted on their walls distinguished them, and invited the passenger. So general was the licentiousness which spread itself, that the proprietors of houses found it necessary to let them out under the express condition, that the lessee should keep and harbour no common women. Henry VIII. who approved not love in any form, but that of matrimony, suppressed many stew-houses in Southwark, and ordained, that prostitutes should not receive the rites of the church while they lived, nor have a christian burial, when they were dead.

Such were the manners which were produced by the oppressions and disorders of fiefs and chivalry. And thus, notwithstanding what many writers have asserted, I am entitled to conclude, that the spirit of chivalry was not uniform any more than that of fiefs; and that, at different periods, its manners were opposite and contradictory.

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*On the Prevalence of the Feudal System in the East in early Times. Traces of it in Persia; in Arabia; in Hindostan; in Turkey; in Tartary. Apparently introduced into Germany and Scandinavia,*

*by the Tartars, before the Irruption of the Goths into the Roman States. From Richardson's Preface to his Arabic and Persian Dictionary.*

THE feudal system, which was introduced and diffused over Europe by the conquerors of the Roman power, produced, in a civil light, an alteration in laws, government, and habits, no less important than the dismemberment of the empire by their arms. Our greatest lawyers, historians, and antiquaries, whose object has been less to trace its origin than to mark its influence, have uniformly attributed this great foundation of the jurisprudence of modern Europe to the military policy of the northern nations; and seem in general rather to have considered it as a consequence of their situation, after their conquests, than as existing previous to their irruptions. It appears not only to have formed, however, their great system of polity before the grand invasion, but to have flourished in the East with much vigour in very early times.

In Persia, Tartary, India, and other eastern countries, the whole detail of government, from the most ancient accounts down to the present hour, can hardly be defined by any other description. We observe, in general, one Great King, to whom a number of subordinate princes pay homage and tribute: all deviation from this system seeming merely temporary and accidental. Possessed of every essential power of royalty, the degree of dependence of these secondary kings, we find, has ever been proportioned to the vigour or imbecility of the paramount sovereign;

for



for where no solid code of constitutional laws prevails, the brilliant or disgraceful periods in the history of a people will generally depend upon the genius of one man. A great monarch will give to the component parts the appearance of one despotic whole; whilst the approaches to disobedience will ever be proportioned to the weakness of administration. Constantly recurring, however, to first principles, every variation of oriental rule presents only, to our alternate view, an overgrown empire, feebly governed, crumbling into independent kingdoms; and independent kingdoms again uniting, to form the empire of some more fortunate and enterprising sovereign.

A general view of the histories of eastern nations would, perhaps, sufficiently support the above positions; but I shall venture to offer a few particular authorities. The more ancient facts, it may be observed, like every remote event, will not admit of positive proof; but in tracing manners or modes of government, absolute historical or chronological precision is by no means requisite. The actions of one prince may be imputed to another; anacronisms and misnomers may abound; and the achievements of twenty warriors may swell the renown of one hero: but no writer will attribute to his nation customs and ideas of government, to which they or their ancestors were strangers; and against which the opinions of his fellow-subjects must instantly and loudly revolt. When uncommon and great innovations happen in the customs of a country, writers are careful to trace their origin, to fix their introduction, and to observe

their influence. But when circumstances, however interesting, are simply mentioned, without particular observation or commentary, we may rationally conclude, that such customs are of high antiquity; and no more deserving of special animadversion than the general complexion, configuration, or temperament of their countrymen. The rise and progress of the feudal system in Europe is marked: it was an exotic plant; and it has, of consequence, engaged the attention of our ablest antiquaries. But in the East it is indigenous, universal, and immemorial: and the eastern historians have never dreamt of investigating its source, any more than the origin of regal government. Both have long been to them equally familiar; and the first extensive monarchy gave probably a beginning to the first dependence of feudal chiefs. It may be thought too, that examples of this, or any other custom, brought from events, subsequent to their introduction into Europe, can be no corroborative proof of their subsisting in the East, previous to their appearance in the West. But the least attention to oriental manners will clearly show, that the characteristic habits of those people, even at this hour, are, in every respect, similar to the most remote accounts: nor have we ground to believe, that (the Mohammedan religion and fire arms excepted) there is one single custom peculiar to the Persians, the Arabians, or the Tartars, of the present day, which did not prevail amongst their ancestors at a period too remote for human research. With a wonderful predilection for their own ancient manners, they have



have a peculiar and invincible antipathy to those of Europe. They are so opposite to their genius, to their hereditary prejudices, and to every idea political and religious, that no instance can be produced, perhaps, of one single custom originally European having ever been adopted by the Asiatic nations: the Turks (whose vicinity expose them most to western innovation) even preserving still unchanged that remarkable distinction of character which they possessed before they crossed the Bosphorus of Thrace. On this ground, therefore, I give no anecdotes as unquestioned truths: they are mentioned by Asiatic historians; and I offer them simply as beliefs in original customs. We may not subscribe to the apparition of Cæsar's ghost before the battle of Philippi; but we may rest assured, that it would not have been recorded by Plutarch, had it not, in his time, been universally believed.

Above 800 years before the christian æra, an usurper called Zohak, we are informed, reigned in Persia. His government was oppressive, and became at length unsupportable. The citizens of Ispahan flew to arms; and, headed by a blacksmith named Gao, attacked, defeated, and killed the tyrant. Gao, after this victory, discovering the retreat of Feridoun, the heir to the crown, placed him on the throne; and received, in return, Ispahan, with its dependencies, as a feudal principality. What truth may be in this remote event it is impossible to determine; but it is a generally recorded fact, that the blacksmith's apron, said to have been displayed by Gao, when marching against Zohak, as

a banner, from the point of a spear, was taken by the Arabians at the battle of Cadessia, when they conquered Persia, in the year 636. It had been laid up in the treasury of the Persian kings, and was enriched with jewels to a prodigious value. It was considered as the great standard and palladium of the empire; and was never carried to the field but on important emergencies, or when the King marched in person. — Rostam is a hero whose prowess is highly celebrated. He is equally the favourite of history and romance. He was a successful general under the first kings of the Kaianian dynasty; and received, in reward for his services, the provinces of Sejestan and Zablestan, as feudal appendages of the crown of Persia: on the condition of marching a body of forces, as the exigencies of the state might require; but particularly to repulse the inroads of the Tartars. — Babylonia, Syria, Assyria, and Media, as formerly observed, seem to have been merely feudatory kingdoms of the old Persian empire — Alexander the Great divided the eastern provinces of Persia amongst the princes to whose families they had originally belonged. On this occasion they received a banner from the hands of the conqueror, paid homage, and engaged to maintain a certain number of troops, upon a footing (says the author of the *Tarikh Montekheb*) somewhat resembling the military vassals of the Ottoman empire, called *Sanjacs* and *Timars*. These princes are called by the Mohammedan writers *Molouku'l Ta-wayif* (kings of the nations); and are by some considered as a particular dynasty, between the Kaianians



nians and the Afhcanians, commonly called Arfacides by Europeans. They strictly performed, it is added, their feudal engagements to Alexander; but on his death, as the Grecian commanders seized upon the western kingdoms, they also assumed an independency in their respective provinces. This account seems highly probable; as the successors of Alexander, according both to the eastern and western writers, soon lost all sovereignty to the eastward of the Tigris.

The Tobba, or King of Arabia Felix, was the acknowledged paramount sovereign in very old times of a number of tribes.—Most of the provinces of Arabia on the Persian gulph, with those stretching towards Babylonia, held of the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty; who often appointed feudatory princes on the death or misconduct of their predecessors.—The Khalif Almamom gave Khorasan, which he himself held as a feudal sovereignty under his father Haron Arrashid, to his great general Thaher; where he soon after became independent, and founded the dynasty of Thaherians.—Motamed, the fifteenth Khalif of the house of Abbas, gave, in the year 874, the great province of Mawarannahar, as a feudal government, to Nasser ben Ahmed; which his brother and successor Ismael, eighteen years afterwards, erected into a monarchy, and founded the dynasty of the Samanides.—Similar grants were made or extorted from succeeding Khalifs; so that partly by gift, partly by usurpation, the Khalifat, from the middle of the ninth century, till its dissolution in the year 1258, was in fact one im-

menfe feudatory empire: where every Sultan acknowledged the superiority of the Khalif; but, like the great feudal chiefs in Europe, paid him just that degree of obedience which each judged consistent with his own interest.—A similar system prevails to the present hour in Hindostan; through a regular gradation of *Subabs*, *Nabobs*, *Foujdars*, *Killadars*, and other subordinate chiefs; who all consider the *Great Mogul* as lord paramount of the empire.—In the Ottoman government there are many remarkable traces of the feudal system; especially in the Khan of the Crim Tartars, in the Wavyodes of Moldavia, Wallakhia, and other European districts; in Algiers and other Barbary states; in the Sherif of Mecca; in several Sheiks or princes of Syria; as well as in the military fiefs, which, under the titles of *Sanjacs*, *Zayms*, and *Timarots*, are bestowed with the express condition of supporting bodies of men, but especially of horse, ready to take the field at the order of the Sultan.

In *Tartary* we see it strong. Temujin, afterwards distinguished by the more celebrated name of Jengiz Khan, was the son of a chief, who had several feudatories; yet he himself held of Thogrul, the Khan of Caracum, better known by the name of *Prestor John*. Thogrul, though a prince of great power, was still subject to the Emperor of Katha, the paramount of Tartary; who accordingly, in the true feudal stile, summoned him with his *arriere* vassals to assist in quelling a dangerous rebellion. Thogrul, attended by young Temujin, obeyed; a decisive victory was gained over the insurgents; in which



which both behaved with so much gallantry, that the Emperor created *Thogrul Vang Khan*, which is a high royal title; and gave *Temujin* a considerable command in his army. When *Temujin*, by his success and abilities, had risen to a great degree of power, about the year 1205 a grand council of the Tartar nations assembled. Nine of the chief Khans appeared at the rendezvous, each attended by his vassals. They displayed nine large banners of command. They placed *Jengiz* upon an eminence, with a piece of black felt-cloth under his feet. The speaker of the assembly addressed him: he recognized him as emperor in the name of the whole; and told him, if merciful and just, that God would prosper his government; if not, his person and memory would become black and despicable as the felt on which he stood. A prophet called *Cockza*, and surnamed *the Image of God*, declared, that he had received a revelation from heaven, ordering *Temujin* to take, from that time, the name of *Jengiz*, which signifies *The most Great*. The Khans then advanced and paid him homage, bending the knee nine times; the nobles followed; and then the body of the people, making the same number of genuflections, proclaimed him emperor with loud acclamations. We find some variation of ceremony in the inauguration of *Tamerlane* in the year 1369. He mounted a magnificent throne: he wore a brilliant crown: he girded himself publicly with his sword: his feudatory princes acknowledged his sovereignty by a profusion of precious stones which they showered over his head; whilst a holy man

put into his hands a drum, and a standard, as the insignia of imperial authority.

Every thing in the histories of those princes is indeed completely feudal. Before their great expeditions, we find them issuing orders for the attendance of their great vassals, with their contingents of troops. And we also observe a constitutional parliament or meeting of estates: who, amongst other privileges, claimed that of trying great offenders. *Artok Buga*, one of the grandsons of *Jengiz Khan*, having revolted against his brother the Emperor *Coblai Khan*, was at length defeated: but *Coblai* did not punish him, till he had called an assembly of the states; where he was tried and condemned to be shut up between four walls, made of the tragacanth tree, where he lived twelve months. A feudatory prince of *Herat*, called *Pir Ali*, being suspected of a design to revolt soon after *Tamerlane's* inauguration, was cited to appear before the general assembly: he evaded the summons till he had fortified his capital: upon which a decree was passed similar to the Ban of the empire in Germany; and *Tamerlane* being desired to reduce him to obedience, he was accordingly put to death in consequence of this sentence. It is needless to multiply examples: but it may not be improper to observe, that those general meetings, called *Kouriltai*, bear so near a resemblance to the diets of the Gothic nations, that a strong additional argument may thence be drawn to support the hypothesis of the early Tartar establishments in Germany and Scandinavia. *Jengiz* and *Tamerlane*, powerful and despotic as they were, held



held many of those diets. The Great Khans, though generally chosen from the sons of the late sovereign, were elected by them; and primogeniture was of little consequence. Jengiz Khan, for example, nominated his second surviving son Oçtay, as his successor: but though uncommon deference was paid to the will of a man whom the Tartars almost adored, the new emperor was not acknowledged, as such, till the meeting of the great assembly two years afterwards; where, upon his expressing some reluctance to accept of the imperial dignity, his elder and younger brothers, Jagathay and Tuli, taking him by the hands, installed him on the throne, and saluted him *Khan*. Olug Nuvin, the youngest of Jengiz Khan's sons, as master of the household, presented him with a cup of wine: and all the people making nine genuflections to their sovereign, and three to the sun, hailed him Emperor.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the situation of *Olug Nuvin* is a curious instance of a singular custom, long prevalent in Tartary, as well as among the northern nations; and even to be found in our old Saxon tenures, under the description of *Borough English*: where the youngest son succeeds to his father in preference to his elder brothers. Sir William Blackstone, after mentioning the opinions of Littleton and other eminent lawyers, in regard to the origin of this strange custom, conjectures, with great judgment, that it might be deduced from the Tartars. Among those people, the elder sons as they grew to man's estate, migrated from their father

with a certain portion of cattle; and the youngest son only remaining at home, became in consequence the heir to his father's house, and all his remaining possessions. Jengiz Khan had, agreeably to this idea, given to his four eldest sons great governments and great offices; but Olug always attended his person. During the interval of forty days, therefore, from the meeting of the Great Tartar Assembly, till the installation of Oçtay Khan, this youngest brother seems to have been acknowledged by him and the other princes as Lord of the family: he was a kind of public administrator during this interregnum; and presented the Great Khan with the cup on his enthronement, as the highest token of eastern hospitality, which the master of a family can show to a guest.

In the above outlines, we can observe several strong traces of Gothic government. We can perceive the ruder draughts of states general, of parliaments, of juries; and, in the circumstances of the electors and the elected, some striking features of that system, which still unites the great Germanic body. We can see, in the bent of national genius, the strongest marks of wild freedom; with a regular gradation of military vassals: and although in their own country, from a general attachment to pastoral life, fiefs, or possessions in land, formed no part of Tartar jurisprudence or property; yet when they settled in the West, a difference of situation would naturally suggest an alteration adapted to it. The more steady temper of the native Scandinavians and Germans would modify



dify the roaming Scythian spirit ; a superior attachment to a particular spot would naturally arise. As the country became more populous, ground would become more valuable ; and what was formerly in common, to avoid disputes, would then be portioned off. A wish to defend this property from new inroads might soon produce a more permanent and solid system of subordination. And the more irregular ideas of the Tartars, improved by territorial possession, pave thus, by degrees, the way for that more refined system, so peculiarly adapted to the situation of settling invaders ; which, in the fifth and following centuries, almost universally took place in Europe.

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*Observations on an Equal Land Tax,  
by Dr. Burn.*

**I**T is a vulgar mistake, says our author, (in the History and Antiquities of Westmoreland), that the former of these counties paid no subsidies during the existence of the border service, as supposing it to be exempted from such payment merely upon that account ; for we find all along such and such persons [mentioned as] collectors of the subsidies in this county granted both by clergy and laity.

The land-tax succeeded into the place of subsidies ; being not so properly a new tax, as an old tax by a new name.

From the reign of Edward III. downward, certain sums and proportions were fixed upon the several townships within the respective counties, according whereunto the taxation hath constantly been made.

In process of time this valuation may be supposed to have become unequal, especially since, by the increase of trade and manufactures in some large towns, much wealth is accumulated within a small compass, the tax upon such division continuing the same : and hence a new valuation hath often been suggested to render this tax more adequate, which nevertheless from the nature of the thing must always be fluctuating according to the increase or diminution of property in different parts of the kingdom. But in reality this notion proceeds upon a very narrow and partial principle : an equal tax, according to what a man is worth, is one thing ; and an equal land-tax, all the other taxes being unequal, is quite another.

Setting aside the populous manufacturing towns, let us take the county of Westmoreland in general, in which there is no such manufacturing town, Kendal only excepted ; and we shall find that this county, upon the whole, taking all the taxes together, pays more to the government, in proportion to the wealth of the inhabitants, than, perhaps, any other county in the kingdom ; and that is, by reason of its comparative populousness.

Suppose a township (which is a common case in Westmoreland) worth 400 l. a year : in this township there are about forty messuages, and a family in each messuage ; and, at the proportion of five persons to a family, there are two hundred inhabitants. These, by their labour and what they consume, are worth to the public double and treble the value of the land-tax in its highest estimation. These forty messuages, at 3 s. each, pay yearly  
6 l. house-



6l. house-duty ; and so many of them perhaps have above seven windows as will make up 6l. more. Now let us advance further south, and an estate of 400 a year is there frequently in one hand. There is one family, perhaps, of fifteen or twenty persons ; one house-duty of 3s. some few shillings more for windows, and a tenth part of the consumption of things taxable ; as salt, soap, leather, candles, and abundance of other articles. Now where is the equality ? One man for five or ten pounds a-year pays as much house-duty as another person for 400l. a year. In Westmoreland many persons (and the clergy almost in general) dwell in houses that pay more house and window duty than the house itself would let for : and in other respects the public is as much benefited by three or four families occupying 10 or 20l. a-year each, as in the other case by one family occupying ten times as much.

It hath been computed by political calculators, that every person, one with another, is worth to the public 4l. a-year. On that supposition, the inhabitants in one case are estimated at 800l. in the other case at 80l. so, if we reduce the sum to half, or a quarter, or any other sum, it will always come out the same that the one and the other are of value to the public just in the proportion of ten to one.

In short, populousness is the riches of a nation, not only from the consumption of things taxable, but for the supply of hands to arts, manufactures, war, and commerce.

A man who purchases an estate and lays it to his own, making one farm of what was two before, deprives the public of a proportion-

able share of every tax that depends upon the number of houses and inhabitants.

A man that gets a whole village or two into his possession by this means, consisting of an hundred antient feudal tenements, evades ninety-nine parts in an hundred of such taxes, and throws the burden upon others, who, by reason of the smallness of their property, are proportionably less able to bear it ; for a man of an hundred pounds a-year can better spare twenty pounds, than a man of ten pounds a-year can spare forty shillings, for the one has eighty pounds left, the other only eight pounds.

This is a new argument against altering the established mode of collecting the land-tax, added to that of the danger of every innovation, how specious soever the pretence.

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*The two following Letters were written by Mr. Addison, in the Year 1708, to the young Earl of Warwick, who afterwards became his Son-in-Law, when that Nobleman was very young. Though the Subject is puerile, yet, as they are full of that Good-Nature and Humour for which Mr. Addison was so eminently distinguished, we doubt not that our Readers will be pleased with the Perusal of them.*

My dear Lord,

I Have employed the whole neighbourhood in looking after birds-nests, and not altogether without success. My man found one last night ; but it proved a hen's with fifteen eggs in it, covered with an old broody duck, which may satisfy your Lordship's curiosity a little, though



though I am afraid the eggs will be of little use to us. This morning I have news brought me of a nest that has abundance of little eggs, streaked with red and blue veins, that by the description they give me, must make a very beautiful figure on a string. My neighbours are very much divided in their opinions upon them: some say they are a sky-lark's; others will have them to be a canary-bird's; but I am much mistaken in the colour and turn of the eggs, if they are not full of tom-tits. If your Lordship does not make haste, I am afraid they will be birds before you see them; for, if the account they gave me of them be true, they can't have above two days more to reckon.

Since I am so near your Lordship, methinks, after having passed the day among more severe studies, you may often take a trip hither, and relax yourself with these little curiosities of nature. I assure you, no less a man than Cicero commends the two great friends of his age, Scipio and Lælius, for entertaining themselves at their country-house, which stood on the seashore, with picking up cockle-shells, and looking after birds-nests. For which reason I shall conclude this learned letter with a saying of the same author, in his treatise of Friendship. *Absint autem tristitia, & in omni re severitas: habent illa quidem gravitatem; sed amicitia debet esse lenior & remissior, & ad omnem suavitatem facilitatemque morum proclivior*\*. If your Lordship understands the elegance and

sweetness of these words, you may assure yourself you are no ordinary Latinist; but if they have force enough to bring you to Sandy-End, I shall be very well pleased. I am, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate,

And most obedient,

May 20, 1708.

J. ADDISON.

My dearest Lord,

I Can't forbear being troublesome to your Lordship, whilst I am in your neighbourhood. The business of this is to invite you to a concert of music, which I have found out in a neighbouring wood. It begins precisely at six in the evening, and consists of a black-bird, a thrush, a robin-red-breast, and a bull-finch. There is a lark that, by way of overture, sings and mounts till she is almost out of hearing, and afterwards, falling down leisurely, drops to the ground, or as soon as she has ended her song. The whole is concluded by a nightingale, that has a much better voice than Mrs. Tofts, and something of the Italian manner in her divisions. If your Lordship will honour me with your company, I will promise to entertain you with much better music, and more agreeable scenes, than you ever met with at the opera; and will conclude with a charming description of a nightingale, out of our friend Virgil:

*Qualis populeâ mærens Philomela sub  
umbra,  
Amisos queritur fœtus, quos durus arator*

\* But far be stateliness and severity from us. There is, indeed, a gravity in these; but friendship ought to be gentle and relaxed, condescending to the utmost sweetness and easiness of manners.

Observans



*Observans nido implumes detraxit; at illa  
Fict noctem, ramoque sedens, miserabile car-  
men  
Integrat, & mæstis late loca quæstibus implet.*

So, close in poplar shades, her children  
gone,  
The mother nightingale laments alone:  
Whose nest some prying churl had found,  
and thence, [cence.  
By stealth, convey'd th' unfeather'd inno-  
But she supplies the night with mournful  
strains.  
And melancholy music fills the plains.

*Dryden.*

Your Lordship's most obedient,

May 27, 1708. J. ADDISON.

*Account of the Reception of King  
James at Cambridge, in the year  
1614. From the Hardwick State  
Papers.*

*Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley  
Carleton at Turin.*

My very good Lord,

I Am newly returned from Cam-  
bridge, whither I went some  
two days after I wrote you my last.  
The King made his entry there  
the 7th of this present, with as  
much solemnity and concourse of  
gallants and great men, as the  
hard weather and extreme foul  
ways would permit. The Prince  
came along with him, but not the  
Queen, by reason, (as it is said)  
that she was not invited; which  
error is rather imputed to their  
chancellor, than to the scholars,  
that understand not these courses.  
Another defect was, that there  
were no ambassadors, which no  
doubt was upon the same reason;  
but the absence of women may be  
the better excused for default of  
language, there being few or none

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present, but of the Howards, or  
that alliance; as the Countess of  
Arundel, with her sister, the Lady  
Elizabeth Grey; the Countess of  
Suffolk, with her daughters of  
Salisbury and Somerset; the Lady  
Walden, and Henry Howard's  
wife; which were all that I re-  
member. The Lord Treasurer kept  
there a very great port and mag-  
nificent table, with the expence  
of a thousand pounds a day, as  
is said; but that seems too large  
an allowance; but sure his pro-  
visions were very great, besides  
plenty of presents; and may be in  
some sort estimated by his propor-  
tion of wine, whereof he spent  
twenty-six tun in five days. He  
lodged and kept his table at St.  
John's College; but his lady and  
her retinue at Magdalen College,  
whereof his grandfather Audley  
was founder. The King and Prince  
lay at Trinity College, where the  
plays were represented; and the  
hall so well ordered for room, that  
above 2000 persons were conve-  
niently placed. The first night's  
entertainment was a comedy, and  
acted by St. John's men, the chief  
part consisting of a counterfeit Sir  
Edward Ratcliffe, a foolish tutor  
of physic; which proved but a lean  
argument; and though it were  
larded with pretty shews at the be-  
ginning and end, and with some-  
what too broad speech for such a  
presence, yet it was still dry. The  
second night was a comedy of  
Clare Hall, with the help of two  
or three good actors from other  
houses, wherein David Drummond  
in a hobby horse, and Brakin the  
recorder of the town, under the  
name of Ignoramus, a common  
lawyer, bare great parts. The  
thing was full of mirth and variety,

N

with



with many excellent actors (among whom the Lord Compton's son, though least, was not worst), but more than half marred with extreme length. The third night was an English comedy, called *Albumazar*, of Trinity College's action and invention; but there was no great matter in it, more than one good Clown's part. The last night was a Latin pastoral of the same house, excellently written, and as well acted, which gave great contentment, as well to the King, as to the rest. Now this being the state of their plays, their acts and disputations fell out much after the same manner; for the divinity act was performed reasonably well, but not answerable to the expectation; the law and physic acts stark naught; but the philosophy act made amends, and indeed was very excellent; inso-much that the same day, the Bishop of Ely sent the moderator, the answerer, the varier or prevaricator, and one of the repliers, that were all of his house, twenty angels a piece. Now, for orations and *conscios ad clerum*, I heard not many; but those I did, were extraordinary; and the better, for that they were short. The university orator, Nethersole, though he be a proper man, and think well of himself, yet he is taxed for calling the Prince *Jacobissime Carole*; and some will needs add, that he called him *Jacobule* too; which neither pleased the King nor any body else. But sure the King was exceedingly pleased many times, both at the plays and disputations; for I had the hap to be, for most part, within hearing; and often at his meals he would express as much. He visited all the colleges

save two or three, and commends them beyond Oxford, yet I am not so partial, but therein I must crave pardon not to be of his opinion. Though I endured a great deal of penance by the way for this little pleasure, yet I would not have missed it, for that I see thereby the partiality of both sides; the Cambridge men pleasing and applauding themselves in all, and the Oxford men as fast condemning and detracting all that was done; wherein yet I commended Corbet's modesty whilst he was there; who being seriously dealt withal by some friends to say what he thought, answered, that he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came thither only to commend.

Paul Tomson the gold-clipper hath his pardon, and not only so, but is absolved *a poena et culpa*, whereby he keeps his livings, and never came to trial; and I heard he had the face to appear in the town, whilst the King was there.

Sir Arthur Ingram is, in a sort, *desurranné*, for Sir Marmaduke Dorrel is appointed to keep the table, and dispatch the business of the cofferer, and he only to retain the name till Michaelmas, that the accounts may be made up, and in the mean time order taken, that he may be reimbursed of such monies as he hath lawfully laid out, or can challenge in this cause.

Old Sir John Cutts is lately dead, and here is such a speech of the Lord Rosse, but there is no great credit given to it, because it comes only out of the low countries. Your nephew Carleton is arrested with the small-pox, which hindered his journey to Cambridge.

I had



I had almost forgotten, that almost all the courtiers went forth masters of arts, at the King's being there; but few or no doctors, save only Younge, which was done by a mandate, being son to Sir Peter, the King's school-master. The Vice Chancellor and university were exceeding strict in that point, and refused many importunities of great men, among whom was Mr. Secretary, that made great means for Mr. Westfield; but it would not be; neither the King's intreaty for John Dun would prevail; yet they are threatened with a mandate, which, if it come, it is like they will obey; but they are resolved to give him such a blow withal, that he were better be without it. Indeed the Bishop of Chichester, Vice Chancellor, hath been very stiff, and carried himself very peremptory that way, wherein he is not much to be blamed, being a matter of more consequence than at first was imagined. He did this part every way, as well in moderating the divinity act, as in taking great pains in all other things, and keeping exceeding great cheer.

I have here sent you the questions in brief, for otherwise they would bear too great bulk. And so I commend you to the protection of the Almighty. From London the 16th of March 1614.

Your Lordship's to command,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

*On Wit and Raillery. From Lord  
Chesterfield's Letters.*

## LETTER VIII.

*My dear little Boy, Bath.*

IF God gives you wit, which I am not sure that I wish you, unless he gives you, at the same time, at least an equal portion of judgment, to keep it in good order, wear it like your sword in the scabbard, and do not brandish it to the terror of the whole company. If you have real wit, it will flow spontaneously, and you need not aim at it; for, in that case, the rule of the gospel is reversed; and it will prove, *seek*, and you shall not find. Wit is a shining quality that every body admires; most people aim at it, all people fear it, and few love it, unless in themselves. A man must have a good share of wit himself to endure a great share in another. When wit exerts itself in satire, it is a most malignant distemper: wit, it is true, may be shewn in satire; but satire does not constitute wit, as many imagine. A man of wit ought to find a thousand better occasions of shewing it.

Abstain, therefore, most carefully from satire, which, though it fall on no particular person in company, and momentarily, from the malignancy of the human heart, pleases all; yet, upon reflection, it frightens all too. Every one thinks it may be his turn next, and will hate you for what he finds you could say of him, more than be obliged to you for what you do not say. Fear and hatred are next-door neighbours; the more wit  
N 2 you



you have the more good-nature and politeness you must shew to induce people to pardon your superiority; for that is no easy matter. Learn to shrink yourself to the size of the company you are in. Take their tone, whatever it may be, and excel in it, if you can; but never pretend to give the tone. A fine conversation will no more bear a dictator, than a free government will.

The character of a man of wit is a shining one, that every man would have, if he could, though it is often attended with some inconveniences; the dullest alderman ever aims at it; cracks his dull joke, and thinks, or at least hopes, that it is wit: but the denomination is always formidable, and very often ridiculous. These *titular wits* have commonly much less wit than petulance and presumption: they are at best the *rieurs de leur quartier*, in which narrow sphere they are at once feared and admired.

You will perhaps ask me, and justly, how, considering the delusion of self-love and vanity, from which no man living is absolutely free, how you shall know, whether you have wit or not? To which the best answer I can give you is, not to trust to the voice of your own judgment, for it will deceive you, nor to your ears, which will always greedily receive flattery, if you are worth being flattered; but trust only to your eyes, and read in the countenances of good company their approbation or dislike of what you say. Observe carefully too, whether you are sought for, solicited, and in a manner pressed into good com-

pany. But even all this will not absolutely ascertain your wit; therefore, do not, upon this encouragement, flash your wit in people's faces *a ricochets*, in the shape of *bon mots*, epigrams, smart repartees.

Appear to have rather less than more wit than you really have. A wise man will live at least as much within his wit as his income. Content yourself with good-sense and reason, which at the long-run are ever sure to please every body who has either; if wit comes into the bargain, welcome it, but never invite it. Bear this truth always in your mind, that you may be admired for your wit, if you have any; but that nothing but good sense and good qualities can make you be beloved: they are substantial every-day's wear. Wit is for *le jour de gala*, where people go chiefly to be stared at.

## LETTER IX.

*My dear little Boy, Bath.*

THERE is a species of minor wit, which is much used and much more abused; I mean railery. It is a most mischievous and dangerous weapon, when in unskilful or clumsy hands; and it is much safer to let it quite alone than to play with it; and yet almost every body do play with it, though they see daily the quarrels and heart-burnings that it occasions. In truth, it implies a supposed superiority in the *railleur* to the *raillé*, which no man likes even the suspicion of, in his own case, though it may divert him in other people.

An



An innocent *raillerie* is often inoffensively begun, but very seldom inoffensively ended; for that depends upon the *raillé*, who if he cannot defend himself, will grow brutal; and, if he can, very possibly his *railleur* baffled becomes so. It is a sort of trial of wit, in which no man can bear to have his inferiority made appear.

The character of a *railleur* is more generally feared and more heartily hated than any one. I know that in the world, the injustice of a bad man is sooner forgiven, than the insults of a witty one; the former only hurts one's liberty and property, but the latter hurts and mortifies that secret pride which no human breast is free from. I will allow that there is a sort of raillery which may not only be inoffensive, but even flattering, as when, by a genteel irony, you accuse people of those imperfections which they are most notoriously free from, and consequently insinuate that they possess the contrary virtues. You may safely call Aristides a knave, or a very handsome woman an ugly one. Take care, however, that neither the man's character, nor the lady's beauty, be in the least doubtful. But this sort of raillery requires a very light and steady hand to administer it. A little too strong, it may be mistaken into an offence; and a little too smooth, it may be thought a sneer, which is a most odious thing.

There is another sort, I will not call it wit, but merriment and buffoonery, which is *mimickry*. The most successful mimick in the world is always the most absurd fellow, and an ape is infinitely his supe-

rior. His profession is to imitate and ridicule those natural defects and deformities for which no man is in the least accountable, and, in the imitation of which, he makes himself, for the time, as disagreeable and shocking as those he mimicks. But I will say no more of those creatures, who only amuse the lowest rabble of mankind.

There is another sort of human animals, called Wags, whose profession is to make the company laugh immoderately, and who always succeed, provided the company consist of fools; but who are equally disappointed in finding that they never can alter a muscle in the face of a man of sense. This is a most contemptible character, and never esteemed even by those who are silly enough to be diverted by them.

Be content for yourself with sound good-sense, and good-manners, and let wit be thrown into the bargain, where it is proper and inoffensive. Good-sense will make you be esteemed; good-manners, beloved; wit gives a lustre to both. In whatever company you happen to be, whatever pleasures you are engaged in, though perhaps not of a very laudable kind, take care to preserve a great personal dignity; I do not in the least mean a pride of birth and rank, that would be too silly; but I mean a dignity of character. Let your moral character of honesty and honour be unblemished, and even unsuspected. I have known some people dignify even their vices, first, by never boasting of them; and, next, by not practising them in an illiberal and indecent



decent manner. If they were addicted to women, they never degraded and dirtied themselves in the company of infamous prostitutes: if they loved drinking too well, they did not practise that beastly vice in beastly companies; but with those whose good-humour in some degree seemed to excuse it, though nothing can justify it. When you see a drunken man, as probably you will see many, study him with attention, and ask yourself soberly, whether you would, upon any account, be that beast, that disgrace to human reason. The Lacedemonians very wisely made their slaves drunk, to deter their children from being so; and with good effect, for nobody ever yet heard of a Lacedemonian drunk.

### LETTER X.

*My dear little Boy, Bath.*

**I**F there is a lawful and proper object of raillery, it seems to be a coxcomb, as an usurper of the common rights of mankind: but here some precautions are necessary. Some wit, and great presumption, constitute a coxcomb; for a true coxcomb must have wit. The most consummate coxcomb I ever knew, was a man of the most wit, but whose wit, boasted with presumption, made him too big for any company, where he always usurped the seat of empire, and crowded out common sense.

Raillery seems to be a proper rod for those offenders; but great caution and skill are necessary in the use of it, or you may happen to catch a Tartar as they call it, and then the laughter will

be against you. The best way with these people is to let them quite alone, and give them rope enough.

On the other hand, there are many, and perhaps more, who suffer from their timidity, and *mauvaise honte*, which sink them infinitely below their level. Timidity is generally taken for stupidity, which, for the most part, it is not, but proceeds from a want of education in good company. Mr. Addison was the most timid and awkward man I ever saw; and no wonder, for he had been wholly cloistered up in the cells of Oxford till he was five-and-twenty years old. La Bruyere says, and there is a great deal of truth in it, *Qu'on ne vaut dans ce monde que ce que l'on veut valoir*; for, in this respect, mankind shew great indulgence, and value people at pretty near the price they set on themselves, if it be not exorbitant.

I could wish you to have a cool intrepid assurance, with great seeming modesty, never *demonte*, and never forward. Very awkward timid people, who have not been used to keep good company, are either ridiculously bashful, or absurdly impudent. I have known many a man impudent from shamefacedness, endeavouring to act a reasonable assurance, and lashing himself to what he imagined to be a proper and easy behaviour. A very timid bashful man is annihilated in good company, especially of his superiors; he does not know what he says or does; and it is a ridiculous agitation, both of body and mind. Avoid both extremes, and endeavour to possess yourself with coolness and steadiness: speak to the King with full



as little concern, though with more respect, as you would to your equals. This is the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman, and a man of the world.

The way to acquire this most necessary behaviour is, as I have told you before, to keep company, whatever difficulty it may cost you at first, with your superiors and with women of fashion, instead of taking refuge, as too many young people do, in low or bad company, in order to avoid the restraint of good-breeding. It is, I confess, a very difficult, not to say an impossible thing, for a young man, at his first appearance in the world, and unused to the ways and manners of it, not to be disconcerted and embarrassed, when he first enters what is called the best company. He sees that they stare at him, and, if they happen to laugh, he is sure that they laugh at him. This awkwardness is not to be blamed, as it often proceeds from laudable causes, from a modest diffidence of himself, and a consciousness of not yet knowing the modes and manners of good company. But let him persevere with a becoming modesty, and he will find that all people of good-nature and good-breeding will, at first, help him out, instead of laughing at him; and then a very little usage of the world, and an attentive observation, will soon give him a proper knowledge of it.

It is the characteristic of low and bad company, which commonly consists of wags and wittlings, to laugh and disconcert, and, as they call it, bamboozle a young fellow of ingenuous modesty. You will tell me, perhaps, that, to do all this, one must have a good share of

vanity: I grant it; but the great point is, *Ne quid nimis*; for I fear Monsieur de la Rochefoucault's maxim is too true, *Que la vertu n'iroit pas loin, si la vanité ne lui tenoit compagnie*. A man who despairs of pleasing will never please; a man that is sure that he shall always please wherever he goes, is a coxcomb; but the man who hopes and endeavours to please, will most infallibly please.

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*Extracts from a Letter from Mr. Horne to John Dunning, Esq; on the Construction of certain English Particles.*

THE author of this letter takes occasion, from an expression in a precedent quoted at his trial, to enter into a train of grammatical speculations.

The point in debate is thus opened and explained.

“A *supposed* omission, in the information against Lawley, is produced to justify a *real* omission, in the information against me; when indeed there was *no* omission in the precedent. But the averment said to be omitted, was, not only substantially, but literally made.

“The exception taken was, that it was not positively averred, that Crooke was indicted, it was only laid, that she, *sciens* that Crooke had been indicted, and was to be tried for forgery, did so and so.” — That is (according to Mr. Horne's construction) literally thus: “Crooke had been indicted for forgery;” (there is the averment literally made) — “she knowing that, did so and so.”

Such, Sir, he adds, is, in all cases, the unsuspected construction not only in our own, but in every lan-



guage in the world, where the conjunction *that*, or some equivalent word, is employed. I speak confidently, because I know, a priori, that it must be so; and I have likewise tried it in a great variety of languages, ancient as well as modern, Asiatic as well as European.

The word *that*, he thinks, is therefore not to be considered as a conjunction, but as an article, or a pronoun: and to prove this, he produces, among many others, the following examples: I wish you to believe, *that* I would not wilfully hurt a fly. In this instance the construction, he says, is to be thus resolved; I would not wilfully hurt a fly, I wish you to believe *that* (assertion). — “Thieves rise by night, *that* they may cut men’s throats.” — Resolution: Thieves may cut men’s throats; (for) *that* (purpose) they rise by night.

He adds: This method of resolution, takes place in those languages, which have different conjunctions for the same purpose: for the original of the last example, where *ut* is employed, and not the Latin neuter article *quod*, will be resolved in the same manner.

Ut jugulent homines, surgunt de nocte latrones.

Though Sanctius, who struggled so hard to withdraw *quod* from among the conjunctions, still left *ut* among them without molestation, yet is *ut* no other than the Greek article *οτι*, adopted for this conjunctive purpose by the Latins, and by them originally written *uti*: the *o* being changed into *u*, from that propensity which both the ancient Romans had, and the modern Italians still have, upon many occasions, to pronounce even their

own *o* like an *u*. The resolution therefore of the original will be like that of the translation:

Latrones jugulent homines (οτι) οτι surgunt de nocte.

But how are we to bring out the article *that* when two conjunctions come together in this manner?

“If *that* the king

Have any way your good deserts forgot,  
He bids you name your griefs.” Shakesp.

The truth of the matter is, that *if* is merely a verb, the imperative mood of the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon verbs *gifan*; and in those languages, as well as in the English formerly, this supposed conjunction was pronounced and written, as the common imperative *gif*. Thus in Ben Jonson’s Sad Shepherd, it is written:

“My largesse

Hath lotted her to be your brother’s mistress,

*Gif* she can be reclaimed; *gif* not, his prey.”

Accordingly our corrupted *if* has always the signification of the present English imperative *give*, and no other. So that the resolution of the construction, in the instance produced from Shakespeare, will be as before in the others. The king may have forgotten your good deeds: *give that* in any way, he bids you name your griefs.

And here, as an additional proof, we may observe, that whenever the datum, upon which any conclusion depends, is a sentence, the article *that*, if not expressed, is understood; as, in the instance produced above, the poet might have said.

*Gif (that)* she can be reclaimed, &c.

For the resolution is: “She can be reclaimed, *give that*, my largesse



geſſe hath lotted her to be your brother's miſtreſſe: ſhe cannot be reclaimed, *give that*, my largeſſe hath lotted her to be your brother's prey."

We have in Engliſh another word, which (though now rather obſolete) uſed frequently to ſupply the place of *if*. As,

"*An* you had an eye behind you, you might ſee more detraction at your heels, than fortunes before you."

No doubt it will be aſked, in this, and in all ſimilar inſtances, what is *an*?

I do not know that any perſon has ever attempted to explain it, except Dr. S. Johnson in his Dictionary. He ſays—" *an* is ſometimes, in old authors, a contraction of *and if*."—Of which he gives a very unlucky inſtance from Shakeſpeare; where both *an* and *if* are uſed in the ſame line:

"He cannot flatter, he!  
An honeſt mind and plain; he muſt ſpeak truth!  
*An* they will take it—So. *If* not, he's plain.

Where, if *an* was a contraction of *and if*; *an* and *if* ſhould rather change places.

But I can by no means agree with Johnson's account. A part of one word only, employed to ſhew that another word is compounded with it, would indeed be a curious method of contraction: although even this account of it would ſerve my purpoſe; but the truth will ſerve it better: for *an* is alſo a verb, and may very well ſupply the place of *if*: it being nothing elſe but the imperative mood of the Anglo-Saxon verb *anan*, which likewiſe means to *give* or to *grant*.

Nor does *an* ever (as Johnson ſuppoſes) ſignify *as if*; nor is it a contraction of them.

I know indeed that Johnson produces Addiſon's authority for it.

"My next pretty correſpondent, like Shakeſpear's lion in Pyramus and Thisbe, roars *an* it were any nightingale."

Now if Addiſon had ſo written, I ſhould answer roundly, that he had written falſe Engliſh. But he never did ſo write. He only quoted it in mirth. And Johnson, an editor of Shakeſpeare, ought to have known and obſerved it. And then, inſtead of Addiſon's, or even Shakeſpeare's authority from whom the expreſſion is borrowed, he ſhould have quoted Bottom's, the weaver: whoſe language correſponds with the character Shakeſpeare has given him.

"I will aggravate my voice ſo (ſays Bottom) that I will roar you as gently as any ſucking dove: I will roar you *an* 'twere any nightingale.

Our author, having thus accounted for *if* and *an*, aſſerts that thoſe words, which are called conditional conjunctions, are to be accounted for in all languages, in the ſame manner. Not that they muſt all mean precisely *give* and *grant*, but ſomething equivalent: as, *be it*, *ſuppoſe*, *allow*, *permit*, *ſuffer*, &c.

Hitherto the doctrine of conjunctions has been the crux grammaticorum. Theſe troubleſome words have cauſed them infinite labour and perplexity. Yet all their etymologies have been vague and unſatisfactory. Mr Harris tells us, that a conjunction is a part of ſpeech, "void of ſignification;" and he compares them to

*cement*



*cement* in a building. Lord Monboddo says, ‘ prepositions, conjunctions, and such like words, are rather the pegs and nails that fasten the several parts of the language together, than the language itself. Mr. Locke declares himself dissatisfied with all the accounts of them, that he had seen. Sanctius rescued *quod* particularly from the number of these mysterious conjunctions. Servius, Scioppius, Vossius, Perizonius, and others, have displaced and explained many other supposed adverbs and conjunctions. Dr. Johnson says, ‘ the particles are, among all nations, applied with so great a latitude, that they are not easily reducible under any regular scheme of interpretation.’ He adds: I have laboured them with diligence, I hope with success: such at least as can be expected in a task, which no man, however learned or sagacious, has yet been able to perform.—Our author however has undertaken to perform this task; and has actually reduced our principal conjunctions under a regular scheme of interpretation. As this then appears to be a matter of importance, in the theory of our language, we shall give our readers a summary view of the most material remarks in this dissertation.

IF is the imperative *gif* of the Saxon verb *gifan*, to *give*.

AN is the imperative *an*, of *anan*, to *grant*. These words may be used mutually and indifferently to supply each other's place. *Gif* is to be found in all our old writers. G. Douglas almost always uses *gif*; once or twice only he has used *if*; and once he uses *ge-we* for *gif*. Chaucer commonly uses *if*; but sometimes *yewe*, *yef*, and

*yf*. And it is to be observed, that in Chaucer, and other old writers, the verb *to give* suffers the same variations in the manner of writing it, however used, whether conjunctively, or otherwise.

Well ought a priest ensample for to *yewe*.

Prol. to Cant. Tales.

*Gin* is often used in our northern counties, and by the Scotch, as we use *if* or *an*: which they do with equal propriety, and as little corruption: for *gin* is no other than the participle *given*, *gi'en*, *gi'n*.

UNLESS, *Onles*, is the imperative of the Saxon *onlesan*, to *dismiss*. This word is written by Horne, Bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, *onles*, *oneles*, *onlesse*, *onelesse*: By Bishop Gardiner, *onles*, *onelesse*. — *Les* the imperative of *lesan*, which has the same meaning as *onlesan*, is likewise used sometimes by old writers instead of *unless*. It is the same imperative at the end of those words which are called adjectives, such as *hopeless*, *motionless*, i. e. *dismiss hope*, *dismiss motion*.

EKE is the imperative *eac* of *eacan*, to *add*.

YET is the imperative *get* or *gyt*, of *getan* or *gytan*, to *get*.

STILL is the imperative *stell* or *steal*, of *stellan*, or *steallian*, to *put*. These words may very well supply each others place, and be indifferently used for the same purpose.

ELSE. This word formerly written *allis*, *allus*, *alys*, *alyse*, *elles*, *ellus*, *ellis*, *els*, is no other than *ales* or *alys*, the imperative of *alesan*, or *alysan*, to *dismiss*.

THO' or THOUGH, or as our country folks more purely pronounce it, *thaf*, *thauf*, *thof*, is the imperative *thaf*, or *thafig*, of the verb



verb *thafian* or *thafigan*, to *allow*. In confirmation of this etymology it may be observed, that anciently writers often used *algife*, *algyff*, *allgyff*, and *algive*, instead of *although*: as,

“ — whose pere is hard to fynd,  
*Allgyf* England and Fraunce were thorow  
 faught.” Skelton.

BŪT is the imperative *bot* of *botan*, to *boot*, i. e. to superadd, to supply, to substitute, to compensate with, to remedy with, to make amends with, to add something more, in order to make up a deficiency in something else.

BŪT is the imperative *be-utan* of *beon utan*, to *be out*. It was this word, *but*, which Mr. Locke had chiefly in view, when he spoke of conjunctions as making some stands, turns, limitations, and exceptions of the mind. And it was the corrupt use of this one word *but* in modern English for two words, *bot* and *but*, originally in the Anglo-Saxon very different in signification, though, by repeated abbreviation and corruption, approaching in sound, which chiefly misled him. G. Douglas, notwithstanding he frequently confounds these two words, and uses them improperly, does yet, without being himself aware of the distinction, and from the mere force of customary speech, abound with so many instances and so contrasted, as to awaken, one should think, the most inattentive reader.

“ *Bot* thy werke shall endure in laude and glorie,  
*But* spot or salt condigne enterne memorie,”  
 Preface.

—“ *But* gyf the fatis, *but* pleid,  
 At my plesure suffer it me life to leid.”  
 Book iv.

It may be proper to observe, that G. Douglas's language, where *bot* is very frequently found, though written about a century after, must yet be esteemed more ancient than Chaucer's: even as at this day the present English speech in Scotland is, in many respects, more ancient than that spoken in England, as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. So Mer. Casaubon, de Vet. Ling. Ang. says of his time, ‘*Scotica lingua Anglicâ hodiernâ purior* ;’ where by *purior* he means nearer to the Anglo-Saxon. So Hickes, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, says, ‘*Scoti in multis Saxonizantes*.’—In five instances, which Mr. Locke has given us for five different meanings of the word *but*, there are indeed only two different meanings. Nor could he have added any other significations of this particle, but what are to be found in *bot* and *but*, as above explained. Dr. Johnson and others have mistaken the expression *to boot*, for a substantive: it is indeed the infinitive of the same verb, of which the conjunction is the imperative.

WITHOUT is *wyrth-utan*, of *wæorþan utan*, to *be out*. *But*, as distinguished from *bot*, and *without*, have both exactly the same meaning. They were both originally used indifferently, either as conjunctions or prepositions. But later writers, having adopted the false notions and distinctions of language, maintained by the Greek and Latin grammarians, have successively endeavoured to make the English language conform more and more to the same rules. Accordingly *without*, in approved modern speech, is now entirely confined to the office of a preposition, and



and *but* is generally, though not always, used as a conjunction.

AND is an *ad*, the imperative of *anan ad*, to give or grant, dare *congeriem*.

LEST is the participle *lesed*, of *lesan*, to *dismiss*; and, with the article *that*, either expressed or understood, means no more than *hoc dimisso*, or *quo dimisso*. Example, 'You make use of such indirect and crooked arts as these, to blast my reputation, and to possess men's minds with disaffection to my person; *lest* peradventure, they might with some indifference hear reason from me.' Chillingworth. — Here *lest* is properly used. 'You make use of these arts:?' why? The reason follows; *Lesed that*, i. e. *hoc dimisso*, 'men might hear reason from me: therefore you use these arts.'

*Since*, *siththan*, *syne*, *seand es*, *sith-the*, or *sines*, is the participle of *seen*, to see. *Since* is a very corrupt abbreviation, confounding together different words, and different combinations of words. Where we now employ *since*, — *siththan*, *syne*, &c. according to their respective signification, were formerly used. In modern English it is used four ways: two, as a preposition, connecting, or rather affecting words; and two, as a conjunction, affecting sentences. When used as a preposition, it has always the signification, either of the past participle *seen*, joined to *thence* (that is, *seen and thence forward*) or else it has the signification of *seen* only. When used as a conjunction, it has sometimes the signification of the

present participle *seeing* or *seeing that*, and sometimes the signification of the past participle *seen*, or *seen that*.

THAT is the neuter article *that*. There is something so very singular in the use of this conjunction, as it is called, that one should think it would alone have been sufficient to lead the grammarians to a knowledge of most of the other conjunctions, as well as of itself: *If that, an that, unless that, though that, but that, without that, lest that, since that, save that, except that, &c.*

AS is an article, and means the same as *it*, *that*, *which*. In the German, where it still evidently retains its original signification and use, as *so* also does, it is written. *es*. *Als*, in our old English, is a contraction of *al*, and *es* or *as*, and this *al* (which in comparisons used to be very properly employed before the first *es* or *as*, but was not employed before the second) we now, in modern English, suppress, as we have done in numberless other instances. Thus,

"*As* swift *as* darts or feather'd arrows fly,"

In old English is written,

"*Als* swift *as* ganze or fedderit arrow fleis," which means, With *all that* swiftness, with *which*, &c.

These I apprehend are the only conjunctions in our language which can cause any difficulty; and it would be impertinent in me to explain such as, *Be-it*, *Albeit*, *Notwithstanding*, *Nevertheless*, *Set* \*. *Save*, *Except*, *Out-cept* †, *Out-*

\* "Set this my work full febill be of rent." G. Douglas.

† "I'll play hun 'gaine a knight or a good squire, or gentleman of any other countie i' the kingdome" — *Outcept* "Kent: for there they landed all gentlemen." B. Jonson. Tale of a Tub.



*take\**, to wit, *Because*, &c. which are evident at first sight.

I hope it will be acknowledged that this is coming to the point; and is fairer than shuffling them over as all philosophers and grammarians have hitherto done; or than repeating after others, that they are not themselves any part of languages, but only such *Accessaries*, as *Salt* is to *Meat*, or *Water* to *Bread*; or that they are the mere *Edging*, or *Sauce* of language; or that they are like the *Handles* to *Cups*, or the *Plumes* to *Helmets*, or the *Binding* to *Books*, or *Harness* for *Horses*; or that they are *Pegs*, and *Nails*, and *Nerves*, and *Joints*, and *Ligaments*, and *Lime* and *Mortar*, and so forth.

In which kind of pretty families philosophers and grammarians seem to have vied with one another; and have often endeavoured to amuse their readers and cover their own ignorance, by very learnedly disputing the propriety of the simile instead of explaining the nature of the conjunction.

I must acknowledge that I have not any authorities for the derivations which I have given of these words; and that all former etymologists are against me. But I am persuaded that all future etymologists (and perhaps some philosophers) will acknowledge their obligation to me: for these troublesome conjunctions, which have hitherto caused them so much mistaken and unsatisfactory labour, shall save them many an error and many a weary step in future.

## E P I T A P H S.

*An Inscription taken from the Monument erected in Bushley-Church, Worcestershire, said to be written by Mr. Burke.*

To the memory of  
WILLIAM DOWDESWELL,  
Representative in parliament for the county of Worcester,  
Chancellor of the Exchequer in the years  
1775 and 1776, and a member of the  
King's privy-council;  
A senator for twenty years, /  
A minister for one,  
A virtuous citizen for his whole life.  
A man of unshaken constancy, inflexible  
integrity, unremitted industry.  
His mind was generous, open, sincere,  
His manners plain, simple, and noble;  
Rejecting all sorts of duplicity and disguise,  
as useless to his designs, and odious  
to his nature.  
His understanding  
Was comprehensive, steady, vigorous,  
Made for the practical business of the State.  
In debate he was clear, natural, and convincing.  
His knowledge, in all things which concerned  
his duty, profound.  
He understood, beyond any man of his  
time, the revenues of his country;  
Which he preferred to every thing—  
except its liberties.  
He was a perfect master of the law of parliament,  
And attached to its privileges until they  
were set up against the rights of the  
people.  
All the proceedings  
Which have weakened government, endangered  
freedom, and distracted the  
British empire, were by him  
strenuously opposed;  
And his last efforts,  
Under which his health sunk,  
Were to preserve his country from a civil  
war,  
Which being unable to prevent, he had  
not the misfortune to see.

He

\* ‘ And also I resygne al my knightly dignitie, magesty and crowne, wyth al the lordes hyppes, powre, and privileges to the foresayd kingely dignitie and crown belonging, and al other lordshippes and possesyons to me in any maner of wyse pertaynyng, what name and condicion thei be of, *out-take* the lands and possessions for me and mine obyte purchasid and broughte.’

Instrument of resignation of K. Richard II. in Fabian's Chronicle,



He was not more respectable on the public  
scene,

Than amiable in private life,

Imperfed in the greatest affairs,

He never loft the ancient, native, genuine  
English character of a Country Gentle-  
man,

Disdaining and neglecting no office in life.

He was an antient municipal magistrate,

With great care and clear judgment

Adminiftering juftice, maintaining the  
police, relieving the diftreffes, and  
regulating the manners of the  
people in his neighbour-  
hood.

An husband and father,

The kindeft, gentleft, moft indulgent.

He was every thing in his family except  
what he gave up to his country.

His widow, who labours with life in or-  
der to form the minds of his eleven  
children to the refemblance of their fa-  
ther, erefts this monument.

*Epitaph on the late Mr. Markland,  
in the Church of Dorking in Sur-  
rey. By Dr. Wm. Hebbarden.*

JEREMIAH MARKLAND, A.M.

Was born the 29th of October, 1693;  
Educated in the fchool of Chrift's Hof-  
pital, London;  
And elected fellow of St. Peter's College,  
Cambridge.

Unambitious of the rewards and honours  
which his abilities and application might  
have obtained for him in the learned pro-  
fessions, he chofe to pafs his life in a libe-  
ral retirement. His very accurate know-  
ledge of the Greek and Latin languages  
was employed in correcting and explain-  
ing the beft ancient authors, and more  
particularly in illustrating the fared fcrip-  
tures. To thefe rational purfuits he fa-  
crificed every wordly view; contented  
with the inward pleafure refulting from  
fuch ftudies, and from the public and  
private affiftance which they enabled him  
to communicate to others. But, above  
all, his uncommon learning confirmed in  
the higheft degree his hopes of a happier  
life hereafter.

He died at Milton, in this parifh, the  
7th day of July, 1776.

*On the late Mr. Bowyer, Printer.  
By E. C.*

Memoriæ Sacrum  
WILHELMI BOWYER,  
Typographorum poft Stephanos et Com-  
melinos Longe doctiffimi:  
Linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ, et He-  
braicæ Peritiffimi:  
Adeo ut cognoviffie videatur  
Naturæ atque Orbis alphabetum.  
Quot et quanta Opera  
Ab illius Prelo  
Splendidè, nitidè, et, quod majus eft,  
Fide et integritate fuma,  
Tanquam ex equo Trojano  
Meri Principes exierint;  
Annales Typographici et nunc et olim  
teftati funt:  
Et præcipuè quod Acta Diurna  
Superioris Cameræ  
Britannici Parliamenti  
Suo Prelo, fuæ Fidei,  
Honorificè commiffa fuerant.  
Hæc Typographo debentur:  
Sed quod fe femper geffit,  
Ut Virum decuit honeftiffimum,  
Amiciffimum, et pium,  
In fui ipfius et familiæ decus,  
Majorem laudem cedit.  
Tanti Typographi et Hominis  
Memoriæ  
Mærens infcripfit Saxum  
Olim Familiaris,  
Et nunc Amicus,  
Obiit . . . . .  
Annum agens . . . . .  
Æræ Chriftianæ 177-æ

*On the late Dr. Taylor. By E. C.*

Plorate,  
Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum,  
Vos O doctiffimi Cultores!  
Quotquot huic Marmorì funereo  
Aliquando accefferitis,  
Defiderio quærentes lacrumabili  
Quale quantumque Corpori caduco  
Hic fiat fupertes NOMEN:  
Quippe hic jacet Hellas propria,  
Hic Lepos Atticus,  
Hic Dorices Ἰδιόγραμμα,  
Hic fuave Mel Ionicum.  
Scriptores Græciæ veteris et Latii  
Numerofos,  
Jus Civile, Urbanum, Municipale,  
Leges, Ritus, Cæremonias, Mores,  
Recons



Reconditissimæ Antiquitatis,  
 Quis illi Par sic unquam expedit? *Te*  
 Te sublato! mancus, debilis semper jacet,  
 Ille tuus Demosthenes *παίδρευς*,  
 Imperfecta restant τὰ *Æschinis* *σώζουενα*  
 Solus integer et superstes Lysias.  
 Hæc solummodo qui legerit  
 Nemo non possit non exclamare,  
 Hic situs est,  
 JOHANNES TAYLORUS Salopienfis,  
 Ecclesiæ Lincolnienfis Cancellarius,  
 Sancti Pauli Canonicus.  
 Obiit annum agens  
 Sexagesimum tertium,  
 4<sup>o</sup> Aprilis, 1776.

*On the late Dr. Goldsmith.*

*By Dr. S. Johnson.*

OLIVARII GOLDSMITH,  
 Poetæ, Physici, Historici,  
 Qui nullum fere scribendi genus  
 Non tetigit,  
 Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit;  
 Sive risus essent movendi,  
 Sive lacrimæ,  
 Affectuum potens, at lenis, dominator;  
 Ingenio sublimis, vividus, versatilis,  
 Oratione grandis, nitidus, venustus;  
 Hoc monumento memoriam coluit  
 Sodalium amor,  
 Amicorum fides.  
 Lectorum veneratio.  
 \* \* \* in Hibernia natus,  
 Eblanæ literis institutus.  
 Londini obiit MDCCLXXIV.

## E P I T A P H

*By Dr. Lowth, the present Bishop of London, inscribed on a Monument to the Memory of his Daughter, in the Church of Cudersden, in Oxfordshire.*

CARA, vale, ingenio præstans, pietate, pudore,  
 Et plusquam natæ nomine cara, vale:  
 Care Maria, vale! at veniet felicius ævum,  
 Quando iterum tecum, sim modo dignus, ero.  
 Cara redi, læta tum dicam voce, paternos  
 Eja age in amplexus, cara Maria, redi,

Fleetwood Shepherd's *Epitaph*,  
*written by himself, in my Lord Dorset's Common Prayer-Book, at Copt-Hall.*

O, vos qui de salute vestrâ securi estis,  
 Orate pro animâ miserrimi peccatoris  
 FLEETWOOD SHEPHEARD,  
 Etiamnum viventis et ubicunque est peccantis,  
 Qui fide exiguâ et tamen spe impudentissimâ optat et expectat,  
 Quam non meruit,  
 Felicem resurrectionem,  
 Anno Religionis et libertatis restitutæ tertio,  
 Rerum potentibus  
 Fortissimo Willielmo et formosissima Maria.

*By another Hand.*

Sta. Viator:  
 Sive tu Veneri seu Baccho vixeris idoneus,  
 Et si quando a scortis et poculis vacat,  
 Reminiscere defuncti in Venere et Baccho fratris  
 FLEETWOOD SHEPHEARD,  
 Qui vitiis et (quod in ipso vitiosissimum erat)  
 Ingenio piè renunciavit,  
 Apolline jam nullo, Venere nulla,  
 Et (quod magis dolendum) Baccho nullo.  
 Cui nihil non in vultu erubescit præter frontem,  
 Nec ulla meretrix displicuit præter  
 Babyloniam,  
 Fortitudine et sobrietate pari;  
 Quippe qui nulli hosti bellum unquam indixerit,  
 Si excipias sitim:  
 Qui Comiti Dortsetensi à risu,  
 Poetarum Mæcenati a dactylis et spondeis,  
 Et cubiculario regio a sanctioribus Bibliis,  
 Nihil unquam facetè dixit quod salvo pudore,  
 nec liberè quod salva religione dici potuit.  
 Promissorum usque et usque profusus,  
 Montes aureos pollicetur;  
 At ubi bonæ fidei hominem sperabis  
 Poetam; sed sola illa vice verum induit  
 Anno paupertatis publicæ  
 Et (si paupertati Poësis semper adhæreat)  
 Anno publicæ Poëseos restauratæ tertio,  
 Cum de bicipite nostro Parnasso certarent  
 Hinc bifrons Drydenus,  
 Inde bicornis Shadwellus,  
 Quorum hic de facto, ille de jure,  
 Archipoeta cluit.

POETRY.



## P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the* NEW-YEAR, 1778.*By* W. WHITEHEAD. *Esq; P. L.*

WHEN rival nations, great in arms,  
 Great in power, in glory great,  
 Fill the world with war's alarms,  
 And breathe a temporary hate,  
 The hostile storms but rage awhile,  
 And the tir'd contest ends;  
 But ah! how hard to reconcile  
 The foes who once were friends!

Each hasty word, each look unkind,  
 Each distant hint, that seems to mean  
 A something lurking in the mind  
 Which almost longs to lurk unseen;  
 Each shadow of a shade offends  
 Th' embitter'd foes who once were friends.

That Power alone who fram'd the soul,  
 And bade the springs of passion play,  
 Can all the jarring strings controul,  
 And form on discord concord's sway.

'Tis he alone, whose breath of love  
 Did o'er the world of waters move,  
 Whose touch the mountains bends;  
 Whose word from darkness call'd forth light,  
 'Tis he alone can re-unite  
 The foes who once were friends.

To him, O Britain! bow the knee;  
 His awful, his august decree,  
 Ye rebel tribes adore!  
 Forgive at once, and be forgiven,  
 Ope in each breast a little heaven,  
 And discord is no more.



ODE *for His MAJESTY's Birth-Day.*

ARM'D with her native force, behold  
 How proudly thro' each martial plain  
 Britannia stalks ! 'Twas thus, of old,  
 My warlike sons, a gallant train,  
 Call'd forth their genuine strength, and spread  
 Their banners o'er the tented mead ;  
 'Twas thus they taught perfidious France to yield—  
 —(She cries)—and shews the lilies on her shield.

Yes, Goddess, yes ! 'twas thus of old  
 (The Muse replies) thy Barons bold  
 Let forth their native troops, and spread  
 Their banners o'er the tented mead.  
 But nobler now the zeal that warms  
 Each patriot breast ! For freedom's reign  
 Has burst the Norman's feudal chain,  
 And gives new force to glory's charms.

No vassal bands  
 Rise at a tyrant Lord's commands :  
 'Tis for themselves, with honest rage,  
 The voluntary youths engage ;  
 To guard their sacred homes they fight,  
 And in their own assert the public right.

Bound by choice, and choice alone,  
 Their leaders and their laws are both their own ;  
 Laws obey'd, because approv'd,  
 And chiefs that rule, because belov'd.

'Tis hence that flash of virtuous pride  
 (Which Britain's sons disdain to hide)  
 Glows on their cheeks, and thro' their eyes,  
 In active fire, the foe defies.

Tis hence, at home, they claim, and find,  
 Th' undoubted rights of human kind ;  
 And, whilst they own a just controul,  
 But yield a part, to guard the whole,

'Tis hence they spurn a servile chain,  
 While tyrant man's despotic reign  
 Enslaves the peopled earth,  
 And hence, with equal zeal, obey  
 A Father-King, and hail the day  
 Which gave such Monarch birth.



*The CONTEST of the SEASONS; or, WINTER triumphant.**By J. H. Esq;*

SPRING, Summer, and Autumn, had once a dispute,  
 Which season among them was most in repute.  
 Spring bragg'd of her nightingales singing all night,  
 And her lambkins that skip'd about, soon as 'twas light.  
 Old Summer grew warm, and said, 'twas enough,  
 That too oft' he had heard such common-place stuff:  
 That to *Him* the bright sun, all in splendor arising,  
 Was an object by far more sublime and surprising.  
 All your pleasures, quoth Autumn, are nothing to mine;  
 My fruits are ambrosia, and nectar my wine.

'Twas thus that these three were by turns holding forth,  
 When rough Winter thus roar'd from the bleak frosty North:  
 Not one of you think Winter merits reward,  
 Or that Winter Amusements are worthy regard.  
 You, Spring, brag of nightingales giving delight,  
 Han't I fiddlers like them that can warble all night?  
 You talk too, of lambkins that prettily skip it,  
 Don't my misses at Almack's as merrily trip it?  
 Then, good Summer, your sun never shines but he scorches;  
 'Tis not so with my chandeliers, flambeaux, and torches:  
 Nay, they're better than sunshine, as some sages say,  
 For they light us by night as well as by day.  
 For you, Autumn, your time on high flavours you waste,  
 As if you alone monopoliz'd taste.  
 Alas! in a ribband of mine, or a feather,  
 There's more taste, than in all your fine fruits put together.  
 Add to this, I've ridottos, plays, operas, drums,  
 And assemblies quite private, where all the world comes;  
 I've fine ladies that bring me the *bon ton* from France,  
 And gentlemen grown, that are learning to dance.  
 All Time with the gay, but the Winter, is lost,  
 As a Dutchman is never alive, but in frost:

Besides, my dear Seasons, I'd have you remember,  
 We're now got as far as the month of December;  
 That you, Spring and Summer, are both run away;  
 That you, Autumn, won't venture much longer to stay.  
 You can't then but own, if you hearken to reason,  
 No amusements *but mine* are at present in season.

Dec. 4, 1778.



EPILOGUE *to the Tragedy of ALFRED.**Written by Mr. GARRICK, and Spoken by Mrs. BARRY.*

**O**UR bards of late so tragic in their calling,  
 Have scarce preserv'd one heroine from falling :  
 Whether the dame be widow, maid, or wife,  
 She seldom from their hands escapes with life :  
 If this green cloth could speak, would it not tell,  
 Upon its well worn nap how oft I fell ?  
 To death in various forms deliver'd up,  
 Steel kills me one night, and the next the cup :  
 The tragic process is as short as certain ;  
 With \* this,—or † this, I drop—then drops the curtain ;  
 No saint can lead a better life than I,  
 For half is spent in studying how to die ;  
 The learn'd dispute, how tragedies should end ;  
 O, happily say some—Some death defend :  
 Mild criticks wish good fortune to the good ;  
 While others, hot-brain'd, roar for blood ! blood ! blood !  
 The fair, tho' nervous, tragic to the soul,  
 Delight in daggers and the poison'd bowl :  
 “ I would not give a black-pin for a play,  
 Unless in tenderness I melt away :  
 From pangs and death no lovers would I save,  
 They should be wretched, and despair and rave ;  
 And ne'er together lie—but in the grave ! ”  
 The brave rough soldier a soft heart discovers,  
 He swears and weeps at once, when dead the lovers :  
 As down his cheeks runs trickling nature's tide,  
 “ Damn it—I wish those young ones had not dy'd : ”  
 Tho' from his eyes, the drop of pity falls,  
 He fights like Cæsar, when his country calls :  
 In spite of critic laws our bard takes part,  
 And joins in concert with the soldier's heart :  
 O let your feelings with this party side,  
 For once forgive me that I have not dy'd ;  
 Too hard that fate which kills a virgin bride ;

\* She makes the motion of stabbing.

† And here of drinking poison.



## PROLOGUE to the BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

*Written by* RICHARD CUMBERLAND, *Esq.**Spoken by* Mr. HENDERSON.

**T**O Holy land in superstition's day,  
 When bare-foot pilgrims trod their weary way,  
 By mother church's unremitting law,  
 Scourg'd into grace, with shoulders red and raw;  
 Kneeling demure before the sacred shrine,  
 On the hard flint they beg'd the boon divine;  
 Pardon for what offending flesh had done,  
 And pity for the long, long course they'd run;  
 Fines, pains, and penalties, securely past,  
 Slow-pac'd forgiveness met their prayer at last;  
 Full absolution from conceding Rome,  
 Cancell'd all sin, past, present, and to come.

Your poet thus profanely led aside  
 To range o'er tragic land without a guide,  
 To pick, perhaps, with no invidious aim,  
 A few cast fallings from the tree of fame:  
 Damn'd, tho' untry'd, by the despotic rule  
 Of the stern doctor's in detraction's school;  
 Lash'd down each column of a public page,  
 And driv'n o'er burning plough-shares to the stage,  
 Be-rhim'd, be-ridicul'd with doggrel wit,  
 Sues out a pardon from his pope—the *Pit*.  
 Pensive he stands in penitential weeds,  
 With a huge rosary of untold beads;  
 Sentenc'd for past offences to rehearse  
*Ave Apollo's* to the god of verse;  
 And sure there's no one but an author knows  
 The penance which an author undergoes.

If then your worships a few stripes award,  
 Let not your beadles lay them on too hard;  
 For in the world there's not a thing so thin,  
 So full of feeling, as your poet's skin;  
 What if perchance he snatch'd a playful kiss  
 From that free-hearted romp, the comic Miss;  
 That frolick's past, he's turned to years of grace,  
 And a young sinner now supplies his place.  
 Sure you'll not grudge a little sober chat  
 With this demure old tabby tragic cat;  
 No charge lies here of conversation crim:  
 He hopes you'll think her fame no worse for him.



PROLOGUE *to the New Comedy of the SUICIDE.**By the AUTHOR.**Spoken by Mr. PALMER.*

**T**IS now the reigning taste with belle and beau,  
 Their art and skill in coachmanship to shew;  
 Nobles contend who throws a whip the best;  
 From head to foot like hackney-coachmen dress'd:  
 Duchesse and Peereſs too diſcard their fear,  
 Ponies in front, my Lady in the rear.  
 A female phaeton all danger mocks,  
 Half-coat, half-petticoat, ſhe mounts the box;  
 Wrapt in a duſty whirlwind ſcours the plains,  
 And cutting—jehu!—whiſtling—holds the reins.  
 Happy, thrice happy, Britain, is thy ſtate,  
 In the year ſeventeen hundred ſeventy-eight,  
 When each ſex drives at ſuch a furious rate.  
 The modiſh artiſt, playwright, or coach-maker,  
 In Grub-ſtreet ſtarv'd, or thriving in Long-Acre;  
 To ſuit the times, and tally with the mode,  
 Muſt travel in the beaten turnpike-road;  
 Wherefore our crane-neck'd manager to-day  
 Upon four acts attempts to run his play:  
 A fifth he fears you'll deem the bard's reproach,  
 A mere fifth wheel that would but ſtop the coach.  
 With two-act pieces what machines agree?  
 Buggies, tim-whiskies, or ſqueez'd *vis-a-vis*,  
 Where two fit face to face, and knee to knee.  
 What is a piece in one ſhort act comprefs'd?  
 A wheel-barrow, or ſulky at the beſt.  
 A ſcale ſo ſmall, the bard would ſuffer for't;  
 You'd ſay his farce was like himſelf—too ſhort;  
 Yet anxious with your ſmiles his work to crown,  
 In many a varied ſhape he courts the town.  
 Sometimes he drives—if brother bards implore;  
 Sometimes he in a prologue trots before,  
 Or in an epilogue gets up behind—  
 Happy in all, ſo you appear but kind.  
 His vehicle to-day may none reproach,  
 Nor take it for a hearse, or mourning coach:  
 'Tis true, a gloomy outſide he has wrought,  
 That rather threatens than doth promiſe aught;  
 Yet from black fun'ral, like his brother Bayes,  
 A nuptial banquet he intends to raiſe,



We do but jest—*poison in jest*—no more—  
 And thus *one Mercer* to the world restore.  
 But if a well-tim'd jest should chance to save  
 One mercer from perdition and the grave,  
 All Ludgate-Hill be judge, if 'twere not hard,  
*Felo de se* should you bring in the bard.

EPILOGUE to the Same.

Written by Mr. GARRICK.

Spoken by Miss FARREN.

THE critics say, and constantly repeat,  
 That woman acting man's a silly cheat,  
 That ev'n upon the stage it should not pass:  
 To which I say—a critic is an ass.  
 As man, true man we could not well deceive,  
 But we, like modish things, may make believe.  
 Would it be thought I gave myself great airs,  
 To put my manhood on a foot with theirs?  
 Speak, you that are men, is my pride too great  
 To think you'd rather have with me—a *tête-à-tête*?  
 In this our play what dangers have I run!  
 What hair-breadth 'scapes! and yet the prize have won.  
 Is it a prize? He may prove cross, or jealous,  
 In marriage-lotteries, the knowing tell us,  
 Among our modern youths much danger lies,  
 There are a hundred blanks for one poor prize.  
 Was I not bold, ye fair, to undertake  
 To tame that wildest animal—a rake!  
 To lead a tyger in a filken string,  
 Hush the loud storm, and clip the whirlwind's wing!  
 My pride was piqued, all dangers I would thro':  
 To have her way what would not woman do?  
 The papers swarm each day with patent puffers  
 For smoaky chimnies—powders—mouse-traps—snuffers;  
 And I could fame as well as fortune raise,  
 To cure by patent, *la folie Anglaise*.  
 I'm sure you all my nostrum will approve.  
 By Nature's guidance let your passions move,  
 Drive out that demon Gaming, by the angel Love.  
 But, ladies, if you wish to know my plan,  
 By stratagem, not force, attack your man.  
 By open war the danger is increas'd;  
 Use gentle means to soothe the savage beast.  
 If when his blood boils o'er, your's bubbles too,  
 Then all is lost, and there's the devil to do.



Piff, puff, blown up at once the lover's part,  
 He snaps his chain,—and madam—breaks her heart—  
 Hymen puts out his torch, and Cupid blunts his dart. }  
 Thus ends the farce, or tragedy of love ;  
 But, ladies, if your sparks are given to rove,  
 From my experience take one general rule—  
 Cool as he warms, and love will never cool  
 If smoak prevails, and the choak'd flame is dying,  
 Then gently fan it with some little sighing ;  
 'Then drop into the flame a tear or two,  
 And, blazing up like oil, 'twill burn him thro' ;  
 'Then add kind looks, soft words, smeeet smiles—no pout,  
 And take my word the flame will ne'er go out :  
 These, with good humour mix'd, the balm of life,  
 Will be the best receipt for maid or wife.

## P R O L O G U E to BONDUCA.

*Written by* DAVID GARRICK, *Esq.*

**T**O modern Britons let the old appear  
 This night to rouse 'em for this anxious year :  
 To raise that spirit, which of yore, when rais'd,  
 Made even *Romans* tremble while they prais'd :  
 To rouse that spirit, which thro' every age  
 Has wak'd the lyre, and warm'd th' historian's page ;  
 That dauntless spirit, which on Cressy's Plain,  
 Rush'd from the heart, through every British vein ;  
 Nerv'd ev'ry arm the numerous host to dare,  
 Whilst Edward's valour shone the guiding star,  
 Whose beams dispers'd the darkness of despair. }  
 Whate'er the craft, or number of the foes,  
 Ever from danger Britain's glory rose ;  
 To the mind's eye let the *fifth Harry* rise,  
 And in that vision boasting France despise.  
 Then turn to later deeds your fires have wrought,  
 When Anna rul'd, and mighty Marlborough fought.  
 Shall Chatham die, and be forgot?—Oh! no,  
 Warm from its source let grateful sorrow flow ;  
 His matchless ardor fir'd each fear-struck mind,  
 His genius soar'd, when Briton's droop'd and pin'd ;  
 Whilst each *State Atlas* sunk beneath the load,  
 His heart, unshook, with patriot virtue glow'd ;  
 Like Hercules, he freed 'em from the weight,  
 And on his shoulders fix'd the tottering state ;  
 His strength the monsters of the land defy'd,  
 To raise his country's glory was his pride,  
 And for his service, as he liv'd, he dy'd. }





O! for his powers, those feelings to impart,  
Which rous'd to action every drooping heart.  
Now, while the angry trumpet sounds alarms,  
And all the nation cries to arms, to arms!  
Then would his native strength each Briton know,  
And scorn the threats of an invading foe:  
Hatching, and feeding every civil broil,  
France looks with envy on our happy soil;  
When mischief's on the wing, she cries for war,  
Insults distress, and braves her conqueror.  
But Shakespeare sung—and well this land he knew,  
O! hear his voice—that nought shall make us rue,  
If England to *itself* do rest but true.

}

PROLOGUE to the new Comedy of THE FATHERS.

*Written by Mr. GARRICK, and spoken by Mr. KING.*

WHEN from the world departs a son of fame,  
His deeds or works embalm his precious name,  
Yet not content, the public call for art,  
To rescue from the tomb his mortal part:  
Demand the painter's and the sculptor's hand,  
To spread his mimic form throughout the land;  
A form, perhaps, which, living, was neglected,  
And when it could not feel respect, respected.  
This night no bust or picture claims your praise,  
Our claim's superior, we his spirit raise:  
From time's dark storehouse, bring a long-lost play,  
And drag it from oblivion into day.  
But who the author? Need I name the wit?  
Whom nature prompted as his genius writ:  
*Truth* smil'd on *Fancy* for each well-wrought story,  
Where *characters* live, act, and stand before ye:  
Suppose these characters various as they are,  
The knave, the fool, the worthy, wise, and fair,  
For and against the author pleading at your bar.  
First pleads *Tom Jones*—grateful his heart and warm;  
Brave, gen'rous *Britons*—shield this play from harm:  
My best friend wrote it; should it not succeed,  
Tho' with my *Sophy* blest—my heart will bleed—  
Then from his face he wipes the manly tear;  
Courage, my master, *Partridge* cries, don't fear;  
Should envy's serpents hiss, or malice frown,  
Tho' I'm a coward, zounds! I'll knock 'em down;  
Next, sweet *Sophia* comes—she cannot speak—  
Her wishes for the play o'erspread her cheek;

}



In ev'ry look her sentiments you read ;  
 And more than eloquence her blushes plead.  
 Now *Blifil* bows—with smiles his false heart gilding.  
 He was my foe—I beg you'll damn this *FIELDING* ;  
 Right, *Thwackum* roars—no mercy, Sirs, I pray,  
 —Scourge the dead author thro' his orphan play.  
 What words !—(cries *Parson Adams*) fie, fie, disown 'em ;  
 Good Lord !—*de mortuis nil nisi bonum* :  
 If such are Christian teachers, who'll revere 'em ——  
 And thus they preach, the devil alone should hear 'em.  
 Now *Slipslop* enters—tho' this *scriw'ning* *vagrant*,  
 'Salted my virtue, which was ever *flagrant* ;  
 Yet, like black 'Thello, I'd bear scorns and whips,  
 Slip into poverty to the very hips.  
 T' *exult* this play—may it *decrease* in favour ;  
 And be its fame *immoraliz'd* for ever !  
 'Squire *Western*, reeling, with *October* mellow,  
 Tall' yo !—Boys !—Yoax—Critics ! hunt the fellow ?  
 Damn 'em, these wits are *varmint* not worth breeding.  
 What good e'er came of writing and of reading ?  
 Next comes, brimful of spite and politics,  
 His *Sister Western*—and thus deeply speaks :  
 Wits are arm'd pow'rs—like *France* attack the foe ;  
 Negotiate 'till they sleep—then strike the blow !  
*Allworthby* last, pleads to your noblest passions——  
 Ye gen'rous leaders of the taste and fashions ;  
 Departed genius left his orphan play,  
 To your kind care—what the dead wills obey :  
 O then respect the FATHER's fond bequest,  
 And make his widow smile, his spirit rest.

## EPILOGUE to the same.

Written by Mr. GARRICK, and spoken by Miss YOUNG.

PROLOGUES and Epilogues—to speak the phrase  
 Which suits the warlike spirit of these days—  
 Are cannon charg'd, or should be charg'd with wit,  
 Which, pointed well, each rising folly hit,  
 By a late *Gen'ral* who commanded here,  
 And fought our bloodless battles many a year !  
 'Mongst other favours were conferr'd on me,  
 He made me Captain of artillery !——  
 At various follies many guns I fir'd,  
 Hit 'em point blank, and thought the foe retir'd.——  
 But vainly thought—for to my great surprize,  
 They now are rank and file before my eyes !

Nay



Nay to retreat may even *me* oblige ;—  
 The works of folly stand the longest siege !  
 With what brisk firing, and what thunder-claps,  
 Did I attack those high-built castles—caps !  
 But tow'ring still, they swell in lofty state,  
 Nor strike one ribband to capitulate ;—  
 Whilst beaux behind, thus peeping, and thus bent,  
 Are the besieg'd, behind the battlement :  
 But you are conquerors, ladies, have no dread,  
 Henceforth in peace enjoy the *Cloud-cap'd head* !  
 We scorn to ape the *French*, their tricks give o'er,  
 Nor at your rigging fire one cannon more !  
 And now, ye *Bucks*, and *Bucklings* of the age,  
 Tho' caps are clear, your hats shall feel my rage ;  
 The high-cock'd, half-cock'd, Quaker, and the slouch,  
 Have at ye all !—I'll hit you, tho' ye crouch.  
 We read in history—one *William Tell*,  
 An honest *Swiss*, with arrows shot so well,  
 On his son's head, he aim'd with so much care,  
 He'd hit an apple, and not touch one hair :  
 So I with such like skill, but much less pain,  
 Will strike your hats off, and not touch your brain :  
 To curse our head dress ! an't you pretty fellows !  
 Pray who can see thro' your broad-brim'd umbrellas ?  
 That pent house worn by slim Sir *Dainty Dandle* !  
 Seems to extinguish a poor farthing candle—  
 We look his body thro'—But what fair she  
 Thro' the broad cloud that's round his head can see ?  
 Time was, when *Britons* to the boxes came,  
 Quite spruce, and *Chapeau bas* ! address'd each dame.  
 Now in flapp'd hats and dirty boots they come,  
 Look knowing thus—to every female dumb ;  
 But roar out—Hey, *Jack* ! so, *Will* ! you there, *Tom* ?  
 Both sides have errors, that there's no concealing ;  
 We'd low'r our heads, had but men's hearts some feeling.  
*Valence*, my spark, played off his modish airs,  
 But nature gave his wit to cope with theirs ;  
 Our sex have some small faults won't bear defending,  
 And tho' near perfect, want a little mending ;  
 Let *Love* step forth, and claim from both allegiance,  
 And bring back *caps* and *bats* to due obedience.



PROLOGUE and EPILOGUE to the New Comedy of the SLEEP-  
WALKER.

*(Translated from the French.)*

*Performed at the Seat of Lord CRAVEN, near Newbury, in Berkshire.*

*The Prologue and Epilogue are the Production of Lady CRAVEN.*

P R O L O G U E.

FROM the Green-room I've just escap'd to tell  
What sad confusion and what tremors dwell,  
On each young Actor's face ; by turns appear  
Gleams of sweet hope, and pangs of anxious fear.  
I come your pity and applause t' intreat,  
And lay our weak endeavours at your feet.  
We ne'er were taught to rant, to weep, to stare ;  
Or tread poetic ground, with comic air ;  
So, if we deviate from dramatic rule,  
Good folks, remember, we were ne'er at school.  
One Actor, trembling, bites his nails and swears  
He ne'er can get the better of his fears ;  
Another wipes his brow in mighty fufs,  
And, like a tea-pot, stands exactly thus :  
Each to their different parts make some objection,  
All cling to me, for knowledge or protection,  
To me they trust, whose knowledge is so small ;  
To me, the greatest coward of them all.  
Last night, indeed, as thro' old Chaucer's grove,  
In solitary mood, I chanc'd to rove ;  
A reverend form address'd my list'ning ear,  
And thus advis'd me to suppress each fear :  
' Welcome, thrice welcome, to this beauteous spot,  
Fam'd Donington ! this once my happy lot ;  
Chaucer, by name ; I first attun'd the lyre,  
And gave to British sounds poetic fire :  
The praise of Berkshire, erst the woods among,  
Inspir'd my lays, and cheer'd my tuneful song :  
Berkshire, whose scenes might rouse a Poet's thought,  
Berkshire, with every pleasing beauty fraught,  
Demands thy fostering hand, thy daily pray'r,  
And let the poor and aged be thy care ;  
Employ thy genius, and command each friend,  
Turn Mirth and pleasure to some pious end.'  
He ceas'd, the Poet's shade dissolv'd in air,  
His sage advice is deeply written here ;



I joyfully obey—and this night's gain  
 Is to relieve the voice of want or pain ;  
 Our Play alone is acted with this view,  
 Our Players happy if approv'd by you.  
 Your gracious smiles will justify the parts,  
 Which, as they please the mind, revive the hearts.

# E P I O L G U E.

**I** S all our audience quite awake, I wonder ?  
 Methinks I see one in that corner yonder  
 That droops his head ; alas ! as if to say,  
 This is, I vow, a soporific play.  
 I thought 'twould be so : our young Translator  
 Call'd me a cross old grumbling woman-hater.  
 Because I said, dear Ma'am, 'twill never do,  
 Your plot, your sleeper, why 'tis very true,  
 Together with the Actors, all are new,  
 But then new things but seldom fit with ease ;  
 Stop here, she said, why I am sure to please :  
 Then gave me such a look from her black eyes,  
 As might inspire a statue with surprise.  
 Tell them, said she, then toss'd her little head,  
 We're dreamers all, both in and out of bed.  
 Look at our modern beau, who sleeps till noon,  
 Then yawns all day, as if got up too soon.  
 The swain, who dreams of lilies and of roses,  
 Pines for those sweets o'er which a husband doses ;  
 The love-sick maid is surely in a dream,  
 Whene'er male constancy's her fav'rite theme.  
 See Politicians, deep ! tremendous number !  
 O'er half-form'd projects, how demure they slumber !  
 To form, reform, reject, chuse, mend and make,  
 These are the dreams of good men broad awake.  
 Behold, our Ministers who make a fuss,  
 When knotty points, assembled, they discuss :  
 Who talk of peace, of taxes, and starvation,  
 They only dream they can retrieve the nation.  
 One out of ten of each protesting Peer  
 Dreams, faintly dreams, he's what he wou'd appear.  
 Physicians dream ill health they can controul,  
 And Quacks divine that they can save the soul.  
 I dream, my neighbours, as myself I love,  
 I dream, this night's performance they approve ;  
 Tell them this dream appears to me so clever,  
 That, if it is not true, ——— I'll sleep for ever.



VERSES *by the late Earl of CHATHAM, to DAVID GARRICK, Esq. when on a Visit some Years ago at Mount Edgecomb.*

**L**EAVE, Garrick, the rich landscape, proudly gay,  
Docks, forts, and navies bright'ning all the bay:  
To my plain roof repair, primæval seat!  
Yet there no wonders your quick eyes can meet,  
Save should you deem it wonderful to find  
Ambition cur'd, and an unpassion'd mind;  
A Statesman without pow'r, and without gall,  
Hating no Courtiers, happier than them all;  
Bow'd to no yoke, nor crouching for applause,  
Vot'ry alone to freedom and the laws;  
Herds, flocks, and smiling Ceres deck our plain,  
And, interspers'd, an heart-enlivening train  
Of sportive children frolic o'er the green;  
Mean time pure love looks on and consecrates the scene.  
Come then, immortal spirit of the Stage,  
Great Nature's proxy, glafs of ev'ry age;  
Come taste the simple life of Patriarchs old,  
Who, rich in rural peace, ne'er thought of pomp or gold.

Mr. GARRICK'S ANSWER.

**W**HEN Peleus' son, untaught to yield,  
Wrathful forsook the hostile field;  
His breast still warm with heav'nly fire,  
He tun'd the lay, and swept the lyre.

So Chatham, whose exalted soul  
Pervaded and inspir'd the whole;  
Where, far by martial glory led,  
Britain her sails and banners spread,  
Retires, (tho' Wisdom's God dissuades)  
And seeks repose in rural shades.  
Yet thither comes the God confess'd;  
Celestial form! a well known guest.

Nor slow he moves with solemn air,  
Nor on his brow hangs pensive care;  
Nor in his hand th' historic page  
Gives lessons to experienc'd age,  
As when in vengeful ire he rose,  
And plann'd the fate of Britain's foes;  
While the wing'd hours obedient stand,  
And instant speed the dread command.

Chearful



Chearful he came, all blithe and gay  
 Fair blooming like the son of May ;  
 Adown his radiant shoulder hung  
 A harp, by all the Muses strung ;  
 Smiling he to his friend resign'd  
 This soother of the human mind.

A POETICAL EPISTLE to Dr. GOLDSMITH; or, the Supplement to his RETALIATION, a POEM.

DOCTOR ! according to our wishes,  
 You've character'd us all in *dishes*,  
 Serv'd up a sentimental treat  
 Of various emblematical meat :  
 And now it's time, I trust, you'll think  
 Your company should have some *drink* ;  
 Else, take my word for it, at least  
 Your *Irish* friends won't like your feast.  
 Ring then, and see that there is plac'd  
 To each according to his taste.

To *Douglas*, fraught with learned stock  
 Of critic *lore*, give ancient *Hock* ;  
 Let it be genuine, bright, and fine,  
 Pure unadulterated wine ;  
 For if there's fault in taste, or odour,  
 He'll search it, as he search'd out *Lauder*.

To *Johnson*, philosophic sage,  
 The moral *Mentor* of the age,  
 Religion's friend, with soul sincere,  
 With melting heart, but look austere,  
 Give liquor of an honest fort,  
 And crown his cup with priestly *Port* !

Now fill the glass with gay *Champagne*,  
 And frisk it in a livelier strain ;  
 Quick ! Quick ! the sparkling nectar quaff,  
 Drink it, dear *Garrick* ! —drink, and laugh

Pour forth to *Reynolds*, without stint,  
 Rich *Burgundy*, of ruby tint ;  
 If e'er his colours chance to fade,  
 This brilliant hue shall come in aid,  
 With ruddy lights refresh the faces,  
 And warm the bosoms of the *Graces* !

To *Burke* a pure libation bring,  
 Fresh-drawn from clear *Castalian* spring ;  
 With civic oak the goblet bind,  
 Fit emblem of his patriot mind ;



Let *Clio*, as his taster, sip,  
 And *Hermes* hand it to his lip.  
 Fill out my friend, the *D\*\*\** of *D\*\*\**,  
 A bumper of conventual *Sherry* !  
 Give *Ridge* and *Hicky*, generous souls !  
 Of *whisky punch* convivial bowls ;  
 But let the kindred *Burkes* regale  
 With potent draughts of *Wicklow Ale* ;  
 To *C\*\*\*\*k* next, in order turn you,  
 And grace him with the vines of *Ferney* !  
 Now, Doctor, thou'rt an honest flicker,  
 So take your glass, and chuse your liquor ;  
 Will't have it steep'd in *Alpine* snows,  
 Or damask'd at *Silenus'* nose :  
 With *Wakefield's Vicar* sip your tea,  
 Or to *Thalia* drink with me ?  
 And, Doctor, I would have you know it,  
 An honest, I, tho' humble poet :  
 I scorn the sneaker like a toad,  
 Who drives his cart the *Dover* road ;  
 There, traitor to his country's trade,  
*Smuggles* vile scraps of *French brocade* :  
 Hence with all such ! for you and I  
 By *English wares* will live, and die.  
 Come, draw your chair, and stir the fire :  
 Here, boy !—a pot of *Thrale's Entire* !

VERSES by Sir JOHN DENHAM (*not printed in his Works*), inscribed to the Hon. EDWARD HOWARD, on “*The BRITISH PRINCES ;*” a Performance which drew ironical Commendations from Butler, Dryden, and the most eminent of their Contemporaries.

WHAT mighty gale hath rais'd a flight so strong ?  
 So high above all vulgar eyes ? so long ?  
 One single rapture scarce itself confines  
 Within the limits of four thousand lines :  
 And yet I hope to see this noble heat  
 Continue, till it makes the piece compleat,  
 That to the latter age it may descend,  
 And to the end of time its beams extend.  
 When poesy joins profit with delight,  
 Her images should be most exquisite,  
 Since man to that perfection cannot rise,  
 Of always virtuous, fortunate, and wise :  
 Therefore the patterns man should imitate  
 Above the life our masters should create.  
 Herein, if we consult with Greece and Rome,  
 Greece (as in war) by Rome was overcome ;

Though



Though mighty raptures we in Homer find,  
 Yet, like himself, his characters were blind.  
 Virgil's sublimed eyes not only gaz'd,  
 But his sublimed thoughts to Heaven were rais'd.  
 Who reads the honours which he paid the gods,  
 Would think he had beheld their blest abodes ;  
 And, that his hero might accomplish'd be,  
 From divine blood he draws his pedigree.  
 From that great judge your judgment takes its law.  
 And by the best original does draw  
 Bonduca's honour, with those heroes time  
 Had in oblivion wrapt, his saucy crime ;  
 To them and to your nation you are just ;  
 In raising up their glories from the dust ;  
 And to Old England you that right have done,  
 To shew, no story nobler than her own.

*The following Extracts are made from a Poem, whose Merit is already too universally acknowledged to require our Testimony. We are, however, happy in this opportunity of acquainting the Publick, that the Author, we are told, designs to prosecute his Plan in two other Poetical Epistles, addressed to the Bishop of London and to Mr. Gibbon, on the Subjects of Poetry and History.*

**T**HINK not, my friend, with supercilious air,  
 I rank the portrait as beneath thy care.  
 Blest be the pencil ! which from death can save  
 The semblance of the virtuous, wise, and brave ;  
 That youth and emulation still may gaze,  
 On those inspiring forms of ancient days,  
 And, from the force of bright example bold,  
 Rival their worth, “ and be what they behold.”  
 Blest be the pencil ! whose consoling pow'r,  
 Soothing soft friendship in her pensive hour,  
 Disperses the cloud, with melancholy fraught,  
 That absence throws upon her tender thought.  
 Blest be the pencil ! whose enchantment gives  
 To wounded Love the food on which he lives.  
 Rich in this gift tho' cruel ocean bear  
 The youth to exile from his faithful fair,  
 He in fond dreams hangs o'er her glowing cheek,  
 Still owns her present, and still hears her speak :  
 Oh ! Love, it was thy glory to impart  
 Its infant being to this sweetest art !  
 Inspir'd by thee, the soft Corinthian maid,  
 Her graceful lover's sleeping form pourtray'd :  
 Her boding heart his near departure knew,  
 Yet long'd, to keep his image in her view.

Pleas'd



Pleas'd she beheld the steady shadow fall,  
 By the clear lamp upon the even wall.  
 The line she trac'd, with fond precision true,  
 And, drawing, doated on the form she drew:  
 Nor, as she glow'd with no forbidden fire,  
 Conceal'd the simple picture from her fire;  
 His kindred fancy, still to nature just,  
 Copied her line, and form'd the mimic bust.  
 Thus from thy inspiration, Love, we trace  
 The modell'd image, and the pencil'd face !

\* \* \* \* \*

When Britain triumph'd, thro' her wide domain,  
 O'er France, supported by imperious Spain,  
 And, sated with her laurels' large increase,  
 Began to cultivate the plants of Peace;  
 Fixt by kind Majesty's protecting hand,  
 Painting, no more an alien in our land,  
 First smil'd to see, on this propitious ground,  
 Her temples open'd, and her altars crown'd:  
 And Grace, the first attendant of her train,  
 She, whom Apelles wooed, nor wooed in vain,  
 To Reynolds gives her undulating line,  
 And Judgment doats upon his chaste design.  
 Tho' Envy whispers in the ear of Spleen,  
 What thoughts are borrow'd in his perfect scene,  
 And with glee marks them on her canker'd scroll,  
 Malicious fiend ! 'twas thus that Virgil stole,  
 To the bright image gave a brighter gloss,  
 Or turn'd to purest gold the foreign dross.  
 Excelling artist ! long delight the eye !  
 Teach but thy transient tints no more to fly,  
 Britain shall then her own Apelles see,  
 And all the Grecian shall revive in thee.  
 Thy manly spirit glories to impart  
 The leading principles of lib'ral art ;  
 To youthful genius points what course to run,  
 What lights to follow, and what rocks to shun :  
 So Orpheus taught by Learning's heavenly sway  
 To daring Argonauts their doubtful way,  
 And mark'd, to guide them in their bold career,  
 Th' unerring glories of the starry sphere.  
 Thy hand enforces what thy precept taught,  
 And gives new lessons of exalted thought,  
 Thy nervous pencil on the canvass throws  
 The tragic story of sublimest woes :  
 The wretched sons, whom Grief and Famine tear,  
 The parent petrified with blank despair,  
 Thy Ugolino gives the heart to thrill,  
 With Pity's tender throbs, and Horror's icy chill.



## SENTIMENTAL POETRY.

*From the WREATH of FASHION.*

**F**IRST, for true grounds of sentimental lore,  
The scenes of modern comedy explore ;  
Dramatic Homilies ! devout and sage,  
Stor'd with wise maxims, " both for use and age."  
Maxims, that scorning their old homely drefs,  
Shift from plain proverbs to spruce sentences,  
But chief, let *Cumberland* thy muse direct :  
High priest of all the tragic-comic sect !  
Mid darts and flames his lover *cooly* waits ;  
Calm as a hero, cas'd in *Hartley's* plates ;  
'Till damp'd, and chill'd, by sentimental sighs,  
Each stifled passion in a vapour dies.

\* \* \* \* \*

On a spruce pedestal of *Wedgwood* ware,  
Where motley forms, and tawdry emblems glare,  
Behold she consecrates to cold applause,  
A petrification, work'd into a *vase* :  
The vase of sentiment !—to this impart  
Thy kindred coldness, and congenial art.  
Here, (as in humbler scenes, from *cards* and *gouts*,  
*Millar* convenes her literary rout)  
With votive song, and tributary verse,  
Fashion's gay train her gentle rites rehearse.  
What soft poetic incense breathes around !  
What soothing hymns from Adulation sound !

Here, placid *Carlisle* breathes his gentle line,  
Or haply, gen'rous *Hare*, re-echoes thine :  
Soft flows the lay ; as when, with tears, he paid  
The last sad honours to his—spaniel's shade !  
And lo ! he grasps the badge of wit, a wand ;  
He waves it thrice, and *Storer* is at hand ;  
Famish'd as penance, as devotion pale,  
Plaintive, and pert, he murmurs a love-tale.  
*Fitzpatrick's* muse waits for some lucky hit ;  
For, still the slave of chance, he *throws* at wit.  
While *Townshend* his pathetic bow displays,  
And princely *Boothby* silent homage pays.

With *chirps* of wit, and mutilated lays,  
See *Palmerston* finer his *Bout's Rhimees*.  
Fav'rite of ev'ry muse, elect of *Phœbus*,  
To string charades, or fabricate a rebus.



Bereft of fuch a guide, old Ocean, mourn  
 Thy fading glories; and thy laurels torn! \*  
 'Twas *Palmerfton* repell'd each hostile wrong,  
 Like *Ariel*, wrecking navies with—a fong;  
 But fee, by pitying fate his lofs fupplied;  
 For *Mulgrave* joins where fenfe and *Sandwich* guide.  
*Mulgrave*! whose mufe nor winds nor waves controul;  
 Could bravely pen Acroftics—on *the Pole*,  
 Warm with poetic fire the northen air,  
 And foorthe with tuneful raptures—the *great Bear*;  
 Join but his poetry to *Burgoyne*'s profe,  
 Armies fhall *fall afleep*, and *Pirates doze*.  
 So when the rebel-winds on *Neptune* fell,  
 They funk to reft, at found of *Triton's* fhell.

\* \* \* \* \*

Others, resolv'd more ample fame to boast,  
 Plant their own laurels in the *Morning Post*.  
 Soft *Evening* dew's refresh the tender green:  
 Pafs but a month, it fwells each *Magazine*;  
 'Till the luxuriant boughs fo wildly fhoot,  
 The *Annual Register* transplants the root—  
 But thefe are fpurious honours, not the true,  
 Who fhall obtain *The Wreath of Fashion*—who?

### A DESCRIPTION of TYME.

From *HARRINGTON's Remains*.

U P O N the hill Olympiade,  
 Where *Hercules* begonne,  
 Firft myghtie theetrefs to be made,  
 Wheare noble deeds weare done.

Depayntede theare with pencil fine,  
 At lardge aboute the fame  
 There faw I ftande hymfelf Syr TYME,  
 And at his back Dame FAME.

In charret fhynynge fonnyſhe bright  
 Thys fyre fat on throne,  
 Ydrawne with wylde harte freſh and whyght,  
 Well ſeeming they had flowne.

\* Upon Lord *Palmerſton's* appointment to the treaſury, Lord *Mulgrave* ſucceeded to his place at the Admiralty board.—“*Mira canam; Sol occubuit, nulla ſecuta eſt.*”



On whyche thys winged gode he went  
 The whole worlde for to veiwe,  
 Each creature how his tyme had spent,  
 A note to take anewe.

And with him, as I said before,  
 He browght tryumphante FAME,  
 For to rewarde RENOWNE the more  
 Whoso deservede the same.

Thus hastinge over holte and hyll,  
 Firste gan he them beholde  
 That toyl and travaile ever styll;  
 To whom Syr TYME thus told :

In sweate of browes, you symple men,  
 Whyle lyfe in you remaynes,  
 Haste on, and your rewarde be, then,  
 Your travail for your pains.

In princely pallace prowdlie pyght,  
 Syr TYME a while gan stay;  
 For theare Dame FAME would view aright,  
 How each one spent the day.

Theare fownde they prest a noble bande,  
 In armour bright and brave;  
 On startlynge steedes with staves in hand,  
 Nought else but tyme they crave.

In lustie lyfles at lardge they lay  
 On bold rebatant blowes;  
 The Knyght on courser 'gyns to swaye,  
 And to the grownde he goes.

Hym to receave, then cometh faste  
 Another, to wyne prayse;  
 Amonge the worthies to be placed,  
 He stryves at all assayes.

To Whom Dame FAME, with smyling grace,  
 Gave thanckes unto them then;  
 And in their syght, before each face,  
 Their prayses did shee pen.

Then said Syr TYME, beholde herebye,  
 A nombre infinite  
 Of idle ones, lo! wheare they lye,  
 Lyving in foule delyght.



Cut off their tyme, FAME cryed then  
 Who so consume their dayes;  
 Suche slothfull race of sluggish men  
 Nought worthie are of prayse.

Then glyded forth thys great god TYME,  
 Till he approchede neare  
 A multitude of men divyne,  
 'Twas heaven suche to heare.

For, of each science callede seaven,  
 A nombre there were mett,  
 Wyth faces fixed up to heav'n,  
 Whose hartes wear firmlie sett.

In studie onlie tyme to spende,  
 Knowledge aye to encrease;  
 No envious cares gan them offende,  
 Ne fought they worldlie prayse.

Among which bleffyde people good,  
 Wyth heavenlie harp in hande;  
 Sweet Orpheus, lo! that glee man stood,  
 Trew musycke thear he sckan'd.

In tyme and tune with notes aye new,  
 JEHOVA's prayse he sange;  
 So did the reste with reason due,  
 Whearof the whole earth range.

Of tyme well-spent, said Syr TYME then,  
 To ev'ry one by name,  
 Receave you shall, you mortal men,  
 For this—immortal Fame.

Then strecht he out his golden plumes  
 Forthwith to take his flight;  
 Both wynd and weather he consumes,  
 And soon fades out of sight.

Where I, and manie a mazed man,  
 Remayneth styll in place,  
 To see hereafter, yf we can,  
 And veiwe TYME's golden face.



*A SONNET made on ISABELLA MARKHAME, when I firste thought  
her fayer as she stood at the Princess's Windowe in goodlye Attire, and  
talkede to dyvers in the Court-Yard.*

*From a MS. of JOHN HARINGTON, dated 1564.*

**W**HENCE comes my love, O hearte, disclose,  
'Twas from cheeks that shamed the rose;  
From lips that spoyle the rubies prayse;  
From eyes that mock the diamond's blaze.  
Whence comes my woe, as freely owne,  
Ah me! 'twas from a hearte lyke stone.

The blushynge cheek speakes modest mynde,  
The lipps besitting wordes moste kynde;  
The eye does tempte to love's desyre,  
And seems to say, 'tis Cupid's fire;  
Yet all so faire, but speake my moane,  
Syth noughte dothe saye the hearte of stone.

Why thus, my love, so kynde bespeake,  
Sweet lyppe, sweet eye, sweet blushynge cheeke,  
Yet not a hearte to save my paine,  
O Venus, take thy giftes again;  
Make not so faire to cause our moane,  
Or make a hearte that's lyke our owne.

### *The VIOLET.*

*By THEOPHILUS SWIFT, Esq.*

**T**HEE, Flora's first and favourite child,  
By Zephyr nurs'd on green-bank wild,  
And chear'd by vernal showers!—  
Thy fragrant beauties let me sing,  
Cerulean harbinger of Spring,  
Chaste Vi'let, Queen of flowers!

Thy velvet birth, in golden groves,  
The rosy hours and laughing loves  
With genial kisses fed:  
And o'er thee, *Peace*, as on a day  
In early innocence you lay,  
Her sylvan mantle spread.

When



When you in azure state appear,  
 Thy presence speaks the purple year,  
     And promis'd Summer nigh.  
 Thus kisses blow the lover's fire,  
 Till the warm season of desire  
     Mature the Spring of joy.

*Blue* skirts the Rain-bow's arch in air,  
*Blue* melts the mass of colours there,  
     The Heavens are hung with *blue*——  
 And she, the nymph that charms my soul,  
 Her eyes celestial azure roll,  
     And best resemble you.

What though in humble shades you dwell,  
 And lurk in thicket, brake, or dell,  
     Wasting your sweets away?  
 Yet shalt thou live embalm'd in song,  
 And there shalt reign, distinguish'd long,  
     The blooming Queen of May.

Then quit the wild, lest some rude thorn  
 Invade thy beauty's tender morn,  
     All lovely as thou art!  
 So shall thy Poet lift his voice,  
 And to confirm his annual choice,  
     Still lodge thee next his heart.

A S O N G.   *By the same.*

**W**HEN clouds that angel face deform,  
 Anxious I view the growing storm;  
 When angry lightnings arm thine eye,  
 And tell the gathering tempest nigh;  
 I curse the sex, and bid adieu  
 To female friendship, love, and you.

But when soft passions rule your breast,  
 And each kind look some love has drest;  
 When cloudless smiles around you play,  
 And give the world a holiday;  
 I bless the hour when first I knew  
 Dear female friendship, love, and you.



*To a LADY, who said the Author flattered her in his Verses.  
By the same.*

**W**HEN Phœbus shoots his radiant beams  
Where silver Avon strays,  
Less glorious in reflecting streams  
We mark the solar blaze.

The bordering flowers, that lovely blow  
Along yon fountain's side,  
Less graceful in that mirror show,  
And half their beauties hide.

Thus in my rhymes thy graces shone  
With less attractive power.—  
Verse gives not glory to the sun,  
Nor beauty to the flower.

VERSES *written by a Gentleman at the LEASOWES.*

**F**ROM the bold summit, where Ierne's shore  
Frowns o'er the western wave, the pilgrim came  
To visit Albion's sons, and hear their lore,  
And catch those sounds which fill her trumpet of fame.

And many a vale with rich embroidery gay,  
And many a hill with spreading foliage drest,  
Had the lone pilgrim travers'd in his way,  
Ere the green Leasowes gave him wish'd-for rest.

O'er the green Leasowes as he freely rov'd  
The groves, the bowers, the winding walks among,  
Soon Fancy call'd the spirit which he lov'd,  
And wak'd the mem'ry of her Shenstone's song.

For here the Bard, true Nature's fav'rite child,  
Attun'd his oaten reed, and lyric shell;  
And here, with easy grace and manners mild,  
He taught the swains the art of living well.

For well his life had answer'd to his song,  
And simple ease adorn'd his flowing strain;  
Friend to the harmless, artless, rural throng;  
Foe to the rude, the vicious, and the vain.

As o'er the fairy ground the pilgrim stray'd,  
Bright forms arose, and caught his eager eye,  
Of such as whilom lov'd this solemn shade,  
But now adorn the mansions of the sky.

There



There *Somerville* was heard, in rustic chear,  
 To call his hounds, and wind the jocund horn ;  
 There *Thomson* sang, and caught the list'ning ear,  
 With praise of dewy eve, or blushing morn ;  
 And round him danc'd the *Hours* with printless tread,  
 And ever and anon the *Seasons* gay  
 With flowers adorn'd their fav'rite poet's head,  
 And sprightly wood-nymphs caught the rural lay.  
 And there, where Faunus near his 'custom'd seat  
 Attunes the doric pipe to pastoral strains,  
 The gentle *Doddsley* sought the cool retreat,  
 And woo'd the stillness of these lonely plains ;  
 And there, where rev'rend oaks across the stream  
 Throw their wide arms, and mock the tempest's rage,  
 Musing on many a learn'd and virtuous theme,  
 Was seen the form of *Lyttelton* the sage ;  
 The tenderest graces sported in his train ;  
 Hymen, the sacred God of chaste desires,  
 To him consign'd his torch, and bade his strain  
 Sing Lucy dead, and Love's mysterious fires :  
 The Muse of History was seen unfold  
 Th' instructive page, and o'er his favour'd head  
 Religion wav'd her cross of heavenly gold,  
 And round his brows her radiant glory spread.  
 " Hail to these honour'd forms," the pilgrim cry'd,  
 " And sacred be the walks in which they rove !  
 " Oh ! flourish long ye bowers, the Poet's pride,  
 " Spread wide ye branches of his favourite grove.  
 " Thou Naiad fair, whose gently flowing rill,  
 " In lulling murmurs seems his loss to mourn ;  
 " May copious dews and showers thy current fill,  
 " And purest springs o'erflow thy chrystal urn !  
 " And you, ye monarchs of the waving wood,  
 " Tall oaks who tower your verdant heads on high,  
 " Long may ye stand, and brave the rushing flood,  
 " And scorn the fury of the wint'ry sky !  
 " And you, ye humbler plants of gentler mien  
 " Wild shrubs, or hazels rude, or flowery thorn,  
 " Long may your artless foliage here be seen  
 " And long your native bloom these hills adorn !

And



“ And you, ye tenants of those sacred glades,  
 “ Dryads and Oreads ! may your guardian care  
 “ Still unremitted watch your Shenstone’s shades,  
 “ And deck his upland lawns with verdure fair !  
  
 “ And o’er each bough, each leaf, each swelling mead,  
 “ Each tufted hill in vernal beauty’s prime,  
 “ May Heaven, indulgent, all its blessings spread,  
 “ And long protect them from the waste of time !”

VERSES on seeing Mrs. CREWE at Drury Lane Theatre.

‘T WAS but a look ! and, shepherd, thou’rt undone !  
 Ah, silly heart ! that, with such desp’rate haste,  
 Could’st on the point of certain danger run,  
 And in wild dreams of hope delusive waste  
 Thy fruitless sighs ! Ah, me ! so low a swain,  
 That scarce the shades, or winding hills among,  
 Scarce to the dying gale that fans the plain,  
 Hath my weak pipe attun’d its past’ral song ;  
 Whence should I hope, that from her dazzling height  
 Of unaffected beauty, where she stands  
 Nature’s sweet work, and to the ravish’d sight  
 Of wond’ring mortals, spreads her roseate bands ;  
 That me selecting from the croud below,  
 O arrogance of more than common size !  
 On me one casual glance she should bestow,  
 Or heed the timid blush of wild surprize !  
 No, shepherd, no ! as far from thee remov’d  
 Glows the fond object of Dione’s care,  
 As is, by tender melting virgins lov’d,  
 The radiant brightness of yon evening star !



## An Account of Books for 1778.

*The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are prefixed two Dissertations: 1 On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe. 2. On the Introduction of Learning into England. Volumes 1st and 2d. By Thomas Warton, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and of the Society of Antiquaries. Quarto.*

THE publick has already been some years in the possession of the former of these volumes, which brings the history of our poetry down to the death of Chaucer. Notwithstanding the disadvantages which a work of this nature must unavoidably labour under, from the remoteness and obscurity of its subject, and from the great changes which have taken place in our customs and language, and which have rendered the productions of the three first centuries subsequent to the conquest, unintelligible to the generality of readers; yet the reception this volume met with, and the impatience with which the prosecution of his enquiries were and still are expected, might have been flattering to a writer, whose abilities were less universally known than Mr. Warton's.

The progress of the arts is perhaps one of the noblest and most interesting objects in the history of mankind. As they owe their origin, their character, and their gradual improvement, to a great variety of political and perhaps sometimes of natural causes, it requires the united efforts of laborious research and philosophical sagacity to trace out and investigate their connexion. Poetry being the picture, and, as it were, the mirror of life and manners, is of all the arts the most susceptible of that variety which at the different periods of history is so conspicuous in national characters, and consequently is the most apt to be affected by the revolutions that take place in religious or civil establishments. It is on this account that our author has found it necessary to prefix to his work two dissertations, in which some points of a more general and historical nature are discussed, and of which we shall now proceed to give our readers a short abstract.

It has hitherto been a received opinion amongst modern critics, that the fictions of romance were communicated to the Western World by means of the Crusades. Our author is of opinion that they were introduced at a much earlier period by the Saracens, who came from Africa and settled in Spain about



about the beginning of the eighth century. From Spain he imagines they found an easy passage into France and Italy; and the close connection which subsisted for many centuries between the Welch and their colonists the Armoricans, might have been the means of bringing them from France into this island.

Our author in the next place examines the hypothesis of Dr. Percy and M. Mallet, who derive these fictions in a lineal descent from the ancient historical songs of the Gothic Bards and Scalds. This opinion Mr. Warton allows to be in some measure well-founded, and that so far it is also reconcileable with his own system. The Scaldic inventions, he says, have undoubtedly taken deep root in Europe, and prepared the way for the more easy admission of the Arabian fabling, about the ninth century, by which they were, however, in a great measure superseded — As a proof of which he observes, “ that  
 “ the enchantments of the Runic  
 “ poetry are very different from  
 “ those in our romances of chival-  
 “ ry. The former chiefly deal in  
 “ spells and charms, such as would  
 “ preserve from poison, blunt the  
 “ weapons of an enemy, procure  
 “ victory, allay a tempest, cure  
 “ bodily diseases, or call the dead  
 “ from their tombs; in uttering  
 “ a form of mysterious words, or  
 “ inscribing Runic characters.  
 “ The magicians of Romance are  
 “ chiefly employed in forming and  
 “ conducting a train of deceptions.  
 “ There is an air of barbaric hor-  
 “ ror in the incantations of the  
 “ Scaldic fablers: the magicians  
 “ of romance often present visions  
 “ of pleasure and delight; and,

“ although not without their  
 “ alarming terrors, sometimes  
 “ lead us through flowery forests,  
 “ and raise up palaces glittering  
 “ with gold and precious stones.  
 “ The Runic magic, is more like  
 “ that of Canidia in Horace, the  
 “ romantic resembles that of Ar-  
 “ mida in Tasso. The operations  
 “ of the one are frequently but  
 “ mere tricks, in comparison of  
 “ that sublime solemnity of necro-  
 “ mantic machinery which the  
 “ other so awfully displays.”

He adds, “ It is also remark-  
 “ able, that in the earlier Scaldic  
 “ odes we find but few dragons,  
 “ giants, and fairies. These were  
 “ introduced afterwards, and are  
 “ the progeny of Arabian fancy.  
 “ Nor indeed do these imaginary  
 “ beings often occur in any of the  
 “ compositions which preceded  
 “ the introduction of that species  
 “ of fabling.”

That the ideas of chivalry, the appendage and the substance of romance, subsisted among the Goths our author readily allows, but not without certain limitations. It was under the feudal establishments, which were soon afterwards erected in Europe, that it received new vigour and was invested with the formalities of a regular institution.

From the whole of his observations the author deduces the following general conclusion.

“ Amid the gloom of supersti-  
 “ tion, in an age of the grossest  
 “ ignorance and credulity, a taste  
 “ for the wonders of oriental fic-  
 “ tion was introduced by the Ara-  
 “ bians into Europe, many coun-  
 “ tries of which were already sea-  
 “ soned to a reception of its extra-  
 “ vagances by means of the poe-  
 “ try



try of the Gothic Scalds, who, perhaps, originally derived their ideas from the same fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of trowbadours and minstrels, seem to have centered about the eleventh century in the ideal histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the suppositious atchievements of Charlemagne and King Arthur, where they formed the ground-work of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings, or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the Crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose, which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser."

In the second dissertation, the author, after lamenting the destruction of the arts by the irruption of the Goths into Italy, observes, that they were, however, kept from total extinction partly by the prelates of the church and religious communities, and partly by the humanity of some of the Gothic kings, who were far from being invariably such enemies to literature as they are generally represented.

In the sixth century things began to put on a different face. The Gothic tribes, which had possessed themselves of the several provinces of the Roman empire, had attained a tolerable degree of political union and stability. Most of the northern nations of Europe were converted to christianity. Religi-

ous controversy turned the minds of men to literary pursuits, and, lastly, the authority and example of many of the popes were happily exerted in forwarding the revival of every species of learning and science.

The greatest obstruction which this revival met with, arose from the extreme paucity of valuable books. Of this circumstance the author has given a number of curious anecdotes. As a specimen of the author's style, we shall present our readers with an extract from this part of his work.

"The libraries, particularly those of Italy, which abounded in numerous and inestimable treasures of literature, were every where destroyed by the precipitate rage and undistinguishing violence of the northern armies. Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that Pope Saint Martin requested Sanctamand bishop of Maestricht, if possible, to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany. In the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres in France, sent two of his monks to Pope Benedict the Third, to beg a copy of *Cicero de Oratore*, and *Quintilian's Institutes*, and some other books: "for, says the abbot, although we have part of these books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France." Albert abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immense expence had collected an hundred volumes on theological, and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the abbot



Bot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books. We may imagine that these religious were more fond of hunting than reading. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt before they could read: and at least it is probable, that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the Bible, Saint Jerom's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries. Among the constitutions given to the monks of England by Archbishop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious: a whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book: and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the abbot, and to supplicate his indulgence. This regulation was partly occasioned by the low state of literature which Lanfranc found in the English monasteries. But at the same time it was a matter of necessity, and is in great measure to be referred to the scarcity of copies of useful and suitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontiffara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his capital palace of Wulvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than "*Septendecim species librorum de diversis Scientiis.*" This was in

the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1299, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, *Bibliam bene glossatam*, that is, the Bible, with marginal annotations, in two large folio volumes: but gives a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity. This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the same year by Pontiffara's predecessor, Bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, that is, "*pro bona Biblia dicti episcopi bene glossata.*" and one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass, for the soul of the donor. When a single book was bequeathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom without many restrictions and stipulations. If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The most formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book presented to the cloister or library of a religious house. The prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Physics*, or even obliterate the title. Sometimes a book was given to a monastery on condition that the donor should have the use of it during his life: and sometimes to a private person, with the reservation that he who receives it should pray for the soul of his benefactor. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by Bishop Repingdon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under these



these curious circumstances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the bishop's own hand, which I will give in English, at the beginning of Peter's *Breviary of the Bible*. "I Philip of Repyndon, late bishop of Lincoln, give this book called Peter de Aureolis to the new library to be built within the church of Lincoln: reserving the use and possession of it to Richard Tryfely, clerk, canon and prebendary of Mil-toun, in fee, and to the term of his life: and afterwards to be given up and restored to the said library, or the keepers of the same, for the time being, faithfully and without delay. Written with my own hand, A. D. 1422." When a book was bought, the affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present on this occasion. Among the royal manuscripts, in the book of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, an archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry. "This book of the *Sentences* belongs to master Robert, archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of Geoffrey the chaplain, brother of Henry vicar of Northelking-ton, in the presence of master Robert de Lee, master John of Lirling, Richard of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the said Henry the vicar and his clerk, and others: and the said archdeacon gave the said book to God and Saint Oswald, and to Peter Abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden." The disputed property of a book often occasioned the most violent alterca-

tions. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuscript of Matthew Paris, belonging to the last-mentioned library: in which John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of possession. "If this book can be proved to be or to have been the property of the exempt monastery of St. Alban in the diocese of Lincoln, I declare this to be my mind, that, in that case, I use it at present as a loan under favour of those monks who belong to the said monastery. Otherwise, according to the condition under which this book came into my possession, I will that it shall belong to the college of the blessed Winchester Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. Written with my own hand at Bukdane, 1 Jan. A. D. 1488. *To Lincoln*. Whoever shall obliterate or destroy this writing, let him be anathema." About the year 1225, Roger de Insula, dean of York, gave several Latin bibles to the university of Oxford, with a condition that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge. The library of that university, before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church. In the year 1327, the scholars and citizens of Oxford assaulted and entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neighbouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they found there, were one hundred psalters, as many grayles, and forty missals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church: but besides these, there



were only twenty-two *codices*, which I interpret books on common subjects. And although the invention of paper, at the close of the eleventh century, contributed to multiply manuscripts, and consequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even so late as the reign of our Henry the Sixth, I have discovered the following remarkable instance of the inconveniencies and impediments to study, which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the statutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Osney abbey in the year 1446, "Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at most, so that others shall be hindered from the use of the same." The famous library established in the university of Oxford, by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey duke of Gloucester, contained only six hundred volumes. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris. These were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers: many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French: pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the Fifth, who began his reign in 1365. This monarch was passionately fond of reading, and it was the fashion to send him presents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. These he ordered to be elegantly transcribed, and

richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called, *la toure de la libraire*. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers: which, on this occasion, were wainscotted with Irish oak, and cieled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425. On which event, the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent this whole library, then consisting of only eight hundred and fifty three volumes, and valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of Duke Humphrey's library just mentioned. Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis the Eleventh of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhafis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited by way of pledge a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, by which he bound himself to return it under a considerable forfeiture. The excessive prices of books in the middle ages, afford numerous and curious proofs. I will mention a few only. In the year 1174, Walter, prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, afterwards elected abbot of Westminster, a writer in Latin of the lives of the bishops who were his patrons, purchased of the monks of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Bede's Homilies, and Saint Austin's Psalter, for twelve measures of barley, and a pall on which was embroidered in silver the history



tery of Saint Birinus converting a Saxon king. Among the royal manuscripts in the British museum there is *Comestor's Scholastic History* in French; which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the King of France at the battle of Poitiers; and being purchased by William Montague earl of Salisbury for one hundred marks, was ordered to be sold by the last will of his countess Elizabeth for forty livres. About the year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, was sold before the palace-gate at Paris for forty crowns or thirty-three pounds six and six-pence."

For our first acquaintance with the ancient philosophical sciences we are indebted to the Arabians. In ravaging the Asiatic provinces they had found many Greek books, which they read and translated with infinite avidity. Their frequent incursions into Europe, and their absolute establishment in Spain, where they founded many universities, imported these seeds of knowledge into Europe. In the time of Charlemagne most of these books were by the orders of that emperor translated from the Arabic into Latin: they were quickly disseminated over his extensive dominions, and by that means soon became familiar to the Western World.

As the sciences, to which the Arabians were more particularly addicted, were those of astrology, medicine, and chemistry, our author thence deduces the causes of that love of the abstruse arts which distinguishes the literature of those early ages.

About the close of the ninth century, the politer arts, under the

successive patronage of Charlemagne and Charles the Bald, had made a very considerable progress. Many celebrated universities were founded, which produced men, before the year 1000, distinguished not only for their knowledge of the sciences, but their attention to polite learning and an acquaintance with the classics.

Our author, in the next place, reverts to the state of literature in England, which he observes, was not without its share of these improvements in knowledge, and derived them chiefly from the same sources. The Anglo Saxons were converted to christianity in the year 570. The communication which this event opened with Rome, and the ardour with which the new converts visited the holy see, soon made the Latin language familiar to them, and gave them a taste for the sciences, which began about the same time to flourish in that capital. Many learned men were also sent by the popes into Britain, who founded many, what were then called, noble and copious libraries.

The best writers amongst the Saxons lived about the eighth century. These were Aldhelm, Ceolfrid, Alcuine, and Bede; and at their head is placed, with great justice, King Alfred, as no contemptible author, and as one of the most celebrated patrons and proficients in every kind of literature. Of all these our author has given a circumstantial and critical account, for which we are under the necessity of referring our readers to the work itself.

Though many of the Saxon scholars were certainly acquainted with Greek, yet it does not appear that



that that language was ever familiar to them. Nor indeed were many of the Latin classics much known or studied by them. Those with which they were most acquainted, either in prose or verse, were the writers of the lower empire. It was even reckoned the most abominable heresy to have any concern with the pagan fictions.

To this dawn of science, a long night of ignorance and confusion succeeded from the irruption of the Danes and the distraction of national affairs. At length, in the beginning of the eleventh century, England received from the Normans those seeds of cultivation which have been gradually improving to their present maturity. The Conqueror himself loved and patronized letters. Many of the Norman prelates preferred by him in England were polite scholars; but what our author thinks was chiefly instrumental in promoting the progress of literature, was, that about this period schools were opened by many learned men of the laity as well as clergy, and the important charge of education, which before had entirely been entrusted to monastic teachers, was shared by men, whose course of study was more comprehensive, and their method of teaching more full, perspicuous and rational. It must, however, be observed, that most of the eminent scholars which England produced, both in philosophy and humanity, before and even below the twelfth century, were educated in our religious houses.

Our author in the next place proceeds to give an account of the most celebrated English writers,

down to the fourteenth century, about which time the Greek language began to be more universally studied both in England and on the continent. The manuscripts of the Greek authors, he is inclined to think, found their way into Europe from Constantinople in the time of the crusades. About the same period, the Jews, who had been suffered to establish themselves in England by the Conqueror, were banished the kingdom: and by the suddenness of their dismissal, immense stores of Hebrew manuscripts came into the hands of the ecclesiastics, and became the means of circulating the knowledge of that language and of rabbinical learning.

In this prosperous state of things, the progress of literature was soon after checked by the introduction of scholastic divinity. This art was first invented and taught by Peter Lombard, archbishop of Paris, and the celebrated Abelard. The number of English students which then filled the universities of France soon imported it into England, where it was received and cherished with such zeal and ardour, that before the reign of Edward the Second, no foreign university could boast so conspicuous a catalogue of subtle and invincible doctors.

The profession of the civil and canonical laws, Mr. Warton also imagines, was no small impediment to the progress of the politer arts. This effect he is, however, far from ascribing to any thing hostile to cultivation in the imperial code, but to the mode in which that invaluable system of jurisprudence was studied. "It was treated," he says, "with the same spirit of idle speculation"



“tion, which had been carried  
 “into philosophy and theology;  
 “it was overwhelmed with end-  
 “less commentaries which dis-  
 “claimed all elegance of lan-  
 “guage, and served only to exer-  
 “cise genius, as it afforded mate-  
 “rials for framing the flimsy la-  
 “byrinths of casuistry, But,”  
 as he afterwards observes, “per-  
 “haps inventive poetry lost no-  
 “thing by this relapse.” Had clas-  
 sical taste and judgment been now  
 established, imagination would have  
 suffered, and too early a check  
 would have been given to the beau-  
 tiful extravagancies of romantic  
 fabling. In a word, truth and  
 reason would have chaced before  
 their time those spectres of illusive  
 fancy, so pleasing to the imagina-  
 tion, which delight to hover in the  
 gloom of ignorance and supersti-  
 tion, and which form so consider-  
 able a part of the poetry of the  
 succeeding centuries.

We are now arrived at the *His-  
 tory of English Poetry*, which the au-  
 thor commences with an account  
 of the different epochs of the Saxon  
 language, spoken in this king-  
 dom. Of the language of the first  
 epoch, which contains a space of  
 three hundred and thirty years,  
 down from the first entrance of the  
 Saxons, to the irruption of the  
 Danes, and which is called British  
 Saxon, no remains are left, ex-  
 cept a small metrical fragment of  
 Caedmon's in Alfred's version of  
 Bede's Ecclesiastical History. The  
 second epoch is the Danish Saxon,  
 and closes with the Conquest.  
 Many considerable specimens of  
 the language in this stage, both in  
 prose and verse, are still preserved.  
 The third is the Norman Saxon,  
 with which our author's history

commences, and which continued  
 beyond the reign of Henry the Se-  
 cond.

It may easily be imagined how  
 much the Saxon language, which  
 even in its second stage still re-  
 tained a considerable degree of per-  
 spicuity, strength, and harmony,  
 must have suffered from the admix-  
 ture of that confused jargon which  
 the Normans brought into Eng-  
 land. Accordingly we find the  
 language of our poets, during the  
 two first centuries after the Con-  
 quest, extremely barbarous, irre-  
 gular, and intractable. We must  
 refer our readers, for the numerous  
 and very curious specimens, which  
 Mr. Warton has selected with equal  
 industry and discernment for the  
 elucidation of his history, to the  
 work itself, and content ourselves  
 with a few general observations on  
 the poetry of that age. It is re-  
 markable that the bulk of the  
 compositions of this period are le-  
 gendary and religious. From the  
 feudal manners and magnificence  
 of our Norman ancestors, from  
 their military enthusiasm, and,  
 above all, from the known fact,  
 that their retinues abounded with  
 minstrels and harpers, and that it  
 was their chief entertainment to  
 listen to the recital of romantic ad-  
 ventures, one would naturally have  
 expected to find some considerable  
 remains of the metrical tales which  
 must have prevailed in those times.  
 But the case is quite otherwise.  
 There is only one metrical ro-  
 mance which our author can  
 ascribe to an earlier period than the  
 thirteenth century. Mr. Warton  
 accounts for this singular circum-  
 stance in a very satisfactory man-  
 ner on the following grounds. He  
 imagines that they still exist in the  
 English



English metrical romances of the later ages, “divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, and successively modernized by repeated transcription and recitation.” That this would not be the case of the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the Conquest, is equally probable. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common; and, being less frequently recited, became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration. The satirical compositions of this age are pretty numerous. It is probable, that our English rhymers got their turn for this species of poetry from the French and Provençal Troubadours, who were very much addicted to satirical invective, and from whom they also borrowed the art of clothing their satire in allegories. The earliest love-song our author met with, he does not place higher than the year 1200. Most of these ditties are alliterative, and not destitute of imagination and poetical expression.

In the succeeding century the character of our poetry began a little to change. A taste for ornamental and exotic expression gradually prevailed, and the increase of the tales of chivalry and the improvements of romance; the rise of the crusades, and the intercourse that was opened between the French and English minstrels, contributed to give an advantageous turn both to our poetry and language. In this part of his work our author has introduced a short account of the origin of our drama. It abounds in antiquated learning and ingenious criticism, and may be very useful to any fu-

ture author, who may be inclined to make this branch of our poetry the peculiar object of his enquiries.

In the reign of Edward the Third, a new æra in English poetry commences with the illustrious Chaucer. Our author, on this occasion, stops the course of his narrative in order to take a retrospect of the general manners. “The tournaments, he says, and carousals of our ancient princes, by forming splendid assemblies of both sexes, while they inculcated the most liberal sentiments of honour and heroism, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courtesy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners still retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the most refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbarism, which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilised, as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleasures indelicate, their pomp cumbersome and unwieldy. In the mean time it may seem surprising, that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages, should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone, even if founded on truth, that will polish nations. For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not  
the



the head only that must be informed, but the heart must also be moved. Many classic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the scholars of that period wanted taste to read and admire them. The pathetic or sublime strokes of Virgil would be but little relished by theologists and metaphysicians."

He afterwards proceeds in the following manner:—"The most illustrious ornament of the reign of Edward the Third, and of his successor Richard the Second, was Jeffrey Chaucer; a poet with whom the history of our poetry is by many supposed to have commenced; and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unquestionable taste and discernment, to be the first English versifier who wrote poetically. He was born in the year 1328, and educated at Oxford, where he made a rapid progress in the scholastic sciences as they were then taught: but the liveliness of his parts, and the native gaiety of his disposition, soon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above described. In the mean time, he added to his accomplishments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he sometimes visited under the advantage of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been persons of a private and circumscribed education, and the art of versifying, like every other kind of composition, had been confined to recluse scholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world: and from this circumstance we are to account, in great measure, for the

many new embellishments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The descriptions of splendid processions, and gallant carousals, with which his works abound, are a proof that he was conversant with the practices and diversions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the fashionable and courtly modes of speech, connections with the great at home, and a personal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind and furnished him with new lights. In Italy he was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo Duke of Milan, with the Duke of Clarence: and it is not improbable that Boccaccio was of the party. Although Chaucer had undoubtedly studied the works of these celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this fortunate interview; yet it seems likely, that these excursions gave him a new relish for their compositions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewise enabled him to cultivate the Italian and Provençal languages with the greatest success; and induced him to polish the asperity, and enrich the sterility of his native versification, with softer cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraseology. In this attempt, which was authorised by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy, and Alain Chartier in France, he was countenanced and assisted by his friend John Gower, the early guide and encourager of his studies. The revival of learning in most countries, appears to have first



owed its rise to translation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original composition have not yet been studied. The writers therefore of such periods are chiefly and very usefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themselves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature: and while they are naturalising the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by translation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the case, not only in England, but in France and Italy. In the year 1387, John Trevisa, canon of Westbury in Wiltshire, and a great traveller, not only finished a translation of the Old and New Testaments, at the command of his munificent patron Thomas Lord Berkley, but also translated Higden's *Polychronicon*, and other Latin pieces. But these translations would have been alone insufficient to have produced or sustained any considerable revolution in our language: the great work was reserved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had also translated the Bible: and in other respects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to English literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wickliffe, that his arguments might be familiarised to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compose in English his numerous theological treatises against the papal corruptions. Edward the

Third, while he perhaps intended only to banish a badge of conquest, greatly contributed to establish the national dialect, by abolishing the use of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before observed, and by substituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifestly first taught his countrymen to write English; and formed a style by naturalising words from the Provencial, at that time the most polished dialect of any in Europe, and the best adapted to the purposes of poetical expression.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in classical allusions: but his poetry is not formed on the antient models. He appears to have been an universal reader, and his learning is sometimes mistaken for genius: but his chief sources were the French and Italian poets. From these originals two of his capital poems, the *Knight's Tale*, and the *Romaunt of the Rose*, are imitations or translations."

The seven last sections of the first volume are entirely dedicated to Chaucer, and contain a complete analysis and critical history of the principal of his poems.

Our author begins his second volume, which has been given to the public in the course of the present year, with an account of Gower the cotemporary of Chaucer. His poems are in general of a grave and sententious cast, not destitute of harmony, and some of the few, which are of a higher turn, have even a considerable degree of simplicity and elegance.

The poetic spirit of England seems, by making too vigorous an exertion,



exertion, to have almost exhausted itself in Chaucer. The reign of Henry the Fourth affords but the name of one solitary miserable poet: that of his successor was not much more happily distinguished either in number or merit. Even Lydgate, who flourished in the time of Henry the Sixth, falls very short of Chaucer, both in imagination, judgment, and the powers of poetical expression. In addition to the extract containing the character of this poet, which we have given in another part of our volume, (see p. 21.) we will present our readers with the following specimens of his talent at description in two different styles. They are taken out of a poem of his called *Troy Boke*.

“ This poem, says Mr. Warton, is replete with descriptions of rural beauty, formed by a selection of very poetical and picturesque circumstances, and cloathed in the most perspicuous and musical numbers. The colouring of our poet’s morning, is often remarkably rich and splendid.”

When that the rowes \* and the rayes redde  
Eastward to us full early ginnen spredde,  
Even at the twylyght in the dawneyng,  
When that the larke of custon, ginneth  
    syng,  
For to saluē † in her heavenly laye.  
The lusty goddesse of the morrowe graye,  
I meane Aurora, which afore the sunne  
Is won’t t’ ‡ enchase the blacke skyès  
    dunne,  
And at the darknesse of the dimmy night:  
And freshe Phebus, with comforte of his  
    light,

And with the brightnes of his bemès  
    shene,  
Hath overgyt the huge hyllès grene;  
And flourès eke, agayn the morrowe tide,  
Upon their stalkes gan playn || their leavès  
    wide.

Again, among more pictures of the same subject:

When Aurorà the sylver droppès shene,  
Her teares had shed upon the freshe  
    grene,  
Complaynyng aye, in weping and in so-  
    rowe,  
Her chyl dren’s death on every sommer-  
    morrowe:  
That is to sayè, when the dewe so soote,  
Embawmed hath the floure and eke roote  
With lustie lycour in Aprill and in Maye:  
When that the larke, the messenger of  
    daye,  
Of custon aye Aurora doth saluē,  
With sundry notes her sorowe to § trans-  
    muē.

The spring is thus described, renewing the buds or blossoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows:

And them whom winter’s blastes have  
    shaken bare  
With sotè blofomes freshly to repare;  
And the meadows of many a sundry hewe,  
Tapitid ben with divers flourès newe  
Of sundry motlefs †, lusty for to sene;  
And holsome balme is shed among the  
    grene.

Frequently in these florid landscapes we find the same idea differently expressed. Yet this circumstance, while it weakened the description, taught a copiousness of diction, and a variety of poetical phraseology. There is great softness and facility in the following delineations of a delicious retreat:

\* Streaks of light. A very common word in Lydgate. Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 579. col. 2. Urr. p. 455.

And while the twilight and the *rouis* red  
Of Phebus light. —————

† Salute. ‡ Chase. || Open. § Change. † Colours.



Tyll at the last, among the bowès glade,  
Of adventure, I caught a pleasant shade;  
Ful smothe, and playn, and lusty for to  
fene,

And softe as velvette was the yongè grene:  
Where from my hors I did alight as fast,  
And on a bowe aloft his reynè cast.  
So faynte and mate of werynesse I was,  
That I me layd adowne upon the gras,  
Upon a brinkè, shortly for to telle,  
Besyde the river of a cristall welle;  
And the watèr, as I reherse can,  
Like quicke-sylver in his streames yran,  
Of which the gravell and the bryghtè stone,  
As any golde, agaynst the sun yshone.

There is much elegance of sen-  
timent and expression in the por-  
trait of Creseide weeping when she  
parts with Troilus,

And from her eyn the tearès round drops  
tryll,

That all fordewed have her blackè wede;  
And eke untruss'd [her haire abroad gan  
spredc,

Lyke golden wyre, torrent and alto torn.—  
And over this, her freshe and rosey hewe,  
Whylom, ymeynt \* with whitè lyllys  
newe,

Wyth wofull wepyng piteously disteynd;  
And lyke the herbes in April all bereynd,  
Of floures freshe with the dewès swete,  
Ryght to her chekès moystè were and  
wete

The following verses are worthy  
of attention in another style of  
writing, and have great strength  
and spirit. A Knight brings a  
steed to Hector in the midst of the  
battle.

And brought to Hector. Sothly there he  
floode

Among the Grekes, al bathed in their  
blood:

The which in haste ful knightly he be-  
strode,

And them amonge like Mars himselfe he  
rode.

The strokes on the helmets are  
thus exprefs'd, striking fire amid  
the plumes.

But strokys felle, that men might herden  
rynge,

On bassenets, the fieldès rounde aboute,  
So cruelly, that the fyre sprang oute  
Amonge the tuftès brodè, bright and  
shene,

Of foyle of golde, of fethers white and  
greene.

Mr Warton next proceeds to  
the reign of Edward the Fourth,  
which he introduces with a very  
elaborate account of the French  
translations of the antient classic  
authors, and other writers of a  
more modern date, with which that  
century abounded. By means of  
these translations he believes that  
our countrymen became acquaint-  
ed with ancient literature at a  
much earlier period than is ima-  
gined. "How greatly our poets,  
he adds, in general availed them-  
selves of these treasures, we may  
collect from this circumstance only:  
even such writers as Chaucer and  
Lydgate, men of education and  
learning, when they translate a  
Latin author, appear to execute  
their work through the medium of  
a French version."

In the same reign, our author  
finds the first mention of the  
King's *Poet Laureate*; his account  
of the origin of which office we  
have already given our readers  
under the head of *Antiquities* †.

The reign of Richard the Third  
and Henry the Seventh, furnish a  
long catalogue of obscure versifi-  
ers. Barclay, the author of a  
popular satirical poem on those

\* Mingled.

† See p. 139.



times, called *the Ship of Fools*, is the most considerable. His language is more cultivated than that of many of his cotemporaries, and he certainly contributed his share to the improvement of the English phraseology — Our author is also of opinion that his *Egloges* are the first that appeared in the English language: They are all, he says, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's, of a moral and satirical kind; and contain but few touches of rural description and bucolic imagination.

Having brought the history of English poetry down to the sixteenth century, the author takes a view of the cotemporary state of poetry in Scotland, and has given us an account at large of some of the most celebrated productions of the Scotch poets of that age. These are, the *Thistle and the Rose* and the *Golden Terge* of *William Dunbar* — the translation of the *Eneid* and some original poems, by *Garwen Douglas* — the poems of *Sir David Lindesey*, and some anonymous pieces. The merit of these poems, in the opinion of Mr. Warton, is very considerable, and inferior in no respect to the productions of the English muse of

the same age, those of Chaucer only excepted.

\* We are now arrived at the end of the historical part of the second volume, which brings the history of our poetry down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The period in which the author has been hitherto engaged, though it be not so brilliant and splendid as that which succeeded, has nevertheless been productive of abundance of matter extremely interesting and curious to an English reader. It exhibits (to use the author's words) the gradual improvement of our poetry and the formation of our taste, at the same time that it uniformly represents the progression of our language. — Nor must our obligations to Mr. Warton be forgotten, for having brought out of their obscurity the remains of so many of our early and almost unknown poets. — Some of their writings, from their intrinsic worth, deserved a better fate; even those of an inferior cast have their merit, and deserve to be known, as they transmit pictures of familiar manners, and preserve popular customs.

In the two last sections our author takes a general view of the

\* The fifteenth section of this volume appears to us to be a little misplaced. *Skelton*, who is the principal subject of it, was the cotemporary of *Hawes*, (who appears in the 10th sect.) and ought therefore to have preceded Barclay and the Scotch poets. This would also have prevented the series of his history from being broken by this northern digression, and have thrown that subject into its proper place, the end of this volume. If we may be allowed to find any fault with a work so replete with instruction and amusement, we could have wished that the author had attended a little more to the arrangement of his materials. The history of the origin of the English drama, in particular, which is professedly treated of in the first volume, is again resumed in the 9th sect. of the second; and lastly, begun over again in the 15th and 16th. This desultory mode of writing, may be very convenient to the needy compilers of the age, but is not suited to the *κρίσις* *εἰς* *αὐτὴν* which we expect from the hands of so respectable a literary character as Mr. Warton.



revival of classical learning in Europe, of the reformation of religion, and of its effects on literature in England. The great revolution which these events produced in our poetical composition, is reserved for the argument of some future volume, in which the fine taste and critical judgment of Mr. Warton may exert themselves with freedom, disencumbered of the weight of his archæological labours.

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*Miscellaneous State Papers. From 1501 to 1726. 2 vol. 4to.*

THESE are perhaps no books that are read with a more general curiosity than those historical compilations, which appear under the name of State Papers: and indeed, when their authenticity is unquestionable, and the selection made with candour and judgment, there are no works more useful, or that deserve more eminently the attention and encouragement of the public. The very high and respectable name\* that has been given to the world as the publisher of these volumes, leaves us nothing to say with respect to their merit on any of those heads: the introductions, prefixed to the several divisions of these papers, and the notes, with which they are occasionally elucidated, are sufficient proofs of the noble writer's judgment, and extensive knowledge of history. As we have already given our readers several extracts from this curious and valuable collection, we shall content

ourselves at present with giving them the heads of the different articles that compose it in the order they occur.

## VOLUME I.

### No. I.

Certain notes taken out of the entertainment of Katharine, wife of Arthur, Prince of Wales, Oct. 1501. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]

[This is a curious picture of the manners of those times, and, as the editor very well observes, may be thought a good companion to the picture of the *Champ de Drap d'Or* in Windsor Castle.]

### No. II.

Original Letter of Thomas Leigh, one of the visitors of the Monasteries, to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, dated from the Monastery of Vale Royal, Aug. 22, 1536 †. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]

### No. III.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter, and Sir Anthony Brown, Knt. Instructions for the levying men to go against the rebels in the north, 1536. [*From the Harleian Collection.*]

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, and the Marquis of Exeter, being in their march toward Doncaster, against the rebels, Oct. 20, 1536.

The Privy Council to the Duke. Instructions about dealing with the rebels, and offering them pardon, Dec. 2, 1536.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, Dec. 6, 1536.

\* Lord Hardwicke, p. 8. of this volume.

† See this letter in our article of *Characters*,



The Privy Council to the Duke,  
Feb. 4, 1536-7.

The Privy Council to the Duke,  
Feb. 4, 1536-7.

The Privy Council to the Duke,  
Feb. 25, 1536-7.

The Privy Council to the Duke,  
March 3, 1536-7.

The Privy Council to the Duke,  
March 12, 1536-7.

The Privy Council to the Duke,  
March 17, 1536-7.

The Privy Council to the Duke,  
April 7, 1537.

The Privy Council to the Duke,  
April 8, 1537.

#### No. IV.

Roger Ascham's communication  
with Monsieur d'Arras, at Lan-  
dau, Oct. 1, 1552. To Sir  
Richard Moryson. [*From the  
Paper Office.*]

Sir Richard Moryson to the Lords  
of the Council, Oct. 7, 1552.

[The author of this last letter was  
a man of considerable learning in  
those times. There is something  
exceedingly peculiar in his style;  
but his letter is chiefly valuable,  
for some curious particulars it  
contains respecting the court and  
manners of Charles the Fifth.]

#### No. V.

The Journey of the Queen's Am-  
bassadors unto Rome, Anno  
1555. The Reverend Father  
in God the Bishop of Ely, and  
Viscount Montague, then Am-  
bassadors; who set out of Ca-  
lais in Picardy, on Wednesday,  
being Ash Wednesday, the 27th  
of February. [*From the Har-  
leian Collection.*]

[An English traveller may here  
have a curious opportunity of com-

paring the state of Italy, and the  
customs of its inhabitants, at so  
early a period as 1555, with those  
of the present time.]

#### No. VI.

Letters concerning Calais. [*From  
the Paper Office.*]

The Council of Calais to the  
Queen, May 23, 1557.

Lord Wentworth, Lord Grey, &c.,  
to the Queen, Dec. 27, 1557.

Their consultation, Dec. 27, 1557.

The Lord Wentworth, Deputy of  
Calais, to the Queen, Jan. 1,  
1557-8.

Lord Wentworth to the Queen,  
Jan. 2, 1557-8.

Lord Grey to the Queen, Jan. 4,  
1557-8.

Mr. Highfield's account of the  
siege and loss of Calais.

#### No. VII.

Letters from Sir Nicholas Throk-  
morton, Ambassador in France.  
[*From the Paper Office.*]

To Secretary Cecil, Oct. 28, 1560.

To Secretary Cecil, Oct. 31, 1560.

To the Queen, Nov. 17, 1560.

To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 17, 1560.

To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 18, 1560.

To the Queen, Nov. 28, 1560.

To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 28, 1560.

To the Queen, Nov. 28, 1560.

To Secretary Cecil, Nov. 29, 1560.

To the Queen, Nov. 29, 1560.

To Secretary Cecil, Dec. 1, 1560.

#### No. VIII.

Mr. Jones to Sir Nicholas Throk-  
morton, Ambassador in France\*.

[*From the original, in the posses-  
sion of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

#### No. IX.

Letters from Sir William Cecil,  
and from the Earl of Bedford,  
to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,  
Ambassador in France. [*From*

\* See this letter, p. 9. preceding.



*the originals, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.]*

From Sir William Cecil to Sir N.

Throkmorton, May, 1561.

From the Same to the Same, July 14, 1561.

Earl of Bedford to Throkmorton, July 8, 1561.

From Cecil to Throkmorton, Aug. 26, 1561.

From the Same to the Same, Dec. 22, 1561.

#### No. X.

A note of consultation had at Greenwich, *primo* May 1561, by the Queen's Majesty's commandment, upon a request made to her Majesty by the King of Spain's Ambassador, that the Abbot of Martinengo being Nuntio from the Pope, and arriving at Bruxells, might come into the realm with letters from the Pope and other Princes to the Queen. [*Copied from the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.*]

#### No. XI.

Henry Earl of Huntingdon, to the Earl of Leicester, April, 1563.

[*From the original in the British Museum.*]

#### No. XII.

Letters from the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk \*.

[*From Dr. Forbes's Collection, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

From the Queen of Scots to the D. of Norfolk, Jan. 31, 1569-70.

From the Same to the Same, March 19, 1569-70.

From the Same to the Same, May 17, 1570.

From the Same to the Same, June 14, 1570.

From the Same to the Same.

#### No. XIII.

Letters from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambassador in France. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen, Dec. 1, 1583.

Sir Ed. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham, Dec. 1, 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen, Dec. 10, 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to Lord Burleigh, Dec. 19, 1583.

Copy of a private letter to Mr. Secretary, about the answer of that he writ to me of my Lord Paget.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

#### No. XIV.

From the Queen of Scots to Charles Paget, May 20, 1586. [*From Dr. Forbes's Collection, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

#### No. XV.

Evidence against the Q. of Scots.

[*From a copy of the trial, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

[The noble editor is of opinion, from the evidence contained in this article, that the crime of compassing and imagining Queen Elizabeth's death, seems fully proved against her.]

#### No. XVI.

A letter from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambassador in France, to the

Queen, with one to Ld. Treasurer Burleigh, inclosing in it. [*From the original in the Paper Office.*]

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen, Feb. 25, 1587-8.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Lord Treasurer, Feb. 26, 1587,

#### No. XVII.

A brief discourse, containing the true and certain manner how the late Duke of Guise, and the

\* See these letters, p. 11. & seq. of this volume.



Cardinal of Lorraine his brother, were put to death at Blois, the 14th of December, 1588, for sundry conspiracies and treasons practised by them against their Sovereign the French King; wherein is farther declared the imprisonment of some other of the conspirators and leaguers, with divers other circumstances and matters happening thereupon. Written unto our late Queen Elizabeth, by Sir Edward Stafford, at that time her Ambassador in the court of France. [*From the Harleian collection.*]

No. XVIII.

Letters to and from Lord Leicester, in the Low Countries. [*From the originals in the Cotton library.*]

Lord Burleigh to Lord Leicester, Feb. 7, 1586.

Mr. Thomas Duddeley to Lord Leicester, Feb. 11, 1586.

Mr. Davison to the Earl of Leicester, Feb. 17, 1586.

Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham, Feb. 8.

Earl of Leicester to the Lords of the Privy Council, Feb. 8, 1585-6.

Earl of Leicester's letter to Mr. Davison, expostulating with him, and Mr. Davison's notes in the margin upon it, March 10, 1585-6.

The answer of the Council of State to the Queen of England's letter of the 13th of Feb. 1585.

Earl of Leicester to the Lords of the Council, March 27, 1586.

Extract of my Lord of Leicester's letter of the 5th of April, 1586.

Lord Burleigh to the Earl of Leicester.

[The character of Leicester, as the editor justly observes, is strongly

marked in these letters; passionate and vindictive, but with more considerable talents for business than Camden and other historians allow him.]

No. XIX.

Letters from Sir Philip Sydney to the Earl of Leicester. [*From the originals in the Cotton library.*]

Sir Philip Sidney to Lord Leicester, Feb. 2, 1586.

The Same to the Same, Feb. 2, 1586.

No. XX.

Papers about a private treaty with Spain. [*From the originals in the Cotton library.*]

Lord Burleigh to Andreas de Loo.

Earl of Leicester to Lord Burleigh, Sept. 30, 1587.

Earl of Leicester to Lord Burleigh, Oct. 30, 1587.

Earl of Leicester to the Lords of the Council, Nov. 6, 1587.

Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, Oct. 9, 1587.

Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, Nov. 12, 1587.

No. XXI.

Letters from Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Ambassador at the court of France. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Sept. 8, 1588.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Sept. 30.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Oct. 19.

The Same to the Same, Oct. 20.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Nov. 10.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Nov. 28.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Dec. 10.

No. XXII.



## No. XXII.

Letter of Henry Cuffe, Secretary to Robert Earl of Effex, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, declaring the effect of the instructions framed by the Earl of Effex, and delivered to the Ambassador of the King of Scots, touching his title to the crown of England; which letter was written after Cuffe's condemnation. [*From a copy in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

## No. XXIII.

Two letters of Sir Dudley Carleton, afterwards Viscount Dorchester, concerning Sir W. Raleigh's plot; inclosed in the following letter from Mr. Dudley Carleton to Philip Lord Wharton \*. [*From the Wharton Papers.*]

Mr. Dudley Carleton to Lord Wharton, Feb. 14, 1651.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. John Chamberlain, Nov. 27, 1603.

The Same to the Same, Dec. 11, 1603.

[We cannot pass over this article without giving our readers the last of these letters; it proves but too clearly what mankind have hitherto been unwilling to believe, that a King may be so far hurried away by private passions and selfish interests, as secretly to betray even his own subjects and servants to a foreign power. It is introduced by the noble editor with the following observations.]

‘ Sir Walter Raleigh accused King  
‘ James of having disclosed the  
‘ whole design of his voyage to  
‘ Gandomar. How far the

‘ following letter confirms this  
‘ charge, is left to the reader’s  
‘ judgment. Winwood, who  
‘ was a great enemy to the Spa-  
‘ nish interest, must have exe-  
‘ cuted this commission with re-  
‘ luctance.’

“ Sir, I have acquainted his  
“ Majesty with your letter, and  
“ that which came inclosed from  
“ Sir Henry Wotton, of whose  
“ opinion Sir Henry is, touch-  
“ ing the advertisement given  
“ therein, that this discovery is  
“ like to unite the duke and the  
“ Venetian closer together, and  
“ bring on better conditions for a  
“ peace with Spain. His Ma-  
“ jesty perceiveth by a letter he  
“ hath received from the Spanish  
“ Ambassador, that you have not  
“ been yet with him to acquaint  
“ him with the order taken by  
“ his Majesty about Sir Walter  
“ Raleigh’s voyage; and there-  
“ fore would have you go to him  
“ as soon as you can possibly, to  
“ relate unto him particularly his  
“ Majesty’s care of that business,  
“ and the course he hath taken  
“ therein. And so I rest

“ Your very loving friend,  
“ Buckingham.”

## No. XXIV.

Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton at Turin, March 15, 1614. [*From the Paper Office.*]

## No. XXV.

The Earl of Buckingham to Mr. Secretary Winwood, March 28, 1617. [*From a copy taken by Mr. Sawyer.*]

## No. XXVI.

[We could wish, for the sake of the regal, as well as ministerial cha-

\* See before, p. 13, where part of this number is inserted.



rafter, to pafs by this curious correspondence; in which it is difficult to fay which is more contemptible, the puerile weaknefs of the King, or the mean obsequioufnefs of the favourite.]

Papers relative to the Spanish match. [*From the Harleian MSS. in the Britifh Mufcum*]

King James to the Prince and D. of Buckingham, Feb. 26, 1622-3.

The Prince and Duke to King James, March 10.

The Prince and Duke to K. James.

King James to the Prince and Duke, March 15.

King James to the Prince and Duke, March 17.

The Prince and Duke to King James, March 17.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

King James to the Prince and Duke, March 25, 1623.

The Prince and Duke to King James, March 27.

King James to the Prince and Duke, April 10.

The Prince and Duke to King James, April 22.

The Prince and Duke to King James, April 27.

Pr. Charles to K. James, April 29.

Duke of Buckingham to King James, April 29.

King James to the Prince and Duke, May 11.

The Prince and Duke to King James, June 6.

King James to the Prince and Duke, June 14.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, June 26.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, June 27.

Duke of Buckingham to Secretary Conway, June 29.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, June 29.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, July 15.

King James to the Prince and Duke, July 21.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, July 23.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, July 29.

Duke of Buckingham to King James, July 30.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 5.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 6.

King James to the Prince and Duke, Aug. 5.

Secretary Calvert to Secretary Conway, Aug. 8.

K. James to the Prince, Aug. 10.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, Aug. 20.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James, Aug. 30.

The Infanta to K. James, Aug. 30.

Duke of Buckingham to King James, Sept. 1.

Prince Charles to the Pope.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, April 26, 1624.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

K. James to the D. of Buckingham.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

Duke of Buckingham to K. James.

#### No. XXVII.

The Spanish match continued; the Earl of Bristol's letters. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]

Earl



- Earl of Bristol to Secretary Calvert, Oct. 24, 1623.
- E. of Bristol to the King, Aug. 29.
- The Same to the Same, Sept. 9.
- The Same to the Same, Sept. 24.
- The Same to the Same, Oct. 24.
- The Same to the Same, Nov. 26.
- Earl of Bristol and Sir Walter Aston to the Same, Dec. 26.
- The answer of the Earl of Bristol to certain interrogatories intended for his Majesty's private satisfaction, with a reserve for a permission of making recourse to such other things as may be farther necessary to his clearing.
- No. XXVIII.
- Papers relative to the French match. [*From the originals in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]
- From Secretary Conway to Lord Carlisle and Lord Holland, Aug. 12, 1624.
- From Walter Montague to the Earl of Carlisle.
- From Lord Carlisle to the Duke of Buckingham, Oct. 2.
- In the Earl of Carlisle's handwriting.
- From Secretary Conway to the Ambassadors, Oct. 5.
- From Lord Carlisle to the Prince, Oct. 7.
- From Lords Carlisle and Holland to Secretary Holland, Oct. 18.
- From Mr. Lorkin to the Lords Carlisle and Holland, Oct. 11.
- From the Same to the Same, Oct. 21.
- Copy of the Secret Escrip<sup>t</sup> presented by the French Ambassadors, and avowed to be the same agreed on between them and his Majesty's Ambassadors in France, Nov. 18.
- From Secretary Conway to Lords Carlisle and Holland, Dec. 23.
- From Lords Carlisle and Holland to Secretary Conway.
- From Lord Carlisle to the D. of Buckingham, Feb. 16, 1624-5.
- From Mr. Thomas Lorkin to the Lords Carlisle, &c. Feb. 12.
- From Secretary Conway to Lord Carlisle, Feb. 24.
- The Duke of Buckingham to Lord Carlisle, March 15.
- From Secretary Conway to the Same, March 16.
- From the Same to the Same, March 24.
- From the Same to the Same, March 24.
- From the Same to the Same, April 12, 1625.
- From the Same to the Same, April 28.
- From the Same to Lords Carlisle and Holland, May 5.
- Account of the vastly rich clothes of the Duke of Buckingham, the number of his servants, and of the noble personages in his train, when he went to Paris, A. D. 1625, to bring over Queen Henrietta Maria.

## APPENDIX.

## No. I.

Letter of Richard the Third to the Bishop of Lincoln. [*From the Harleian Library.*]

## No. II.

The Earl of Leicester to Q. Elizabeth, July 27, 1588. [*From the original in the Paper Office.*]

## No. III.

Letters from the commanders of the fleet, about the Spanish Armada. [*From the originals in the Paper Office.*]

From Sir Francis Drake to Secretary Walsingham, from aboard the Revenge, June 24, 1588.

From



From the Lord Admiral to the Same, July 6, 1588.

Sir Francis Drake to the Lord Henry Seymour, July 21.

From the same to Secretary Walsingham, July 31, 1588.

From the Same to the Queen, Aug. 8, 1588.

From the Same to Secretary Walsingham, Aug. 10. 1588.

## VOLUME II.

### No. I.

Letters of King Charles I. Lord Carlisle, and Secretary Conway, to the Duke of Buckingham.

[*From the Harleian Collection.*]

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 20, 1625.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 20.

Lord Carlisle to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 20.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 30.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, Dec. 16.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, 1626,

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 13, 1627.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Aug. 25.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Sept. 2.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Sept. 20.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Oct. 1.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Oct. 13.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Nov. 6.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Feb. 23.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, Feb. 23.

### No. II.

Isle of Rhé expedition. [*From the Paper Office.*]

VOL. XXI.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, July 27, 1627.

Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway, July 28.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Aug. 14.

Duke of Buckingham to Edward Nicholas, Esq.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Aug. 24.

Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway, Aug. 24.

Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Sept. 4.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Sept.

Duke of Buckingham to Lord Conway, Sept. 19.

Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway, Sept. 27.

Sir William Beecher to Lord Conway, Oct. 3.

Mr. De Vic to Lord Conway, Oct. 22.

### No. III.

Papers about a secret treaty with the Flemings. [*From the Paper Office*]

Extracts from Mr. Gerbier's account given to his Majesty of the state of the Catholic States, Aug. 14, 1632.

Copy of his Majesty's letter, which he wrote to Mr. Gerbier, agent at Brussels, all with his own hand, and was sent presently by an express, Aug. 21, 1632.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier, Sept. 24.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier, Oct. 6.

Secretary Coke to Mr. Gerbier, Oct. 30.

Heads proposed to the King's consideration, May 15, 1633.

Mr. Gerbier to Secretary Coke, June 24.

R

Mr.



Mr. Gerbier to Secretary Coke,  
July 1.

[This project of the unfortunate Charles has not been mentioned, as far as we recollect, by any of the historians of those times. It seems to have failed from the uncertain state of his politicks at home, and the consequent want of sufficient weight and credit abroad.]

#### No. IV.

Scotch troubles, 1637-41. [*From the Archives of the Hamilton family, the Paper Office, &c.*]

The Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton, Oct. 19, 1637.

Earls of Traquair and Roxburgh to the Marquis of Hamilton, Feb. 17, 1637-8.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton, Feb. 26.

The Same to the Same, March 5.

The Same to the Same, March 22.

The Same to the Same.

The Same to Lord Justice Clerk.

The Same to the Marquis of Hamilton, May 17, 1638.

The Same to the Same, July 13.

The Same to the Same, July 20.

Marquis of Hamilton to King Charles I. Nov. 27.

Earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton, Nov. 30.

The same to the Same, Jan. 5, 1638-9.

Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde to Secretary Windebank, Apr. 9.

The Same to the Same, April 14.

Countess of Westmorland to Francis Windebank, May 6.

Pacification of Berwick, June 8, 1639.

Private warrant from K. Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton, to converse with the Covenanters, July 17.

A relation concerning the Scots proceedings, their natures and present estates, with their intentions, and some ways to animate this country against them, and divide themselves. By one who hath long resided there, Feb. 10, 1639-40.

Secretary Windebanke to the Lord Conway, Aug. 14, 1640.

Minutes of Cabinet Council, August 16, 1640.

Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Aug. 23.

The Same to the Same, Aug. 23.

Copy of the Lord Conway's letter to Mr. Treasurer, sent to the Lord Cottington, by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Aug. 21.

Sir H. Vane to Windebanke, August 25.

The Same to the Same, Aug. 28.

The Lord Conway's letter to Mr. Treasurer, Aug. 24.

Lord Conway's letter to Mr. Treasurer, Aug. 26.

Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Aug. 29.

The same to the Same, Aug. 30.

The Same to the Same, Aug. 30.

Extract of the Lord Lieutenant's letter to his Majesty, Aug. 30.

Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Sept 1.

Memorial, Council, and Committee, Sept. 2.

Lord Conway to Secretary Windebanke, Sept. 9.

Sir H. Vane to Secretary Windebanke, Sept. 11.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 13.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 14.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 16.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 18.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 20.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 22.

The Same to the Same, Sept. 24.

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The Same to the Same, Sept. 27.  
 The Same to the Same, Sept. 29.  
 The Same to the Same, Oct. 1.  
 The Same to the Same, Oct. 6.  
 The Same to the Same, Oct. 9.  
 Lord St. Albans and Clanricarde  
 to the Same.  
 Mr. Treasurer Vane to the Same,  
 Oct. 11.  
 The Same to the Same, Oct. 13.  
 Secretary Windebanke to the Earl  
 of Northumberland, Oct. 13.  
 Mr. Treasurer Vane to Secretary  
 Windebanke, Oct. 17.  
 The Same to the Same, Oct. 20.  
 The Same to the Same, Oct. 21.  
 The Same to the Same, Oct. 23.  
 Lord Keeper Finch to the Queen,  
 Oct. 23.  
 Earl of St Albans and Clanricarde  
 to Sec. Windebanke, Oct. 26.  
 Minutes of the Great Council of  
 the Peers at York, Tuesday 25th  
 Sept. 1640, in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 25th Sept. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 26th Sept. in the morning.  
 Ditto, 26th Sept. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 28th Sept. in the forenoon.  
 Ditto, 28th Sept. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 29th Sept. in the forenoon.  
 Ditto, 29th Sept. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 6th Oct. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 7th Oct. in the forenoon.  
 Ditto, 9th Oct. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 11th Oct. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 12th Oct. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 13th Oct. in the forenoon.  
 Ditto, 13th Oct. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 18th Oct. in the afternoon.  
 Ditto, 28th Oct. in the afternoon.  
 A relation of the incident, 1641,  
 by Lord Lanerick.

[These papers the editor justly  
 considers as some of the most im-  
 portant of the whole collection.  
 They contain a number of inte-  
 resting anecdotes relating to the

state of the King's affairs, and to  
 the disposition and views of the  
 different parties of those times.]

## No. V.

Papers relating to Monmouth's  
 rebellion. [*From the Harleian  
 MSS.*]

King James's account of the battle  
 of Sedgmoor.

Mr. Wade's further information,  
 Oct. 11, 1695.

## No. VI.

Partition treaty. [*Translated from  
 [the Dutch.]*]

Extracts from King William's let-  
 ters, relative to the Partition  
 Treaty. To Pensionary Hein-  
 sius.

## No. VII.

The Somers papers. [*In the pos-  
 session of the Earl of Hardwicke.*]

Notes of what passed in the Con-  
 vention upon the day the question  
 was moved in the House of  
 Commons concerning the ab-  
 dication of King James II. the  
 28th of January 1688-9

—Mr. Hampden in the chair,  
 29th January.

Lord Nottingham to Lord Keeper  
 Somers, March 1/93.

Lord Keeper Somers to King Wil-  
 liam, March 27th, 1693.

Letter from the Duke of Shrews-  
 bury to Lord Somers, with the  
 warrant to be a Baron, May 8,  
 1695.

Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord So-  
 mers, April 14, 1697.

Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord So-  
 mers, Oct. 15, 1698.

Lord Somers to the D. of Shrews-  
 bury.

Mr. Montagu to Lord Somers,  
 May 2, 1700.

Duke of Bolton to Lord Somers,  
 Sept. 1700.



Duke of Shrewsbury to Ld. Somers,  
June 17, 1701.

Princess Sophia to Mr. Stepney.

King William to Lord Sunderland,  
Sept. 1, 1701.

Answer by Lord Sunderland, Sep-  
tember 11.

From Lord Sunderland to Lord  
Somers, Sept. 15.

Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland,  
Sept. 20.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers,  
Oct. 1.

Lord Somers to Lord Sunderland,  
Oct. 3.

The King to Ld. Somers, Oct. 10.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers,  
Oct. 21.

Heads of Lord Somers's arguments  
to induce the King to call a new  
parliament.

Lord Sunderland's advice to Lord  
Somers.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Gallway.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Somers,  
Dec. 27.

Lord Haversham to Lord Somers,  
Feb. 19, 1703.

Lord Somers to Lord Haversham.

Duke of Argyle to Lord Somers.

Lord Somers to Lord Halifax, May  
28, 1706.

Ld. Halifax to Ld. Somers, July.

Lord Somers's Answer.

Lord Halifax to Lord Somers,  
Oct. 3, 1706.

Minutes of Lord Somers's Speech  
in the House of Lords, on the  
bill for abolishing the Privy  
Council of Scotland, and the  
amendment proposed in that  
house to give it a continuance of  
several months after the passing  
of the bill, 1707-8.

Charles Earl of Sunderland to Lord  
Somers, Aug. 8, 1709.

Duke of Marlborough to Lord  
Somers, Sept. 30, 1709.

[The noble editor informs us,  
that the original papers of Lord  
Somers, the greatest part of which  
were consumed in the fire at Lin-  
coln's Inn, in 1752, filled up-  
wards of sixty volumes in 4to, and  
did not contain a paper from Lord  
Somers's pen, which the most in-  
timate friend would have wished  
to secrete, or the bitterest enemy  
could have fairly turned to his pre-  
judice.]

#### No. VIII.

Papers relative to Lord Oxford's  
administration, and the treaty  
of Utrecht. [*From the Paper  
Office.*]

Robert Harley to the Duke of  
Marlborough, Sept. 1707.

Mr. Harley's plan of administra-  
tion, Oct. 30, 1710.

Mr. Prior to Lord Bolingbroke,  
Dec. 28, 1712.

From the Same to the Same, Dec. 29.

From the Same to the Same,  
Jan. 8, 1713.

Draught of a letter from Lord Bo-  
lingbroke, to Mr. Prior, Jan. 19.

Lord Bolingbroke to the Duke of  
Shrewsbury, Feb. 17.

#### No. IX.

Lord Stair's embassy in France,  
1714, &c. [*In the possession of the  
Earl of Hardwicke.*]

Draught of a memorial to the Duke  
of Marlborough, Captain Gene-  
ral of the army.

Extracts from Lord Stair's Journal  
at Paris in 1715 and 1716.

Heads of a Conference with Mare-  
schal d'Huxelles, Ap. 16, 1716.

Questions qu'on me fait d'Angle-  
terre sur lesquelles il faut con-  
sultier S. A. R. pour pouvoir  
repondre.

Letters and extracts of letters from  
Ld. Stair to James Craggs, Esq.

Ld. Mar to Ld. Stair, May 6, 1719.

Lord



Lord Mar to Lord Stair, May 22.  
 Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs.  
 Lord Mar to Lord Stair, June 2.  
 Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs.

## No. X.

Sequel to Lord Stair's embassy.  
*[From the Paper Office.]*  
 From Mr. Craufurd to the Honourable Mr. Secretary Walpole, Aug. 11, 1723.  
 From Mr. Craufurd to Lord Carteret, Secretary of State.

## No. XI.

Miscellaneous article. *[From the Paper Office.]*  
 Mr. Robinson to Mr. Delafaye, Sept. 7, 1725.  
 From the Same to the Same, September 16.  
 From the Same to the Same, October 20.  
 From Mr. Keen to Mr. Robinson, April 5, 1726.

[Having now gone through the contents of this valuable collection, we cannot recommend it to the attention of the publick in better terms than those which the noble editor himself makes use of. "Whoever looks into these volumes will be better prepared for his future entertainment, if he pleases to consider the work before him as an historical picture gallery, where the different modes and fashions of upwards of two centuries are exhibited in regular succession. The politics and sentiments of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's time differ as much from those of William III. and of George I. as the ruff and fardingale in the habits of the former, from the hoop-petticoat and long pockets of the latter. There may be pieces of inferior masters in the gallery; but, doubtless, some Titiens and Vandykes will be distinguished."]





T H E

C O N T E N T S.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

C H A P. I.

*Germany. Some observations on the political state of that country. Death of the Elector of Bavaria. Some account of the character and disposition of his successor, the Elector Palatine. Austrian troops seize upon the Lower Bavaria, and upon the Upper Palatinate. Substance of the convention concluded between the Elector and the court of Vienna. Various claims notwithstanding left open. Short view of the History of the two great Branches of the Bavarian or Palatine line, so far as it relates to the present contest. Claims of the House of Austria controverted. Claims of the Prince of Duxponts; of the Electress Dowager of Saxony; and of the Dukes of Mecklenburg. Protest entered by the first against the late convention; and an appeal to the Diet of the empire against the conduct of the court of Vienna. King of Prussia espouses the cause of the Princes who supposed themselves injured. Various memorials and documents laid before the Diet by the Prussian and Austrian ministers. Memorial of complaint by the Elector of Bavaria. Will of the late Elector laid before the Diet. Declaration to the Prussian Minister at Vienna. Fresh remonstrances on the other side. Memorial by Prince Kaunitz to the Prussian Minister. Direct correspondence between the Emperor and the King of Prussia in Bohemia, and a negotiation opened in consequence at Berlin. Negotiation fruitless. New proposals for an accommodation, transmitted by the King to Vienna. Proposals rejected. Other propositions on both sides ineffectual. Prussian manifesto.*

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## C H A P. II.

*Great preparations for war on both sides. Conduct of the great neighbouring powers. King of Prussia's military speech to his Generals. Presents to the officers, and a gratification to the soldiers. Prodigious artillery. State of Saxony. Neutrality proposed by the Elector; but such conditions laid down by the court of Vienna, as amounted nearly to a rejection. State and situation of the hostile armies. King of Prussia penetrates into Bohemia from the county of Glatz, and seizes Nachod. Emperor's army securely posted in the strong camp of Koningsgratz, and occupies the passes on the Upper Elbe. All the endeavours used by the King to bring the imperial army to action, or to induce it to a change of position, prove ineffectual. Great prudence and judgment shewn by the Emperor in this, his first essay in war. Operations on the side of Saxony. Prince Henry passes the Elbe, and penetrates the mountains of Bohemia, on the side of Misnia and Lusatia. Unusual difficulties in that march. Good conduct of, and great applause gained by, General Belling. Defeats General de Vins, at Tollenstein. Prince Henry advances to Leypa. General Moellendorf, and other detached corps, enter Bohemia in different parts. Marshal Laudohn breaks up his strong camp at Pleisswedel, and falls back to the Iser; where he takes so admirable a position, that he effectually prevents the junction of the opposite armies, covers the city of Prague, and is himself inaccessible. Prince Henry's army being thrown into several divisions, forms a line of great posts, and of considerable extent. Singular situation of the four vast armies in Bohemia. Effect of the great generalship and superior ability displayed on both sides. Another, but ineffectual negociation. Grand movement to the right, by the King. Pushes on towards the head of the Elbe, by Burkersdorf, Wiltshitz, Hermanseifen, and Lauterwasser. All his movements, and attempts to bring the enemy to an action, prove ineffectual. Bad weather. Sicknefs. Difficult and admirably conducted retreat to Wiltshitz, to Altstadt, and to Schatzlar. King evacuates Bohemia. Various movements of Prince Henry's army, preparatory to its retiring into Saxony. Prussians overrun the Austrian Silesia.* [18

## C H A P. III.

*State of Affairs previous to the Meeting of Parliament. Consequences of the American War with respect to Commerce. Conduct of France. Stability of Administration equally secured by good or bad success. Sanguine hopes raised by General Burgoyne's success at Ticonderoga, checked by subsequent accounts. Speech from the Throne. Addresses. Amendments moved in both Houses. Great Debates. Protest.* [35

## C H A P. IV.

*Parliamentary enquiries into the state of public affairs, adopted by the Opposition in both Houses. Motion for 60,000 seamen. Animadversions on the state of the navy. Debates on the motion for a new bill, to continue the powers granted by the former, for the suspension in certain cases* of



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*of the Habeas Corpus Law. Progress of the bill. Debates on the motion for four shillings in the pound, land tax. Motion by Mr. Fox for an enquiry into the state of the nation. Subsequent motions. Motion for certain papers, after long debates rejected upon a division. Circumstances attending the disclosure of the unhappy event at Saratoga. Debates upon the magnitude of the sum granted in the committee of supply for the ordnance service. Motion by Colonel Barre for papers, rejected. Mr. Hartley's motions relative to the American war, rejected. Motion by Mr. Wilkes for the repeal of the Declaratory Law, rejected upon a division. Great debates upon the motion of adjournment. Amendment moved by Mr. Burke. Original motion carried upon a division by a great majority. Transactions in the House of Lords, similar to those of the Commons. Duke of Richmond's motion for an enquiry into the state of the nation, agreed to. Lord Chatham's motion for the orders and instructions to General Burgoyne, after considerable debates, rejected upon a division. Debates upon a second motion by the same noble Lord, relative to the employment of the savages in the American war. Motion rejected on a division. Debates upon the question of adjournment. Motion carried upon a division.*

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## C H A P. V.

*Subscription for the American prisoners. State of public affairs. Scheme for raising a body of troops to supply the loss at Saratoga. Difficulties attending that measure. Subscription for raising new levies. Manchester and Liverpool raise regiments. Failure of the attempt in the corporations of London and Bristol. Large private subscriptions in both cities. Several regiments raised in Scotland, and independent companies in Wales. Great debates in both Houses on the measure of raising forces without the knowledge or consent of parliament; and on the question of legality with respect to private contributions or benevolences. Motion in the committee of supply for cloathing the new forces, after long debates, carried upon a division. Earl of Abingdon's motion for summoning the judges on the question, overruled. His other motions for passing a censure on the measure, after long debates rejected upon a division.*

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## C H A P. VI.

*Various motions preparatory to the enquiry into the state of the nation. Duke of Grafton's motion for papers rejected. Mr. Fox and Colonel Barre's motions also rejected. Complaints on the refusal of papers, and of the defectiveness of those which were presented. Avowed motives of the opposition in the enquiry. Mr. Fox opens the enquiry in the grand committee of the Commons. Resolution moved and rejected. Mr. Burke's motions relative to the employment of the savages, rejected after long debates. Mr. Fox's motions in the committee, relative to the state of the forces in America from the commencement of the war, and the losses sustained*



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*sustained on that service, rejected, after much debate. Debates on the appointment of a Chairman, on opening the committee of the Lords. Lord Scarfsdale voted to the chair on a division. Debates on the Duke of Richmond's motion against sending any part of the old established home military force on distant service. Motion rejected. Merchants give evidence at the bar, of the great losses sustained by commerce in the course of the war. Counter evidence, intended to shew the national advantages derived from the war. Several resolutions moved by the Duke of Richmond, founded on the facts stated in the evidence of the Merchants. Resolutions set aside, after much debate, by the previous question,*

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## C H A P. VII.

*Petition from the county of Norfolk. Lord North's conciliatory propositions. Two bills brought in thereon. Effect of the Minister's speech. Conduct of the minority with respect to his conciliatory scheme. Mr. Fox states his information of the conclusion of a treaty between France and the American deputies; calls upon the Minister for an explanation on that subject. Progress of the bills. Mr. Serjeant Adair's motion for the appointment of commissioners, after much debate, rejected. Mr. Powys's motion to admit a clause for the repeal of the Massachusetts Charter Act, rejected on a division. Motion by Mr. Powys for the repeal of the American Tea Act, and by Mr. Burke for extending the provisions of the Declaratory Bill to the West Indies; both agreed to. Conciliatory bills pass the Commons. New house-tax. Mr. Gilbert moves for a tax of one-fourth upon salaries, annuities, pensions, fees, and perquisites of offices under the crown. Motion carried upon a division; but rejected the following day, on receiving the report from the Committee, by a small majority. Mr. Fox's motion in the Committee of Enquiry, relative to the state of the royal navy, after much debate, set aside by the previous question. Mr. J. Luttrell's motion for an instruction enabling the American commissioners to promise the removal of any minister or ministers, who they should discover to be so obnoxious to the colonies, as thereby to prevent the restoration of tranquillity, rejected upon a division. Letter from General Gates to the Earl of Thanet read by the Marquis of Rockingham. Motion by the Duke of Richmond, that the letter should lie on the table, after some debate, rejected. Duke of Richmond's motions relative to the state of the forces in America, after much debate, set aside by the previous question. State and amount of the expences incurred by the war in America, set forth by the Duke of Richmond; who proposes a number of resolutions founded thereon, which are all set aside as before. Motion for the attendance of the Surveyor of the navy, made by the Duke of Bolton, and rejected upon a division. Several subsequent motions made by the same nobleman, and tending to an enquiry into the state of the navy, after considerable debates rejected. American conciliatory bills passed by the Lords. Enquiry into the conduct of the transport service by the Earl of Effingham, whose resolutions thereon are rejected.*

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## C H A P. VIII.

*Motion by Mr. Grenville rejected. French Declaration. Royal Message. Great Debates on the Address. Amendment moved by Mr. Baker. Amendment rejected; and the original Address at length carried on a division. Great debates on the Message and Address in the House of Lords. Amendment moved by the Duke of Manchester. Rejected, and the original Address carried, as before, on a division. Great Debates on Mr. Fox's motions relative to the failure of the Canada expedition. Rejected on a division. Counter motion, carried in the Committee, but not reported. Col. Barre's motion for a Committee to inspect the public accounts, agreed to, under certain modifications. Petition from Newcastle. Motion by Mr. Wilkes, relative to private aids, or loans to the crown, rejected on a division. Opposition to the House tax bill. Several amendments moved, and rejected, on separate divisions. Committee appointed to consider of the trade of Ireland. Resolutions passed, and bills brought in, on that subject. Sir William Meredith's motion for a repeal of the Declaratory Act, laid by. Bill brought in and passed, to enable his Majesty to make a suitable provision for the younger part of the Royal family, as well as for the Duke of Gloucester's children. Motion by Sir P. F. Clerke for bringing in the contractor's bill, carried on a division. Great opposition formed to the Irish bills. Contractor's bill read the first time; and the motion for its being read the second, carried upon a division. Second reading of the contractor's bill. Lost upon the question of commitment, by a majority of two only. Great debates on the message for a vote of credit. Debate on the second reading of the Irish bills. Sir Cecil Wray's motion rejected. Bills committed. Proceedings in the House of Commons on the death of the Earl of Chatham.*

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## C H A P. IX.

*Sir George Saville's motion for a bill to repeal certain penalties and disqualifications to which the English Roman Catholics were liable, universally agreed to. Event of the Irish business. Debates relative to the Toulon papers; Sir William Meredith's first motion, at length rejected. Motion of adjournment, by the Minister, carried. Circumstances relative to the arrival of General Burgoyne. Motion by Mr. Vyner, relative to the Canada expedition. Amendment moved by Mr. Fox. Explanations of his situation and conduct by General Burgoyne. Debate. Mr. Fox's amendment rejected on a division. Original motion set aside by the previous question. Motion by Mr. Hartley against the prorogation of Parliament, after considerable debate, rejected on a division. Similar motion by Sir James Lowther, meets the same fate. Motion by the Duke of Richmond for withdrawing the forces from North America. Previous question moved and carried on a division. Great debates on the Earl of Effingham's motions tending to an enquiry into the state of the navy. Effective motions rejected; two others*



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others agreed to. Duke of Richmond closes the enquiry in the general Committee on the state of the nation. Moves an address of great length, founded on various matters of fact, which had been established in the course of the enquiry. Debate broke off on the sudden illness of the Earl of Chatham, and adjourned to the following day. Address rejected. Protest. Resolutions, founded on the Toulon papers, moved by the Duke of Richmond. Justification of naval affairs and conduct, by the noble Lord immediately concerned. Interesting particulars stated by the Earl of Bristol. Motions set aside, on a division, by the previous question. Protest on the Chatham annuity bill. Earl of Derby's motion relative to the Saratoga business, set aside by the previous question. Duke of Bolton's motion for deferring the prorogation of Parliament, after long debate, rejected on a division. Speech from the Throne.

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## C H A P. X.

State of the hostile armies in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood during the winter. Hard condition of the brave army under the convention of Saratoga. Suspension of the treaty by the Congress, until a ratification is obtained from the court of Great Britain. Predatory expeditions from Philadelphia and Rhode Island. Draught of the Conciliatory Bills published in America. Effect produced by it on both sides. Conduct, and resolutions of the Congress. Silas Dean arrives with the French treaties. Sir Henry Clinton arrives to take the command of the army at Philadelphia, in the room of General Sir William Howe, who returns to England. Arrival of the Commissioners for restoring peace, &c. Letter to the Congress. Secretary to the Commissioners refused a passport. Answer returned by the Congress to the Commissioners. Further particulars relative to the proposed negociation. Evacuation of Philadelphia. Difficulties encountered by the British army in their march across the Jerseys. General Washington crosses the Delaware. Battle near Monmouth. General Lee, tried by a court martial, and suspended. British army pass over to Sandy Hook Island, and are conveyed by the fleet to New York. Toulon squadron arrive on the coast of America. Appear before Sandy Hook, where they cast anchor. Alarm, and preparations at Sandy Hook and New York. Departure of the French fleet. Arrival of reinforcements to Lord Howe. French fleet appear before Rhode Island. Defensive preparations by General Sir Robert Pigot. Invasion of that Island meditated by the Americans, to second the operations of the French. Lord Howe sails to the relief of Rhode Island. D'Estaing quits the harbour, and puts to sea, to meet the British squadron. Fleets separated, at the point of engaging, by a violent storm. Captain Raynor, in the Isis, bravely engages a French man of war of 74 guns. D'Estaing returns to Rhode Island, and proceeds from thence to Boston. Is pursued by Lord Howe. Gen. Sullivan lands in Rhode Island. Invests the British posts. American army greatly disconcerted by D'Estaing's departure. Sullivan retreats, and at length totally quits the island. Lord Howe, finding D'Estaing's squadron so strongly secured in Nantasket Road, as to render an attack impracticable, returns from Boston.

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